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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

584

Committee of Publication.

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S. J. Bigelow

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Massachusetts Historical Society.

SECOND SERIES. — VOL. V.

1889–1890.

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PREFACE.

1128357

THIS volume comprises the proceedings of the Society at seven stated meetings, held from October, 1889, to April, 1890, both inclusive, and of the special meeting held in December, 1889, on the death of our distinguished associate, CHARLES DEANE. In addition to the various tributes to his memory on that occasion, the volume contains Memoirs of THOMAS C. AMORY, HENRY A. WHITNEY, and GEORGE T. BIGELOW, and several communications of historical interest and value. Among these the Committee would call attention to the Catalogue of Elder Brewster's Library; Dr. Everett's paper on "The Last Royal Veto"; Rev. Dr. Pierce's "Notes on the Harvard Commencements," which he attended; the tributes to the memory of FRANCIS C. GRAY; Mr. Goodell's paper on "The Origin of the Towns of Massachusetts"; the "Description of the Battle of Lexington," by a British Officer; and Mr. Hart's paper on "The Relations of Harvard College and the First Church in Cambridge."

For the Committee,

CHARLES C. SMITH.

BOSTON, October 1, 1890.

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Hon. William A. Courtenay.
Rev. Mandell Creighton, LL.D.
John Andrew Doyle, M.A.

MEMBERS DECEASED.

Members who have died since the last volume of the Proceedings was issued, Nov. 4, 1889, arranged in the order of their election, and with date of death.

Resident.

Charles Deane, LL.D.	Nov. 13, 1889.
Robert Bennett Forbes, Esq.	Nov. 23, 1889.
Francis Winthrop Palfrey, A.M.	Dec. 5, 1889.

Corresponding.

Henry Tuke Parker, A.M.	Aug. 18, 1890.
William Francis Allen, A.M.	Dec. 9, 1889.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

OCTOBER MEETING, 1889.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 10th instant, at three P. M.

The record of the last meeting before the summer recess was read by the Recording Secretary.

The donations to the Library were reported by the Librarian.

The President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, announced the deaths of Theodore D. Woolsey, D.D., President of Yale College, who was an Honorary Member of the Society, and of S. Austin Allibone, LL.D., and Professor Alexander Johnston, LL.D., of Princeton College, who were Corresponding Members; and he then said: —

During the suspension of the meetings of this Society we have lost from our roll one of the oldest and most interested of our Resident Members, — Thomas Coffin Amory, elected in 1859. He died, at his residence in this city, on August 20. Graduating at Harvard at the early age of seventeen, he had recourse to foreign travel to re-invigorate impaired health, and opened in England an acquaintance, which ripened into later friendly relations, with some eminent literary men. The necessity of managing the family estate withdrew him from the legal practice on which he had entered. Henceforward active business responsibilities for others, and a broad and generous engagement in civil, political, and philanthropic labors divided his industriously spent time with historical and literary pursuits. Filial obligation induced him to devote his pen and

research to an admirable biography of his grandfather, the eminent Governor James Sullivan, the first President of this Society. He also gave much critical investigation and controversial pleading in answer to some reflections on the military career and character of the brother of his grandfather, the Revolutionary General John Sullivan.

He served this city as an Alderman and as a State Representative, but declined proffered nominations to the State Senate and to Congress. His special civic services were on the School Committee, in aiding the organization of our system of public charities, in the first operations of the Charity Building in Chardon Street and of the City Hospital, and in digesting many of the city ordinances. His labor was cheerfully and patiently given, and was highly and gratefully appreciated. He manifested the warmest and the most judicious patriotism during our Civil War, and put his life in peril in the Draft-riot. He wrote many papers in prose and metre on our local antiquities, and themes which he fondly studied. He was esteemed and cherished by his more intimate friends for his fine culture and his gentlemanly qualities.

The Society will gratefully place upon its records its tribute of respect to his varied services and to his memory.

Professor Dunbar was appointed to prepare a memoir of the late Hon. Peleg W. Chandler, LL.D.

Colonel Washburn, minister to Switzerland, presented to the Library a copy of the "Military Annals of Lancaster, 1740–1865," by the Hon. Henry S. Nourse, which he highly commended.

Dr. Paige alluded to the absence of Dr. Deane, who had been confined at home by a long illness, and moved that the Secretary communicate to his family the sympathy of the members of this Society.

Dr. Green exhibited a copy of an old Elegy, of which a fac-simile is here given, and made the following remarks: —

John Woodmancy, the subject of the Elegy, was, without doubt, a master in the Boston Latin School, as it is evident, from the tenor of the lines, that he taught Latin. I am unable to connect him either with Robert Woodmansey, headmaster of that school, who died on August 13, 1667, or with

The Grammarians Funeral

But this was common to them all to mean
Their load of grief they could not soon *Depone*.
A doleful Day for *Verbs*, they look so *moody*,
They drove Spectators to a Mournful Study.
The *Verbs* irregular, 'twas thought by some,
Would break no rule, if they were pleas'd to come.
Gaudeo could not be found ; fearing disgrace
He had with-drawn, sent *Mæreo* in his Place.
Possum did to the utmost he was able,
And bore as Stout as if he'd been A *Table*.

What *Syntax* here can you expect to find?
Where each one bears such discomposed mind.
Figures of Diction and Construction,
Do little : Yet stand sadly looking on.
That such a Train may in their motion *chord*,
Prosodia gives the measure Word for Word.

Sic Mæstus Cecinit,

Benj. Tompson.

research to an admirable biography of his grandfather, the eminent Governor James Sullivan, the first President of this Society. He also gave much critical investigation and controversial pleading in answer to some reflections on the military career and character of the brother of his grandfather, the Revolutionary General John Sullivan.

He served this city as an Alderman and as a State Representative, but declined proffered nominations to the State Senate and to Congress. His special civic services were on the School Committee, in aiding the organization of our system of public charities, in the first operations of the Charity Building in Chardon Street and of the City Hospital, and in digesting many of the city ordinances. His labor was cheerfully and patiently given, and was highly and gratefully appreciated. He manifested the warmest and the most judicious patriotism during our Civil War, and put his life in peril in the Draft-riot. He wrote many papers in prose and metre on our local antiquities, and themes which he fondly studied. He was esteemed and cherished by his more intimate friends for his fine culture and his gentlemanly qualities.

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The Grammarians Funeral.

OR,

An ELEGY compoſed upon the Death of Mr. *John Woodmancy*, formerly a School-Maſter in *Boſton*: But now Publiſhed upon the DEATH of the Venerable

Mr. Ezekiel Chevers,

The late and famous School-Maſter of *Boſton* in *New-England*; Who Departed this Life the *Twenty-firſt* of *Auguſt* 1708. Early in the Morning. In the Ninety-fourth Year of his Age.

EIght Parts of *Speech* this Day wear *Mourning Gowns*
Declin'd *Verbs*, *Pronouns*, *Participles*, *Nouns*.
And not declined, *Adverbs* and *Conjunctions*,
In *Lillies* Torch they ſtand to do their functions.
With *Prepoſition*; but the moſt affection
Was ſtill obſerved in the *Interjection*.
The *Subſtantive* ſeeming the limbed beſt,
Would ſet an hand to bear him to his Reſt.
The *Adjective* with very grief did ſay,
Hold me by ſtrength, or I ſhall faint away.
The Clouds of Tears did over-caſt their faces,
Yea all were in moſt lamentable *Caſes*.
The five *Declenſions* did the Work decline,
And *Told* the *Pronoun Tu*, The work is thine:
But in this caſe thoſe have no call to go
That want the *Vocative*, and can't ſay O!
The *Pronouns* ſaid that if the *Nouns* were there,
There was no need of them, they might them ſpare:
But for the ſake of *Emphaſis* they would,
In their Diſcretion do what ere they could.
Great honour was confer'd on *Conjugations*,
They were to follow next to the *Relations*.
Amo did love him beſt, and *Doceo* might
Alledge he was his Glory and Delight.
But *Lego* ſaid by me he got his skill,
And therefore next the *Herſe* I follow will.
Audio ſaid little, hearing them ſo hot,
Yet knew by him much Learning he had got.
O Verbs the *Active* were, Or *Paſſive* ſure,
Sum to be *Neuter* could not well endure.
But this was common to them all to Moan
Their load of grief they could not ſoon *Depone*.
A doleful Day for *Verbs*, they look ſo *moody*,
They drove Spectators to a Mournful Study.
The *Verbs* irregular, 'twas thought by ſome,
Would break no rule, if they were pleas'd to come.
Gaudeo could not be found; fearing diſgrace
He had with-drawn, ſent *Mæreo* in his Place.
Poſſum did to the utmoſt he was able,
And bore as Stout as if he'd been A *Table*.
Volo was willing, *Nolo* ſome-what ſtout,
But *Malo* rather choſe, not to ſtand out.
Poſſum and *Volo* wiſh'd all might afford
Their help, but had not an *Imperative Word*.
Edo from Service would by no means Swerve,
Rather than fail, he thought the *Cakes* to Serve.
Fio was taken in a fit, and ſaid,
By him a Mournful *POEM* ſhould be made.
Fero was willing for to bear a part,
Altho' he did it with an aking heart.
Feror excus'd, with grief he was ſo Torn,
He could not bear, he needed to be born.

Such *Nouns* and *Verbs* as we defective find,
No *Grammar* Rule did their attendance bind.
They were excepted, and exempted hence,
But *Supines*, all did blame for negligence.
Verbs Offspring, *Participles* hand-in-hand,
Follow, and by the ſame direction ſtand:
The reſt Promiſcuouſly did croud and cumber,
Such Multitudes of each, they wanted Number.
Next to the Corps to make th' attendance even,
Jove, *Mercury*, *Apollo* came from heaven.
And *Virgil*, *Cato*, gods, men, Rivers, Winds,
With *Elegies*, Tears, Sighs, came in their kinds.
Ovid from *Pontus* haſt's Apparrell'd thus,
In Exile-weeds bringing *De Triſtibus*:
And *Homer* ſure had been among the Rout,
But that the Stories ſay his Eyes were out.
Queens, *Cities*, *Countries*, *Iſlands*, Come
All Trees, Birds, Fiſhes, and each Word in *Um*.

What *Syntax* here can you expect to find?
Where each one bears ſuch diſcompoſed mind.
Figures of Diction and Conſtruction,
Do little: Yet ſtand ſadly looking on.
That ſuch a Train may in their motion *chord*,
Proſodia gives the meaſure Word for Word.

Sic Mæſtus Cecinit,

Benj. Tompſon.

John Woodmancy, merchant, who died in the year 1684. Ezekiel Chevers (now written Cheever), whose death was the occasion of the printing of the Elegy, was a noted schoolmaster in early colonial times. He was the author of a Latin Grammar, commonly known as "Cheever's Accidence," which passed through more than twenty editions, and for a century was used throughout New England in those schools where the Latin tongue was taught; and he was for nearly thirty-eight years the head-master of the Boston Latin School. Benjamin Tompson, the writer of the lines, was a graduate of Harvard College in the Class of 1662, and a physician of some repute. He was Mr. Cheever's immediate predecessor as head-master of the school, and a man of various attainments. He was the earliest native American poet, and the author of several printed poems. A list of his works, so far as they were known, appears in Mr. John Langdon Sibley's "Harvard Graduates" (vol. ii. pp. 109, 110), but "The Grammarian's Funeral" is not mentioned. There is a suggestion of resemblance between this production and an "Essay" in metre, which appears at the end of Cotton Mather's sermon on Ezekiel Cheever, published in the year 1708.

The original copy of the Elegy was given to me by Mrs. Elizabeth Meriel (Mansfield | Williams) Knapp, daughter of Dr. Joseph and Abi (Hartwell) Mansfield, of Groton, who found it among her father's papers. Dr. Mansfield was a graduate of Harvard College in the Class of 1801, and a poet of considerable merit, besides being a schoolmaster and a physician, — a combination of callings which, perhaps, had some connection with the saving of the poetical waif. He was born at Lynn on Dec. 17, 1770, and died at Groton on April 23, 1830.

Mr. WOLCOTT read, from a manuscript in the handwriting of Washington, a detailed account of the expedition against Fort Du Quesne in 1754, and of the subsequent expedition which resulted in Braddock's defeat. This account was written by Washington in reply to inquiries made to him by Col. David Humphreys, one of his aids, who contemplated publishing a biography of his chief. It is believed that the information given by Washington regarding his own part in

these campaigns has never been made public. The manuscript was given in 1829 by the widow of Colonel Humphreys to John Pickering, son of Col. Timothy Pickering, and through him has come into the hands of Mr. Henry G. Pickering, by whose permission it was read to the Society. It will be printed later in the Proceedings.

The President then said that we were looking forward to our one hundredth anniversary, and that there was a gentleman present whose membership covered precisely half of the hundred years.

The Hon. Robert C. Winthrop then spoke as follows: —

If I had followed my impulses, Mr. President, instead of yielding to my discretion, I should have risen at once, after you had finished your introductory remarks, and should not have waited for you to call on me now. I could have added little, indeed, to your tribute to our deceased associate Mr. Amory; but I would gladly have united in doing honor to the memory of President Woolsey, — one of the most accomplished and valuable men whose names have adorned our roll, — and of Dr. Samuel Austin Allibone, whose "Dictionary of Authors" may be counted among the herculean labors of modern bibliographical literature. Meanwhile you have kindly alluded to me as one whose membership of this Society covers a full half of the hundred years of its existence, so soon to be completed and celebrated. It is true, Sir, that I was elected in the month of October, 1839, and that this may therefore be regarded as the fiftieth anniversary of my admission to this oldest Historical Society in our land. I need not add that there is no one left, except myself, of the Resident Members of that day, as I have been so often designated as "the venerable Senior Member" ever since the death of Mr. Savage, fifteen or sixteen years ago. Our distinguished historian Bancroft was, indeed, one of our Resident Members when I was chosen, but his removal from the State not long afterwards compelled us to transfer his name to our Honorary roll. He is still, however, the oldest member of the Society; and all our best wishes will, I am sure, have gone out to him on his recent eighty-ninth birthday.

It was a goodly company, Mr. President, into which I was admitted in 1839, and one with which any man might

have been proud to be associated. We had not with us then, it is true, some of the famous poets with whom we have taken sweet counsel in later years, nor some of our most brilliant historians. Longfellow and Emerson and Holmes and Lowell and Motley and Parkman were associates of a much more recent date. But our Society then included, among its sixty members, venerable and venerated clergymen, like Dr. William Jenks, Dr. John Pierce, Dr. Charles Lowell, Dr. Convers Francis, and Dr. Alexander Young; illustrious statesmen, like John Quincy Adams, Josiah Quincy, and Daniel Webster; learned judges and counsellors, like John Davis, Daniel A. White, Leverett Saltonstall, Lemuel Shaw, and Rufus Choate; while of authors and orators it had George Ticknor, Jared Sparks, William H. Prescott, Francis C. Gray, John G. Palfrey, and Edward Everett. I must not omit Nathan Appleton, the eminent merchant and financier, and good Isaac P. Davis, one of the most obliging and useful members we have ever had. Nor can I fail to name my own honored father, who was then our President; and James Savage, our great antiquarian, who soon succeeded him in the chair.

I may be pardoned for remembering that I was then only thirty years of age; but I had been a member of the Legislature of Massachusetts for four or five years, and Speaker of the House for one of them; and that may, perhaps, account for my early admission to this Society. Not long afterwards, however, — in December of the same year, 1839, — I did my best to justify my election by delivering a long and elaborate address before the New England Society of New York, on the Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers. It was my first historical oration, or, indeed, oration of any kind; and I recall with no little pride the generous praise which it elicited from our former president, Judge Davis, — himself pre-eminently the umpire of all that related to Plymouth or Pilgrim history. To him I had ventured to send the proof-sheets for his corrections and criticism, and his appreciative and complimentary letter is among my most precious autographs of that far-away period.

But I have not come here this afternoon to say anything about myself or to make any communication of my own. I hold in my hand a valuable communication from one of our

Corresponding Members, to which I will make a brief explanatory preamble.

It happened that when my friend, the Hon. J. L. M. Curry, of Virginia, resigned his position as general agent of the Peabody Education Trustees, — a position to which, I rejoice to say, he has recently returned, — and when he was about embarking for Europe as United States Minister at Madrid, I reminded him that two of my relatives had been Ministers to Spain in years long past. One of them was my great-uncle, James Bowdoin, the son of Governor Bowdoin of Revolutionary and Shays' Rebellion times. The other was George William Erving, his cousin, of a somewhat later period. I ventured to request him, if he found anything in the archives of the Legation at Madrid which would throw light on the services of either of these relatives, that he would kindly make it known to me. In conformity with this request, Dr. Curry has prepared a memorandum or memoir of the diplomatic services of George William Erving, containing the results of an investigation of the archives of the Legation in Madrid, and he placed it in my hands at the meeting of the Peabody Trustees from which I have just returned, saying that it would give him pleasure if I should see fit to present it to this Society, with his respects, as one of our Corresponding Members.

I am the more willing and glad to do this, as Mr. Erving was himself also a Corresponding Member, having been elected on the 31st of October, 1822, and was the giver to our Cabinet — where it still is — of a fine set of the French medals of Washington and Columbus and Franklin and others, in a case inscribed with his name, which was long the only set of those medals in our possession. He was a man, too, of great accomplishments and of no little historical research. He was educated at Oriel College in the University of Oxford. His essay on the Basque Language was much prized by philologists half a century ago; and his account of the little Republic of San Marino, in a New York Review long since discontinued, attracted much notice at the time. He was a friend of the Hon. John Pickering, of George Ticknor, and of others of our best-known literary men.

His name as Minister to Spain has often been confounded with that of Washington Irving, who succeeded him after

many years at the Court of Madrid; and I have more than once found it misspelled in the published documents of Congress and the State Department.[1] James Madison had a marble bust of my kinsman in his library at Montpelier, Va., where I had the good fortune to visit him in 1832; and the bust is now in my own possession. Mr. Madison then told me that he never had a more capable and faithful minister in his service, during his sixteen years' term as Secretary of State and as President of the United States, than George William Erving.

Mr. Erving was not so fortunate in winning the confidence and regard of John Quincy Adams, with whom he had a controversy during the period of the annexation of Texas, and who spoke somewhat harshly of him in his Diary. It chanced that during this annexation period a letter which Mr. Erving had written to General Jackson many years before, and which had been marked "private," found its way into print, through the agency of some unscrupulous mischief-maker, and greatly to Mr. Erving's surprise and chagrin. As it referred to some words or acts of Mr. Adams in anything but an approving tone, I was requested by Erving to explain to Mr. Adams, with whom I was then in Congress, that the letter was an off-hand effusion, written in the midst of party controversies, and altogether private, and that it had now been surreptitiously published to his great regret. The message was kindly received by Mr. Adams, and I had hoped that there was an end of the matter. But Mr. Adams did not forget or forgive the letter, as was perhaps not to have been too confidently expected.

Many months afterward, — it seems but yesterday, though it must be much more than forty years ago, — Mr. Adams most kindly called on me, soon after breakfast, at my house in Summer Street. He was on his way to the ordination or induction of some Unitarian clergyman, whose name I have forgotten, not far from Boston. I remember his telling me that he never failed to attend such occasions, whenever he was invited, and mentioned, among other things, that he believed he had a pew in every church of every denomination

[1] Washington Irving, it is said, was descended from the same old Scotch family, whose name is now generally written Irvine.

in Washington. As a matter of fact, however, he almost always attended services on Sunday at the Capitol, particularly while the Rev. Mr. Cookman — a Methodist preacher of remarkable power and eloquence, whom he greatly admired, as all of us did — was chaplain of Congress.

But he then proceeded to tell me that he was to deliver a lecture that very evening, before the Young Men's Whig Club, in Tremont Temple, on the proposed annexation of Texas, and that he should have occasion to allude to the letter of Mr. Erving, in regard to which I had made an explanation some time previously. He said that he desired to tell me this in advance, as I was a relative and friend of Mr. Erving; and lest I should be deterred from coming to hear the lecture he wished to assure me that he should spare Erving from any severe strictures. "I shall spare him on your account," said he; "and I hope you will come and hear me." I thanked him heartily for his kind consideration, and went to hear the lecture accordingly.

But such a *sparing* I had never dreamed of. In the heat of delivery Mr. Adams poured out an invective upon my poor kinsman of the most intense character, and I made up my mind that nothing could ever be more formidable than to be *spared* by Mr. Adams. But the "old man eloquent" — I had almost said the dear old man, and he was dear to us all — fully believed that he had dealt leniently and tenderly with Mr. Erving on my account; and I doubt not that he might have said a great deal sharper and severer things, if I had not been present. At all events, there was nothing but kindness and cordiality between us to the end of his life; and I recall much that was most amiable and even affectionate in his intercourse with me at Washington. Nothing could ever tempt me to say a disrespectful or disparaging word of one for whom I cherished so much regard and veneration, and whose friendship I count among the most valued privileges of my life.

In the course of my subsequent correspondence with Mr. Erving, while he was still in Europe, I begged him to give me some account of his family and of himself; and not long afterwards I received a letter from him, full of interesting details of the Boston Ervings of the olden time, more than one of whom was appointed a Mandamus Councillor, and

several of whom were refugees after the British army was driven out of our harbor by Washington. It also contains not a few striking allusions to his own early career as an American Democrat. I will not attempt to read any part of it on this occasion; but if the Publishing Committee shall accept Dr. Curry's communication and give it a place in one of the volumes of our Proceedings, as I trust they will do, I will append the Erving letter to these remarks as a preamble.

Mr. Erving died at New York, on the 22d of July, 1850, having completed the eighty-first year of his age on the 15th of the same month. He had lived long abroad, and was under the impression that holographs, or wills written by the testator's own hand, were everywhere valid. He left duplicates of such a will, carefully drafted and deposited in safe places. But the want of witnesses to his signature was fatal, and his property was distributed according to laws governing the estates of intestates. A much larger portion of it would otherwise have gone to the late Col. John Erving, of the United States Army, and to his son, John (Langdon-Elwyn) Erving, of New York.

Letter of Hon. George W. Erving.

PARIS, Aug. 30, 1843.

HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, M.C.,
Boston.

MY DEAR SIR,—I wrote to you on the 25th inst., and now, pursuant to my promise, take up the matter referred to on closing that letter. My notes, however, will not be very precise in dates, for I have not any documents to assist my frail memory. All my family papers which were not lost, with a mass of public records and official correspondences and various valuable effects, in the great fire of New York some six years ago, are now locked up at Washington; amongst them my grandfather's ledgers and letters, and his more interesting early correspondence with his relations in Scotland.

My grandfather (your great-great-grandfather), John Erving, was born at Kirkwall (in the Orkneys) in the year 1690. He came to Boston at about the age of sixteen, say in the year 1706, a poor sailor-boy. In the usual course he rose from the condition of sailor to be captain when yet young; then quitted the profession, and established himself as ship-owner and merchant. He was a man of powerful intellect, of singular sagacity and strict probity. These qualities, added to

the experience gained in various voyages, produced uniform success in his commercial operations, and he died at the age of ninety-seven, the most wealthy merchant of his time in New England.

The Scotch, even of the Lowlands, are especially accurate in, and careful of, their genealogical records; the Highlanders and the natives of the northern isles still more so. They are the more tenacious of such family honors in proportion as their blood has been less mixed with the Saxon; and the more northern clans can boast that no conqueror, from the Roman downward, has ever placed his foot on their soil. Thus, though the populations of the Orkneys can be considered but as communities of poor fishermen, yet they are more proud of their pure lineage than are princes of the south; and, generally speaking, pride of descent will always be in proportion to the degree of poverty in societies, for it is a compensation. Where the distinctions of wealth and high intellectual cultivation do not exist, there family distinction is all-important. When our grandfather grew to manhood and became a merchant this ancestral pride was roused into action, and he forthwith procured from Scotland, and in regularly authentic form of the heralds, his genealogical record and the blazon of his family arms. It appears that the original family name was "Ervin Wynn," which is explained (according to my best recollection) to mean "strong man of the West."

The "clans" Bonshaw and Drom now make the family Erving. One was absorbed by the other; Bonshaw, I think, was the original Erving, and Drom the clan extinguished by the union. In the blazon of the arms, then, the right (holly or holleyn leaves) are the bearings of Bonshaw, to which also belongs the appropriate motto, "Sub sole sub umbra virescens;" the spread eagle on the left is of the extinct clan Drom. I do not see that any of the race appeared in public life previous to the time of Robert Bruce; then an Erving distinguished as a warrior was the King's armor-bearer.

I cannot say at what time my grandfather married, but conjecture in about 1720; his wife was Abigail Phillips, of a very old Welsh family, the head of which, Sir Richard Phillips, considered that his ancient baronetcy was more honorable than a peerage; *that* therefore he refused, but his successor accepted and became Lord Milford. Of this marriage there were four sons and four daughters, viz.:

John, who married into the English family Shirley. He died at Bath, 1816.

George, who married, in 1768, Lucy Winslow, daughter of Isaac Winslow of Roxbury. She died in 1770, leaving one son. My father took a second wife in 1775, Mary MacIntosh Royal, daughter of Brigadier-General Royal of Medford. She died childless, 1786. My father died, 1806.

James died unmarried, in the West Indies.

William, a captain in the British army, quitted that service on the commencement of the Revolutionary War, and died unmarried at Roxbury.

Elizabeth, your great-grandmother Bowdoin.

Mary, married to Colonel Scott of the English army, and Governor of Dominica and of Granada.

Anne, married to Duncan Stewart of Ardsheil in the Highlands.

Sarah, married to Colonel Waldo.

Now, having brought this genealogical matter down to your own time, I will add, respecting some of the persons or families named, whatever anecdotical that may interest you.

My uncle *John Erving* was a man of a lofty, dignified character, a perfect gentleman, loved and respected by all who knew him. His wife was a woman of superior mind, yet too proud of her Shirley[1] descent, and having also a very bad temper, she estranged her husband from his two sons, John and Shirley; these left their parents, and settled and died in the United States.

My uncle *William* was also a perfect gentleman, and passionately devoted to his profession; he was distinguished as a mathematician, and ranked very high in the English army as an engineer whilst aide-de-camp of the famous General Wolfe at the siege of Quebec. On the breaking out of the "American war," he refused to serve any longer, and retired on half pay.[2]

The *Winslow* family, of which was my mother, is the oldest of the Pilgrim race. Mary Chilton was the first woman who landed at Plymouth; she was married to the brother of the first Governor Winslow, and produced the first child born in the Colony; from her are descended all the Winslows.

My aunt *Sarah* was as pure a human character as ever existed, but she was so plain in person that grandfather prophesied that she would never "get a husband,"—"too ugly." He was mistaken; she was married to Colonel Waldo, an excellent man and rich withal. I have seen lately, in an English paper, notice of the decease of two sisters Waldo, old-maids, excessively rich; the notice adds that theirs was the "*oldest family in England.*" I sent that notice to my cousin Isaac Winslow of Boston for the *use* of the Waldos remaining amongst us.

The *Bowdoin*, or Boudoin, family I suppose you know to have been Counts of Flanders, and that one of them during the "holy wars" became King of Jerusalem.[3] I suspect that the origin of this name was "Beau Doyen;" if so, the race was French before Flemish.

[1] Shirley Lord Ferrers.

[2] He was the founder of the Erving Professorship of Chemistry at Harvard College, having been graduated there in 1753.

[3] There is no evidence to support this often repeated legend. "Baudouin"

Duncan Stewart of Ardsheil: — the father of this gentleman (who married *Anne* Erving), was at the head of the clans of Appin and Ardsheil in the rebellion of 1745; that "outbreak" failing, all his estates were sequestered. When Lord Bute became prime minister of George III., the Scotch were taken into favor under the special patronage of that Scotch minister. Great numbers of his countrymen were provided with places, pensions, etc. Duncan Stewart was made Collector of New London. Duncan was in his person what the women call a "fine man," tall, well proportioned, and with regular features; his intellect was quite moderate, but its deficiency was amply compensated by an extraordinary proportion of native cunning, to which he added great persistence in subtle and obsequious cajolery; it was thus that he built up his fortune. He effected more in a few years by these means, than a man having any dignity of character could have effected during a long life with tenfold the capacity of Duncan. When he took possession of his small post he lost no time in seeking "to better his fortune by marriage in this fine country" (said he), and for this, "came up" to Boston. There his Scotch birth procured introduction to the Scotch chief of Boston, with whose daughter Anne he *immediately* "fell in love." My grandfather a clear-sighted man, who loved his money more than Duncan loved his daughter, treated the suitor as a needy *Scotch* fortune-hunter, and drove him off; but Duncan was not to be rebutted. The poor girl's intellect was about on a par with his own; she became "love-sick," and the old gentleman, though a severe father, was sufficiently affectionate; so he finally though most reluctantly, consented to the marriage. The Revolution drove Duncan from New to Old London; there boasting, like others under similar circumstances, of his loyalty and *sufferings* in "the royal cause," he obtained the collectorship of Bermuda. Still he kept on delving, digging, soliciting, and cajoling; so procured the transfer of the Bermuda post to his second son (John), and finally the restitution of the sequestered Highland estates to which he retired, and died there in his kilt (I think it is called) or "fillibeg," Laird of Ardsheil and Appin, — dignities now held by his eldest son Charles, an innocent inoffensive, half-witted gentleman.

Mary MacIntosh Royal, my father's second wife, was a daughter of Brigadier-General Royal of Medford, who married a daughter of General Mac Intosh, a Scotchman in the service of Holland. He had large estates in the Dutch Colony of Surinam. These he bequeathed in equal portions to his daughter Royal and another daughter who had married a Mr. Palmer. Mrs. Royal bequeathed her estate in equal

has long been a common French name; and no efforts to discover the precise ancestry of Pierre Baudouin, who fled from Rochelle in 1685 and came to New England in 1687, have thus far been successful.

portions to my mother-in-law and her other daughter who was married to Sir William Pepperell.

The *Pepperell* baronetcy: — This was of very honorable origin. In the "old French war," which terminated in the English conquest of Canada, their success was *wholly* due to the New England *militia* commanded by General Pepperell of Saco. The English naval commander Warren nevertheless contrived to appropriate to his own use all the rich plunder of the captured city, in contempt of "Yankee" militia; the Government of England should have made him disgorge, but that operation is contrary to its buccaneer code. So they gave a baronetcy to Pepperell, and a service of silver plate, on the several pieces of which was engraved the acknowledgment of his services; and besides this, they honored him with a coat of arms from their heralds' office, with one of their pun mottoes, namely, "Peperi"!

Old Sir William was as modest as brave, and he left the Englishman in quiet possession of his plunder. This worthy man was connected by marriage with the "Sparhawks," an old family "*seated*" at Kittery near Portsmouth in New Hampshire; and having no children of his own he took under his care, by a sort of adoption, that one of the Kits who had been named after him "William." This William Sparhawk was a fine lad, and grew up to be a very handsome man. He had received a good college education, and was polished in his manners and address. These advantages, added to his near relationship to the old general, though he was not the eldest of the nephews, procured him the succession to the title and plate, with the name Pepperell and the motto "Peperi." This my mother-in-law's brother-in-law gave the lie to craniology; he had a very large *skull*, but nearly empty; he died some years ago. The title is extinct. "Sic transit gloria." (Mrs. Jarvis, wife of the patriot Dr. Jarvis, was a Sparhawk, sister of Sir William Pepperell.)

My father and Uncle John emigrated to England, as you know. Some account of that emigration may be interesting to you. As to Uncle John, I can say but little; he was, as I think, a *radical* royalist. But not so my father; he was amongst those who in the commencement of the "troubles" opposed the proceedings of the British Ministry, and on those matters was much in communion with the Adamses and others; but when the dispute tended to *separation*, and when he saw that the opposition had resolved on *armed* resistance, *he separated* from them, for he considered a resort to force a "rebellion" not to be justified by the then position of affairs, and his opinion also was that such means of redress must fail; that it was impossible for the "Colonies" to resist with success the power of Great Britain. The British Government, always precipitate and violent in its measures, had determined on the expedient of a Council by writ of "Mandamus," for the maintenance of the "King's authority," — this Council to be composed of the most influential indi-

viduals in Boston. The then position of our family there recommended it specially to this royal favor. Thus three of its members — grandfather, father, and Uncle John — were made Councillors. My grandfather, whose first ambition was to preserve his wealth from all hazards, pleaded his advanced age on declining to accept of a seat at the board. His sons accepted, — John willingly, George not without hesitation.

General Washington soon disturbed these wise arrangements of the British Government, and compelled its troops to evacuate Boston. The "Loyalists" of course fled, and amongst them not a few needy adventurers under the name of "Loyalists," to proclaim their "sufferings" and obtain pensions in England, so that a sufficiency of transports to carry them away were scarcely to be had; a ship, however, was specially appointed for the use of the "Mandamus Council." The capture of Boston by the American "militia" had totally changed my father's opinion as to what would be the result of the struggle, yet he was deeply compromitted; *revocare gradum* was impossible. When the ship was outside the lighthouse, and his colleagues were assembled on its deck discussing state affairs, and all full of confidence that they should soon be brought back in triumph, he said with great solemnity, "Gentlemen, not one of you will ever see that place again." Arrived at Halifax, *they* there expected the summons for their triumphal return; my father forthwith took passage for, and with his wife and child arrived safely in, London. The other members of the Council finally followed his example. These gentlemen were individually consulted by the Secretary of State as to the prospect of affairs in the "Colonies." "Soft words suit best petitioner's interest." Thus the governmental views were flattered by the emigrants. My father's views, unfavorable to the Government, were frankly expressed; consequently he was frowned on and no longer consulted; so after remaining about a year in London, he retired to the country, where he resided about fourteen years, — till my grandfather's death. In the mean time his moderate income was derived from my mother-in-law's Surinam estate, out of which, however, he was able to save enough for the expenses of his son's education, which occupied all his attention, for he had no child (living) by his second wife.

He remained always repenting of his error. Many a time and oft has he expressed to me his most bitter regrets, and that his only consolation was that his errors had not deprived me of my rights as an American. "I have committed," said he, "a great fault, but you are not responsible. I brought you away a child (of five years); but remember that when you are twenty-one you are freed from my authority as father and will then return to your native country." And so he sent me, and there commences *my* history, — not to be written. After the

death of my grandfather, my father took a house in London, and there he died whilst I was *Chargé d'Affaires* in Spain. He remained to the day of his death an impassioned American, as you may probably see in his correspondence with Governor Bowdoin. He carried this deep-rooted affection into the smallest circumstances. He imported salt fish, — as though it could not be purchased in London, — and he gave regularly his salt-fish dinners; he was delighted more with a hickory walking-stick that I gave to him than with a rich gold snuff-box which I purchased for him here in Paris. All his conversation was about the United States and their future prospects; and when I was Consul and Agent of the United States in London, he was never so pleased as when I could pick up some intelligent American as guest at his table. You see, then, that my father had made me an American, though I had not been so of my own proper right and disposition.

But what made me a *democrat*, which he was not? In affairs of government he was "liberal" because the temper of his mind was just, mild, and generous, but his political opinions tended to limited monarchy. What made the son, who adored the father, a radical democrat? Thus it was: the father had for system never to influence the opinions of his son on the two important points, — politics and religion; he left his son perfectly at large to direct his own studies, never recommending even a course of reading. The many works of philosophy and history which his library contained were at my disposal, and I devoured them without restraint. Meditation on these and on what I observed of turpitude in the monarchical and aristocratic systems of government formed the basis of my creed; a natural aptitude to the precision of mathematical reasoning, added to an innate horror of all that is unjust, of all fraud, of oppression, powerful over weak, rich over poor, completed my political education, and I became, as I have always remained without the least deviation, democrat in the full sense of that term. Indeed these political sentiments are not susceptible of change, for they are bound up with the moral; they make a *religion*, in which no man can be more sincere and devout than I am. Yet I am not "Catholic" to the extent of supposing that all out of the "pale" are to be "damned." It is a good religion which makes an honest man. I have a perfect respect for conscience; men may be perfectly virtuous and sincere though in error; and again "to err is human," and which of us, however sincere, can *positively* assert that he is *not* in error. Certainly there is as much honor and civic virtue amongst those of our citizens who are inimical to *pure* democracy, as is to be found amongst *professed* Democrats, — it may be more; for it is not every one who says, "Lord, Lord," that is to be believed. I have learnt to distrust professions, and in fact have *well* known but few men whose political principles were *religious*. Apropos

of these truths, I will expose to you the *why* a certain *pretender* has, as you tell me, lately joined the O'Connell clamor, and why indeed in all things he is so *ultra* anti-anglican. A few years ago he visited England, and he was not received with the distinction which he merited; on the contrary, he had reason to be disgusted and offended. The *book* was the first discharge of bile; Irish agitation is No. 2; and that we may not suffer by a more important No. 3, it were well that he be kept aloof from the *white* goal. There are few who are *inconvertible* by personal considerations; the political profession of individuals is to be viewed in connection with their social positions. When a man like your grand-uncle Bowdoin is so placed in the community by the advantages of education, fortune, and family as to be an aristocrat, yet is a consistent and uniform democrat, then only my confidence is entire.

I have been more diffuse in these memoranda than I expected to be; and worse, contrary to my expressed intention, I have unwittingly introduced too much of myself. I have been thus seduced by a peculiar feeling which you can hardly conceive of *now;* you will when at my age. I write to a *young* man of great promise, who a few years ago (it seems to me but ten years) I had a baby in my arms; and I write on the affairs of our common family, — these reminiscences of olden time, when being at your now age my hours glided so gleely (gleefully) in company with your honored father and mother, the most excellent Mr. Bowdoin, and my aunt, your great-great-grandmother, the very paragon of matrons. Alas! all the fair illusions of that happy period quickly passed, and gave place to the realities of general society with which my heart had no communion. When we can no longer look forward with hope, we are still happy if we can look back with satisfaction. However overcopious my notes, yet you may find in them *hiati;* and if so, I will fill them up to the best of my power, and reply to whatever questions they may suggest to you. My narrations may also contain errors, but are free from fable, — in so far have the advantage of all histories, which apart from unavoidable errors are at least one third fable.

. . . . . .

My dear sir, yours very truly and sincerely,

G. W. E.

P. S. Herewith I enclose two curious little documents for your family archives, — one the tax-collector's bill for *Province*, Town, and County taxes paid by my father in 1770; and the other a receipt for 5. 2. paid by my grandmother "for the nursing her son George" in the year 1739.

Diplomatic Services of George William Erving.

The first quarter of this century was a period of great interest and activity in our international relations. For a part of the time Napoleon was in the zenith of his power and conquests. His ambitious projects for himself and family were colossal, and he aimed at nothing less than the subordination of Europe and the Mediterranean countries to his personal rule. As he found leisure or means at his command, and when more immediate designs upon Russia, Austria, Germany, and England were not so urgent or feasible in their execution, he sought, by combination of arms and intrigue, to attach the Peninsula to his dominion and to establish his brother Joseph upon the throne.

Spain had wealthy possessions on the American continent, and was our neighbor not for friendly intercourse but for selfish and hostile ends. Her pride and vanity and procrastination complicated and embarrassed serious questions, and aggravated minor ones into formidable international disputes. In 1793, Washington in a message spoke of the "restitution of property escaping into the territories of each other, the mutual exchange of fugitives from justice, and the mutual interferences of the Indians lying between us." Originally the nominal possessions of the Spanish Crown had touched, as was claimed, the territory of Russia on the Pacific coast of North America; and in the question of the limits of territories between Great Britain and the United States, which came so near involving the two nations in a war, the claim of Spain to what we succeeded to by our purchase of Louisiana entered not inconsiderably into the contention.[1] The acquisition of Louisiana left unsettled the eastern boundary, and the heritage was a diplomatic dispute for twenty years. The navigation of the Mississippi created and prolonged an angry controversy. The acquisition of Florida, in itself and in its connected questions, was constantly a matter of argument, crimination, and negotiation. Spoliations upon American commerce, violations of strict neutrality in allowing Great Britain to occupy Florida as a base of military movements and in failing to control the Indians from hostile aggressions upon the States, illegal seizures and condemnation of American vessels in and near the waters of the Mediterranean, furnished subject and occasion for numerous diplomatic notes and despatches.

[1] In the Instructions to Mr. Erving, May 30, 1816, the Secretary of State was careful to have avoided, in any adjustment of boundaries with Spain, whatever "might affect our claims on Columbia River and on the Pacific." Mr. Jefferson, who purchased Louisiana, did not claim that it extended west of the Rocky Mountains. He said, "To the waters of the Pacific we can found no claim in right of Louisiana."

During the years mentioned and a few anterior there were most delicate and difficult questions growing out of the conduct of the Spanish Ministers in Washington, — Gardoquin, Irujo, and Onis, — who in their assumptions of superiority forgot their obligations to the country to which they were accredited, and conspired to produce disaffection in, and one of them the dismemberment of, the Republic. These ministerial imbroglios constitute a romantic chapter in our history; and the learned discussions they engendered, disagreeable and menacing at the time, have resulted in settling some important questions as to the relations which foreign ministers sustain to the government to which they are accredited. In Dr. Wharton's "Digest of International Law," a treasury of information and wise discussion, can be found a detail of the facts connected with these unpleasantnesses.

This period was contemporaneous with the Algerine War. Our relations with the Barbary Powers gave much trouble until Decatur taught them and Europe to respect our rights at sea.

In the formative epoch from 1776 to 1820, when the United States were slowly, in the face of physical and moral obstacles, establishing their independence and their co-equality among nations, the Government was fortunate in its foreign representatives. This was true generally in Europe, especially in Spain. The labors of these men, unheralded and unrecorded except in the unread archives of the State Department, have never been properly appreciated. In the erection of monuments and the national recognition of benefactors, the country has not been quick to recognize the grand and beneficial achievements of these remote and quiet laborers. The Government had during these eventful years the useful services in Spain of John Jay, William Short, William Carmichael, David Humphreys, Thomas Pinckney, Charles Pinkney, James Monroe, and George W. Erving.

The object of this communication is to give some account of the diplomatic services of *George William Erving*. The first post offered to him was that of Chargé d'Affaires in Portugal. On July 22, 1804, President Jefferson asked him to take the agency of our affairs, or the consulate, in Tunis. These he was constrained to decline on account of duties to his father, far advanced in life and insulated in some degree in London by reason of his decided loyalty to the United States. These proffers were made because of the efficiency and ability he had shown as agent in London for managing claims and appeals, under the treaty "for the relief of seamen," in the High Court of Admiralty and before the Board of Commissioners. Jefferson, to whom he was introduced by letter from Samuel Adams, and Madison, to whom he was presented by Governor Monroe in Richmond, so confided in him that, despite the resignations, he was, on Nov. 22, 1804, without solicitation, appointed Secretary to the Legation at Madrid. He promptly

proceeded from London to his post, and began a career marked by most beneficial services to his country. In the absence of his chief, Hon. James Bowdoin, his cousin, who never reached Madrid, the appointment as Secretary resulted in Erving's becoming and continuing Chargé d'Affaires. The Instructions to Bowdoin were repeated to Erving. He was to look after the spoliations of Spanish cruisers, and considering the manner in which the mission of Monroe and Pinkney terminated, — the "obstinate refusal to meet reasonable overtures" and the posture of relations between the two countries, — he was specially charged to take no steps towards their revival, but also not to conceal the cause of the reserve. He was to observe the ordinary civilities incident to a state of peace, and to be specially watchful of Spanish cruisers and of the rights of American citizens. The serious condition of affairs when Erving became the sole representative of our country at Madrid may be inferred from the remarks made by Monroe, Secretary of State, in 1811, in an unofficial talk with Señor Bernabue, the Spanish consul. Mr. Monroe affirmed that authentic documents existed in the Department of State which showed that Spanish Ministers in Washington had sought to excite discontent, had suggested means for, and by intrigues had endeavored to promote, the dismemberment of the Republic, and that spoliations on American commerce had never been adjusted, notwithstanding a convention between the two countries had provided therefor.

The arrival of Erving in Madrid occurred at a time of much agitation. The great naval battle of Trafalgar had been fought the year before. In 1806 there was open discord in the royal family. The feuds in the household were matters of common notoriety, and caused embarrassment in political circles. The first visible symptom of impending convulsion was the arrest of Ferdinand, Prince of Asturias, by order of his father, Charles IV. The breach was caused by a secret application of the Prince to Bonaparte, but he was released on mentioning the names of his advisers. Manuel Godoy, Prince of Peace, a favorite of the Queen, was suspected of having most ambitious schemes in alliance with Napoleon. Erving says, in a letter to Madison, August 10, 1807, that the Emperor of France made an offer of the electorate of Hanover to Godoy, for which, over and above the troops furnished, he paid a considerable sum of money out of his own funds. The results of the war made necessary another disposition of the territory, and the Prince was told that he should have provision made for him elsewhere; but believing that imperial promises were made only to deceive him, "he was furious." Popular indignation was strong against the reigning sovereign, and he, the Queen, and Godoy projected an escape to some of the dependencies in America; but their departure was frustrated by the friends of Ferdinand. Erving cultivated pleasant relations with the

"power behind the throne," and had several unofficial communications with him in reference to the wishes of the United States. He speaks well of Godoy in his administration of public affairs, and characterizes him as a "perfect courtier" and an "adept politician."

This strange man, born at Badajoz in 1768, had a marvellous history. Some of our romance writers would need little invention to take the incidents of his checkered career and weave them into a thrilling story. Ford, in his unique book on Spain, the piquancy and freshness of which have been emasculated in the later editions of Murray's Handbook, indulges freely his Hispano-and-Franco-phobia, and speaks of Godoy as "a toady," Charles IV.'s "wife's minion," "vile tool of Bonaparte," "impoverishing and bartering away the kingdom," "stipulating only, mean to the last, for filthy lucre and pensions." In 1808, at Aranjuez, in order to save Godoy, the object of search and vengeance on the part of soldiers and mob, Charles IV. abdicated in favor of Ferdinand VII., who arrived in Madrid on the 23d of March. On the same day entered the city Achille Murat, — the French having invaded Spain and pushed their conquests and occupation as far as the capital. Murat had no purpose, under instructions from his imperial brother-in-law, to give more than the faintest semblance of acquiescence in the claims of Ferdinand, and soon shoved him aside as a useless supernumerary. He arrogated the Presidency of the Supreme Junta of Spain; and the weak and timid Ferdinand, influenced by the threats or promises of Napoleon, ingloriously left the country and joined the remainder of the royal family at Bayonne, where he soon ceded to Napoleon all his rights to the Spanish Crown, and afterwards importuned him for a princess of the Imperial family.[1] In June, Napoleon transferred these rights to his brother Joseph, to whom Ferdinand obsequiously sent his felicitations on his victories over the Spanish armies, whom he called "the rebel subjects of Joseph." Joseph sent an address to the Spanish nation, and soon followed to Madrid, where on the 25th June he was proclaimed king. A few days prior to the proclamation the houses of the foreign ministers were illuminated, the compliment having been invited by the usual notification. None of the ministers, however, received credentials to Joseph, and in a month or two he was obliged to fly and Madrid was evacuated by the French. Joseph's head-quarters continually shifted. The proverbial loyalty of Spaniards to the throne was fully tested, and the absent and contemptible sovereign was proclaimed king with pomp and ceremony and illuminations and bull-fights. The country was governed in a very irregular manner, — the provinces by Juntas and the nation by a Supreme Junta, which moved the seat of authority according to the exigencies of war, the

[1] Edinburgh Review, February, 1815, p. 505.

advance or the receding of the army of invasion. Subsequently, in the winter, the French reoccupied Madrid, and Joseph also reappeared.

It would be foreign to the purpose of this sketch to trace the military movements in the Peninsula, large materials for which exist in Mr. Erving's minute and interesting despatches, or the fugitive and changeable governments in Spain, or the difficulties of residence and transportation which befell our faithful representative in his efforts to be "near" the seat of authority and to avail himself of the whims and caprices and necessities of the Ministry, in order to adjust pending disputes, or to seize an opportune moment for acquiring Florida.

In 1809, April 14, Erving obtained from the migratory Supreme Junta an order for the release of American vessels detained at Algeciras, the port near Gibraltar; and a month later he was successfully remonstrating against the British search of American vessels and imprisonment of American seamen in the harbor of Cadiz. Commanders of British men of war claimed the right to board any merchant vessel and seize and carry off any British subjects liable to military duty; as is well known, this claim of the Right of Search and Impressment led to the War of 1812 for Free Trade and Sailors' Rights.

In execution of his grasping continental policy, Napoleon sought to cripple Great Britain by his famous Berlin and Milan Decrees, which declared Great Britain to be in a state of blockade, prohibited all intercourse with her, and pronounced all goods of British origin to be lawful prize. The Government of Great Britain retaliated by the first Orders in Council, in 1807, which prohibited all trade with France and her European possessions which did not pass through England, and in 1809 by another series, which revived "underhand and in detail," as said the "Edinburgh Review," the monopoly of 1807. These belligerent acts affected all neutral nations, nearly annihilated all neutral trade, and were particularly harmful to the growing trade of the United States. Our Embargo Act of 1807–1808, coerced by the European measures so hostile to our shipping and commerce, caused complaints in Spain, especially as enforced against Florida. Erving successfully replied to Cevallos, the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs, that the United States could not discriminate in favor of Spain, nor show partiality to her, especially as Spain herself had issued decrees similar to those of Berlin and Milan, and had sustained the policy which necessitated our defensive and retaliatory measures.

For a portion of this time the relation of Erving to the Spanish Government was one of peculiar delicacy and of much personal embarrassment, and much of his intercourse was necessarily informal and unofficial. Chevalier Onis, the Spanish Representative in Washington, *demanded* to be received officially, — the recognition of the United States being very important to his struggling country, — but our Gov-

ernment would not deviate from its deliberate purpose to avoid every act whatever which might have a tendency to afford to either of the belligerents even a pretext of complaint. While the possession of the sovereignty was in doubt, the President refused to recognize prematurely either claimant, Ferdinand or Joseph. Mr. Erving exercised most scrupulous caution not to commit himself or his Government, and at the same time the utmost tact and diligence in watching for and guarding the interests of American commerce and citizens.

Early in February, 1810, the French occupied points around Cadiz and besieged the neighboring Isle de Leon, which was at that time the seat of Government. A pacific proposition from Joseph, then at Seville, to the city of Cadiz was indignantly rejected, and he was bluntly informed that Cadiz acknowledged no king but Ferdinand. The Supreme Junta, having to disperse, appointed a Council of Regency of five members. It is characteristic of Spanish character to hold on in an unequal contest. Defeats and disasters do not subdue. When all seems lost, a display of superhuman courage and the employment of means apparently the most inadequate revive hopes and expel or cripple invaders. In one of his despatches to Secretary Robert Smith, written in 1809, Erving bears testimony to what he had observed. Speaking of the Supreme Junta and of the obstinacy of the contest, he refers to their unquestioned patriotism, indefatigable zeal, undaunted firmness in the midst of most pressing dangers, individual disinterestedness, vast labors under difficult circumstances, struggling without despair of the public cause against the disadvantages of its own feeble texture, the impossibility of bringing into operation interior resources of the country, insufficiency of those from abroad, vigor of the enemy without, activity of intrigue and treason within, the disorganization and dispersion of armies, the total defection of allies on one side and the total subjugation on the other.

While this contest was waging and all Spain seemed to be occupied by hostile forces and there was a time "of terror and confusion," Mr. Erving, writing from an American vessel in the harbor of Cadiz, said the Government would probably excuse his retiring from his post. The Secretary of State, Nov. 1, 1809, had written, "Whether the interest or the honor of the United States may require you to remain or to withdraw, is a question to be submitted to your sound discretion, to be exercised according to circumstances," after the despatches of Onis should reach the Supreme Junta. That his departure might not be considered "abrupt, precipitate, or clandestine," Mr. Erving spoke on the streets of Cadiz and to prominent persons of his intention; and that he might profit by any reverse in the current of affairs he went on board an English ship and sailed to Gibraltar. The Spanish and English being driven from their stronghold and the Government of

the Regency having been removed to Cadiz, Mr. Erving felt there was no sufficient reason for remaining longer, and so he returned to America by way of London, reaching New York on August 1, 1810.

Wellington's victory at Salamanca, in 1812, drove Soult out of Seville and Joseph out of Madrid, and on August 14 Madrid surrendered to the Iron Duke.

The Government did not permit Erving to enjoy his leisure very long. Needing his diplomatic experience and ability, the President, on Jan. 5, 1812, appointed him a special Minister to Copenhagen, charged with the subject of spoliations committed under the Danish flag on the commerce of the United States. Having had his audience on June 5, he entered at once, on the 6th, 7th, and 8th, *in medias res*, asking a settlement of pending questions, and on the 23d he reports that since his arrival the depredations of the Danish privateers had been discontinued. During his residence he was active in the protection of American commerce and in securing the release of captured vessels. The Napoleonic wars unsettled all public law and apparently legalized all violations of neutral rights. In a despatch of Feb. 12, 1813, Erving reports with grave satisfaction, "I hope to make it evident that our Government has afforded as effectual and complete protection to commerce during the last year, as it is possible for neutral commerce in these times to receive." He took leave May 12, 1813, having successfully finished within eleven months the business for which he was sent.

In 1814 the French under the combined assaults of Spain and England had suffered such reverses that Ferdinand was able to return to his native country and begin his tyrannical reign. Six years of suffering and losses caused by the war covering the whole area of the Peninsula were not easy to repair. Exile and other misfortunes ought to have taught some lessons of wisdom, but Ferdinand was an accentuated Bourbon and utterly unteachable. Moderate measures initiated the return, but the ill-fitting mask was soon discarded and the true character of the despot was made manifest. The arrest and imprisonment of many men of prominence consolidated the authority and power of the King. The potent influence of the clergy was invoked in his behalf, and readily obtained. The Constitution of 1812 was trampled under foot. Freedom of the press was abolished.

Anthony Morris, of Pennsylvania, a worthy citizen who had been President of the State Senate, having been empowered as Special Agent in Madrid to make and receive informal communications, had an interview with the Minister for Foreign Affairs in reference to the landing of British troops in Florida, thus violating the neutrality of Spain and giving practical aid to our enemy during war. He was treated, according to his own statement, with "cold contempt."

The President, learning during the recess of the Senate that the Government of Spain was re-established and that Ferdinand was seated on the throne with the consent of the nation, and ever anxious to promote a good understanding between the two countries, immediately decided on sending a full Minister to Spain. He made choice of Erving, who, after voluntarily closing his mission in Copenhagen, was travelling in the south of Europe, and on August 11, 1814, commissioned him as Minister Plenipotentiary to a country where he had served so faithfully and honorably. This was a just recognition of skill, fidelity, and ability. The original letter, yellow and dingy, written partly in cipher, signed "J. Monroe," Secretary of State, enclosing the commission, is still preserved in the archives of the Legation at Madrid.

Such were the irritations growing out of the past, that the passports asked for were refused, and it was near two years before Erving was received. During the interval Mr. Erving wrote, on March 16, 1815, that Anthony Morris, on the refusal of the Spanish Government to receive the regularly accredited minister, had flattered himself that he could be promoted to the post, and so was privy to personal objections to Erving, based on his intimacy and negotiations with the King of Naples — Achille Murat — when he was lieutenant of Napoleon at Madrid. As afterwards became manifest, the nomination was specially acceptable to Ferdinand, because when Erving was Chargé he adhered to the popular cause (which was Ferdinand's) during the French invasion under Napoleon.

The Spanish Minister at Washington, Señor Luis de Onis, had so offended our Government by his "intrigues and turbulence" that all official communication with him had ceased. In 1811 President Madison transmitted to the Senate and House an intercepted letter of Onis, in which he spoke "of the servile meanness and adulation of the Administration in relation to their oracle, Bonaparte," and of the little hope of obtaining anything favorable "but by energy, by force, and by chastisement." Subsequent events had not mollified the unpleasantness, rather aggravated it, and it was unnecessary for Erving to proceed to his post. In fact, the refusal of the application for safe conduct was tantamount to a rejection. On Jan. 17, 1815, the Secretary of State, in a direct communication to Cevallos, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, informed him of the desire of the United States to reopen the diplomatic relations which had been suspended during the struggle for the Spanish Monarchy. The territory of Spain being then in the possession of nearly equal contending armies, victory sometimes favoring each and the ultimate issue altogether precarious, the United States could not undertake to decide and refused to interfere between the competitors or make itself a party to the disputes respecting the Spanish Monarchy. The situation was now different; and serious as were the objections to

Onis, "not bred in doctrines of political purity, and scarcely capable of believing in the total absence of those corrupt practices so familiar to him," the President had notwithstanding received informal communications from him. It being understood that Ferdinand desired that Onis should be received, the Government was willing, as an act of courtesy to his Government, to forego its objections and acknowledge him as the Spanish Minister. As Mr. Erving had been practically rejected, explanations of the condition of affairs and of the mind of the President could not be made; but now the President hoped that Mr. Erving would be received and mutual diplomatic intercourse be restored. To this request Anthony Morris was authorized by the Spanish Government to reply that there never had been any personal objection to Mr. Erving, and passports would be regularly issued to him.

Mr. Erving, knowing that he would not be received until Onis was, had returned to America, and on March 11, 1816, the Secretary of State wrote, "You will set out in discharge of the duties of your mission to Spain as soon after the receipt of this letter as circumstances will permit." The restoration of intercourse furnished, it was thought, a favorable opportunity for the settlement of every difference with that power. The former grievances remained unsettled, and because of the strained relations of the long European conflict new ones had been added. The spoliations on American commerce, the injuries which grew out of the suppression of the right of deposit at New Orleans, the settlement on just principles of the boundaries of Louisiana, and the acquisition of Florida, were the important matters intrusted to the new Envoy. On his arrival in Madrid an audience was not promptly given as he had been led to expect, and this drew from him an earnest and dignified letter of remonstrance which secured his reception.

In August, 1818, the Spanish Government suspended all negotiations with our Minister, in consequence of General Jackson's military operations in Florida, and severe charges were made against the American Government. It was not until the next year that Erving was able to place before the Spanish Minister the full text of a despatch of John Quincy Adams sustaining General Jackson and casting the entire blame on Spain. While many occasions have arisen in our history for the vindication of the country from aspersions and for the assertion of the great principles of international law as applicable to a Republic, it may well be doubted whether the archives of the State Department contain a document more lucid in its statement of facts, more overwhelming in logic, more exalted in its principles, or breathing a loftier and more defiant tone of manly, indignant, large-souled patriotism, than this letter of Mr. Adams.

During Mr. Erving's ministry occurred that singular but profitable episode in our national life, known as the Algerine War. The Barbary

States in North Africa for many years pursued a system of brigandage and semi-piracy, and were regular freebooters on the sea. Singularly, the riparian States of the Mediterranean and other European nations, from having as much on their hands as they could well manage, yielded to these insults and exactions. Treaties even were negotiated recognizing the right to tribute money.[1] One was concluded in 1795 with the United States, and in the course of years the demands of the Algerine Government became so impudent and unreasonable that it was necessary to resist them. Vessels of the United States were detained for the payment of about $21,600, due annually in naval stores under the treaty, and for certain other sums resting on usage, as $20,000 on presentation of a Consul, $17,000 of biennial presents to the officers of the Government, and some incidental and contingent presents for various other things. The Dey of Algiers, grown insolent by his successful levies of blackmail, committed outrages on American and other consuls, seized vessels as prizes, and condemned captives to slavery. In 1815, "the moment we had brought to an honorable conclusion our war with a nation the most powerful in Europe on the seas," a squadron, under command of Commodore Decatur, was detached from our naval force, and sent to the Mediterranean to take satisfaction for the wrongs which Algiers had done to us. The Commodore sought, found, and attacked the Algerine fleet and made prize of two ships, one of them the principal ship commanded by the Admiral. This brilliant victory forced a treaty of peace, concluded by Decatur and Shaler, the American Consul-General at Algiers, on the one side, and the Dey of Algiers on the other. In this treaty all pretensions to tribute, under any name or form, were relinquished. The gallant Commodore required the negotiations to be conducted on board the American fleet, and refused to suspend hostilities even while the negotiations were pending. To a petition for a truce of three hours to deliberate on the terms the laconic response was, "Not a minute." In three hours, although the distance from the vessel to the shore was five miles, the treaty was returned signed, and the same boat brought the liberated prisoners. A happy instance, worthy of imitation, of relaxation of the Moorish habit of procrastination!

In 1816 the Dey, under the flimsy pretext that the stipulations of the treaty had not been complied with, addressed a letter to Mr. Madi-

[1] On Feb. 5, 1802, Mr. Erving writes privately from London to Mr. Madison: "Mr. King, I presume, has informed you that the present of jewels, &c., has been sent to the Bey of Tunis; the guns and pistols are preparing, the stocks studded with diamonds *according to his direction*. Knowing that this is the last tribute he will receive, I may venture to say I was never more mortified than when by Mr. King's desire I went to see these presents put up and despatched, or felt greater contempt for that miserable acquiescence in European policy which first induced us to pay these robbers."

son, declaring the treaty annulled and presenting the alternative of war or the revival of the former treaty with its annual tribute. The Department found the Arabic missive a puzzle, and much time elapsed before a translation could be obtained. It was finally put into English, and a copy of it and the reply were forwarded to the Legation at Madrid. I am not violating instructions as to secrecy of archives by inserting as a diplomatic curiosity a copy of the letter, which I discovered in a mass of unbound and unclassified letters:—

TRANSLATION.

With the aid and assistance of Divinity and in the reign of our Sovereign, the Asylum of the World, powerful and Great Monarch, transactor of all good actions, the best of men, the shadow of God, Director of the good order, King of Kings, Supreme Ruler of the World, Emperor of the Earth, Emulator of Alexander the Great, possessor of great forces, sovereign of the two Worlds and of the Seas, King of Arabia and Persia, Emperor, Son of an Emperor and Conqueror, Mahmood han (may God end his life with prosperity and his reign be everlasting and glorious) His humble and obedient Servant actual Sovereign, Governor and Chief of Algiers, submitted forever to the orders of his Imperial Majesty's Noble Throne, *Omer Pasha* (may his government be happy and prosperous).

To His Majesty the Emperor of America, its adjacent and depending provinces and Coasts, and wherever his government may extend, our noble friend, the support of Kings of the Nations of Jesus, the Pillar of all Christian Sovereigns, the most glorious amongst the Princes, elected amongst many Lords and Nobles, the happy, the great, the amiable, James Madison Emperor of America (may his reign be happy and glorious, and his life long and prosperous) wishing him long possession of the Seat of his blessed Throne, and long life and health, Amen. Hoping that your health is in good state I inform you that mine is excellent (thanks to the Supreme Being) constantly addressing my humble prayers to the Almighty for your felicity.

After many years have elapsed, you have at last sent a Squadron Commanded by Admiral Decatur (your most humble servant) for the purpose of treating of peace with us; I received the letter of which he was the bearer and understood its contents; the enmity which existed between us having been extinguished, you desired to make peace as France and England have done. Immediately after the arrival of your Squadron in our harbour I sent my answer to your Servant the Admiral through the medium of the Swedish Consul, whose proposals I was disposed to agree to on condition that our frigate and Sloop of War, taken by you, should be restored to us and brought back to Algiers; on these same Conditions we would sign peace according to your wishes and request: our answer having thus been explained to your Servant the Admiral by the Swedish Consul he agreed to treat with us on the above mentioned conditions; but having afterwards insisted upon the restitution of all American Citizens as well as upon a certain sum of money for several Merchant Vessels made prizes by us and of every other object belonging to the Americans, We did not hesi-

tate a moment to comply with his wishes and in consequence of which we have restored to the said Admiral (your Servant) all that he demanded from us; in the meantime the said Admiral having given his word to send back our two Ships of War and not having performed his promise, he has thus violated the faithful articles of peace which were signed between us, and by so doing a new treaty must be made.

I inform you therefore that a Treaty of peace having been signed between America and us during the reign of *Hassan Pasha* twenty years past I propose to renew the said Treaty on the same basis specified in it and if you agree to it our friendship will be solid and lasting.

I intended to be on the highest terms of amity with our friends the Americans than ever before, being the first Nation with which I made peace, but as they have not been able to put into execution our present Treaty, it appears necessary for us to treat on the above mentioned conditions. We hope with the assistance of God that you will answer this our letter immediately after you shall have a perfect knowledge of its contents, if you agree (according to our request) to the conditions specified in the said Treaty, please to send us an early answer, if on the contrary you are not satisfied with my propositions, you will act against the sacred duty of men and against the laws of Nations, requesting only that you will have the goodness to remove your Consul as soon as possible, assuring you it will be very agreeable to us.

These being our last words to you We pray God to keep you in his holy guard.

Written in the year of Hegira 1231 the 20 day of the month Dyemaziel evvel — corresponding to A. D. 1816 April 24.

Signed in our well guarded City of Algiers.

Signed OMAR *Son of Moohammed Conqueror and Great.*[1]

[1] An analogous but inferior specimen of royal grandiloquence and titular display may be seen in the commission issued to Gardoqui in 1784. It begins thus: "Don Carlos by the grace of God King of Castile, of Leon, of Arragon, of the two Sicilies, of Jerusalem, of Navarre, of Granada, of Toledo, of Valencia, of Galicia, of Majorca, of Seville, of Sardinia, of Cordova, of Corsica, of Murcia, of Jaen, of the East and West Indies Islands and Terra Firma, of the Ocean sea, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy, of Brabant and Milan, Count of Apsburg, of Flanders, Tirol and Barcelona, Lord of Biscay, of Molina, &c."

One of the complaints of the Dey was that the bounty was paid in money instead of certain naval stores, etc., of which he was in need. English history furnishes us an example of a complaint exactly the reverse. When Catherine of Braganza, the Infanta of Portugal, was betrothed in 1662 to Charles II., her dowry, among other things, was to consist of the territory of Tangier and £500,000 sterling, ready money. The Earl of Sandwich was despatched with a fleet to take possession of Tangier and, on his return, to conduct the Queen to England. The Queen Mother, unable to pay more than one half of her daughter's portion, pledged herself to pay the residue within the year. The Ambassador, reluctantly consenting to receive the moiety, was soon confounded and mortified by the discovery that the sum, instead of being paid in ready money, was delivered in the form of bags of sugar, spices, and other merchandise.

The President to this gasconade replied in a dignified manner, saying that the United States preferred war to tribute, and demanding the observance of the late treaty which inhibited tribute and the enslavement of captives. "The United States, while they wish for war with no nation, will buy peace of none. It is a principle incorporated into the settled policy of America, that as peace is better than war, war is better than tribute." Decatur, "generous and brave," had promised, not as a stipulation of the treaty, but as "a compliment and a favor" to the Dey, to restore to Algerine officers the captured vessels "as they were," and to furnish an escort; and he fulfilled his pledge by putting the vessel in the possession of an Algerine officer at Carthagena. The frigate arrived at an early day at Algiers; but the Spanish Government alleged that the capture of the brig had taken place so near the Spanish shore as to be an unlawful prize, and detained it at Carthagena. The Dey pretended and insisted that the restoration was an essential part of the treaty. The Commodore, blunt and honest and just as he was brave, flatly contradicted the Dey. The Spanish Government, which might easily have prevented any disagreement, finally set at liberty the vessel, "as an act of comity to the United States," and, as Onis said, without any equivalent from Algiers and with a view to prevent any misunderstanding. Some controversy arose between Spain and the United States, in which Erving represented his Government with his usual energy, tact, and intelligence. The Instructions, May 30, 1816, explicit and full, required him to use his best endeavors for a satisfactory accommodation of the affair. The Dey said he received the brig from Spain for a consideration, and demanded in consequence indemnity equal to her value and the ransom of the crew. This claim was "too unjust and absurd to admit of any discussion;" and Instructions were accordingly issued to Commodore Chauncey "to protect our commerce from Algerine piracy," and to act in reference to such a state of things as the recommencement of hostilities by the Dey might create.

From the beginning until the close of Mr. Erving's ministry in Spain, he never lost sight of his original Instructions. With an infinity of smaller and more harassing matters pressing upon him, he nevertheless kept his eye steadily on the graver questions which he knew his Government to have most at heart. By all the means, personal and official, which a Representative can properly use, by cultivating pleasant social relations with members of the royal family, the various Governments and influential Spaniards, by a thorough acquaintance with the principles of international law and whatever of history or fact might bear on the subjects pending, by exhibition of sympathy with Spain in her heroic struggle for independence, by patience and cheerfulness and perseverance which no one can compre-

hend who has not had to deal with the pride, the obstinacy, the perverse and worrying procrastination of a Spanish Government, he pursued the tenor of his way for fifteen years, until at last the great work was consummated and Florida became an integral portion of the American Union. From 1802 until 1818 a Convention for the adjustment of Claims was unratified by Spain, and when finally accepted Mr. Erving was quick to construe it as preliminary to a like adjustment of other claims, and as laying a foundation for an amicable and early settlement of the territorial questions then under discussion. In the April number, 1888, of the "Magazine of American History," I have given a somewhat minute detail of the negotiations connected with the acquisition of Florida, — a national event whose importance cannot be overestimated, — and I need not here repeat the narrative. John Quincy Adams, in announcing John Forsyth as his successor, wrote to Mr. Erving: "Accept my congratulations upon the termination of a negotiation . . . in which you have taken so distinguished a part." Dr. Francis Wharton says, in his "Digest of International Law": "I ought to say that an examination of his (Erving's) communications to this Government during his mission to Spain has impressed me with a conviction that to his sagacity and good sense our settlement with Spain in 1822 was largely due." The verdict of the impartial investigator must be that the nation owes to none of her citizens a debt of gratitude larger and truer, for this increase of her territory and peaceable settlement of an irritating question, than to George William Erving.

The health of Mr. Erving had been impaired by the treacherous climate of Madrid and the laboriousness of his duties. Long absence from home made attention to his private affairs a necessity. He therefore submitted repeated requests to have a successor appointed and to be allowed to return. On Nov. 28, 1818, John Q. Adams wrote: "The President has determined to nominate a successor to your Mission, and has directed me to authorize you, as soon after the receipt of this letter as you shall judge expedient, with reference to the publick interest and as may suit your convenience, to take leave of the Court of Spain. . . . The critical state of our relations with Spain during the whole of the past year and the reluctance which the President could not but feel at permitting your faithful and valuable services to be withdrawn from the public affairs, has hitherto delayed his compliance with your desire. He directs me to assure you that the vigilance, firmness, zeal, and assiduity with which you have conducted the affairs of the Mission have given him entire satisfaction and enhance his regret at the necessity under which you have found yourself of retiring from the public service." Mr. Erving took leave on April 29, 1819.

It would not be in accordance with strict historical accuracy to allow this narration of Mr. Erving's resignation and of his connection with the acquisition of Florida to close here. In a letter written from Paris, Jan. 6, 1845, he says he "returned from Spain in a state of great irritation and mortification, not, as Mr. Adams has supposed, because the negotiation had been removed to Washington, but because in the course of it I had been treated with indignity; because that when, under the full persuasion that I could obtain the Colorado (with desert) as limit, I asked for full powers, I was told that my powers were sufficient, as though powers to negotiate were powers to sign a treaty; because I was instructed to go on negotiating for a limit west of the Sabine under the reinforced assurance that the Rio Bravo was the rightful boundary of Louisiana, whilst it had been predetermined by President Monroe to cede all the territory in dispute, even to the Sabine; because, though I had repeatedly informed the Government of all that related to the 'royal grants,' the treaty had been so made as not to exclude *all* those grants: these were my griefs, added to that total inattention of the Secretary to my repeated application for leave of absence, which forced my resignation. On all these matters I complained bitterly to the President, and supported my complaints by a syllabus of the correspondence carefully extracted from the records in the Department of State."

In 1844 the annexation of Texas was the pivotal issue of the "Presidential campaign," and provoked much excited discussion. General Jackson, having been furnished with a copy of Mr. Erving's syllabus, enforced by "verbal revelations," charged that the United States had lost important territory, when it was at its option to retain it, by taking the negotiation out of Mr. Erving's hands and transferring it to Washington. This greatly provoked John Quincy Adams, who, as Secretary of State, had concluded the negotiation on the part of our Government. In an address, made in Tremont Temple to the young men of Boston (which I heard, being at that time a student in Dane Law School), Mr. Adams made an acrimonious reply and defence of himself, going so far as to assail the character of Mr. Erving's deceased father. Mr. Adams sought, producing and reading from his diary, to vindicate himself from the reproach of having inopportunely transferred the negotiation from Madrid to Washington, and charged Erving with having transcended his "powers and instructions," which "authorized him to accept of the Sabine as our ultimatum." He also affirmed that "the Spanish Government never did offer a line one inch to the westward of the Sabine."

This is not the occasion *tantas componere lites*, and into the merits of the controversy I shall not enter. It is due to Mr. Erving to state that he published two able letters, Nov. 12, 1844, and Jan. 6, 1845,

in which he conceded that the first transference of negotiations he advised because he found it impossible to advance one step in negotiation with Cevallos, "that most impracticable, inefficient, inapt, and indolent of all ministers." After the dismissal of Cevallos and the appointment of Pizarro, of which Mr. Adams was notified, the negotiation was renewed at Madrid and subsequently transferred to Washington. This re-transference was with Erving's consent, as explained in his despatches, because mainly of restriction upon his powers and "mystification" in the correspondence. It was not the transfer of the negotiations which ired him, or with which Mr. Adams was reproached, but that "he closed the negotiations at Washington on less favorable terms than might have been obtained at Madrid had he ordered the continuation of negotiations there." Mr. Erving insisted that he was prevented from making a better treaty by keeping from his hands the means of making it. He had contended for "the line of the Colorado" instead of the Sabine, as the "Rio Bravo del Norte had always been deemed by our Government to be the proper limit of Louisiana," and his confidence of success was based on "the disposition of the Spanish Government, under the influence of Pizarro, most favorable to the adjustment of the boundary question." It was on "an intimate acquaintance with the character of Pizarro, his conciliatory disposition, his frankness, and good faith," that Erving founded and adhered to the opinion that the limit of the Colorado might have been agreed to and ought to have been insisted upon.

Mr. Erving was afterwards appointed to Constantinople, but declined to accept, as the Mission was of an inferior grade to what he had held in Denmark and in Spain.

Erving was a graduate of Oxford, and a man of scholarly tastes and acquirements. His despatches are models of elegant composition, showing the thoroughly trained mind and large and accurate information. Some of them, if published, would be valuable contributions to history. Before the days of railways, steamboats, and telegraphs, and the modern newspaper, it was the habit of diplomats to write full despatches, in which were minute accounts of military movements, of political changes, of social customs, of personal adventure, and even of court scandals. Mr. Erving was in the Peninsula at a most interesting period, and his descriptions of campaigns and estimates of men show the scholarly and industrious observer.

Mr. Winthrop gives this testimony from President Madison: "I never had a more capable and faithful Minister than Mr. Erving, nor one for whom I had a greater regard."

Mr. Erving was not a warrior, nor an orator (although ambassadors were originally called orators), nor a popular author (although he wrote a learned and useful book on the Basque Language, the Sphinx of

Philologists), nor a statesman in the more limited sense of being a legislator or Cabinet officer, framing laws and moulding the internal policy of a government; and yet he was a sagacious statesman in securing an indispensable territorial possession which under a foreign flag would have been a perpetual irritant. The business of diplomacy is to secure peace, settle or lessen differences, and prevent hostilities. The acquisition of Florida, although the negotiation was protracted, irritating, patience-trying, and although the two countries were often on the narrow edge of war, was at last made without a drop of human blood. How much better than the hurried acquisition of Texas at the cost of a bloody war and a continuous feud between neighboring republics! Florida, as she prefers free government to subordination to a foreign monarchy, as she values her co-equality in a Union of States, ought to link the name of Erving to her history by calling after him a City or County or Institution of learning.

J. L. M. Curry.

July, 1889.

Judge Chamberlain alluded to the large amount of historical work which had been done by Professor Johnston.

Mr. James B. Thayer, Professor of Law, at Cambridge, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

Dr. Dexter then read the following statement: —

In the third number of the first volume of "Genealogical Gleanings in England," from the pen of Mr. Henry F. Waters, A.M., and published by the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, on pages 254, 255, of its "Register" for 1889 is given what purports to be a copy of the nuncupative will of William Mullins of the "Mayflower" Company, from the London Probate Records. It is prefaced by the date of 2 (12) April, 1621; which was forty days after Mr. Mullins's death, as given by Prince,[1] and three days before — by the same authority — the "Mayflower" started on her return voyage. By this will, of a special sum of £40, in the hands of Goodman Woods, Mr. Mullins gave £10 to his wife, £10 to his son Joseph, £10 to his daughter Priscilla, and £10 to his eldest son William, Jr. He further gave to William, Jr., all his debts, bonds, and bills, — the above £40 excepted, — "with all the stock in his owne hands." He gave his eldest daughter Sarah, who appears in the probate of the will as

[1] New England Chronology, pt. i. p. 98.

Sarah Blunden, 10*s.* out of his son's stock. Of the goods which he has "in Virginia" (i. e., New England) he gives to wife Alice one half, and to son Joseph and daughter Priscilla one quarter each. He has twenty-one dozen of shoes and thirteen pairs of boots, which he will put into the Company's hands for £40, at seven years' end, if they like; if that be too dear, the overseers (executors) of his will may arrange it as they think good. Should the Company take them at that rate, he will have nine shares at the dividend, — of which he gives two to wife Alice, two each to sons William and Joseph and daughter Priscilla, and one to the Company. If his son William, Jr., will come to Virginia, he gives him his share of land. Furthermore he gives to the two overseers — Mr. John Carver and Mr. Williamson — 20*s.* apiece to see his will performed, desiring them to have a kind care of his wife and children, and be as fathers and friends to them, and also to have a special eye to his man Robert (Carter) in whom he has been disappointed.

This is attested as a copy of Mr. Mullins's will "of all particulars he hathe given," by John Carver, Giles Heale, and Christopher Joanes.

From the "Probate Act Book for 1621 and 1622," it further appears that on the 23d July (2d August) following, the will was probated in London, by Sarah Blunden, the legitimate daughter of William Mullins, who is further described as "nup̃ de Dorking, in Com̃ Surr̃."

The following suggestions are offered in view of these facts: —

1. The theory that William Mullins (or Molines) of the "Mayflower" Company, was a Walloon who joined Robinson's company in Holland, is disproved. Dr. Charles W. Baird, in his "History of the Huguenot Emigration to America," [1] asserts that he was such. But the name does not appear on the Leyden Records, and the fact that Mullins had lived in England and in Dorking, Surrey, long enough to acquire some estate there, seems conclusive against it.

2. The assertion of Nathaniel Morton,[2] that Mr. Mullins ("a man pious and well-deserving") was "endowed also with a considerable outward Estate," seems to be abundantly confirmed.

[1] Vol. i. p. 158 (1885). [2] New England's Memoriall, p. 22.

3. The appointment of the overseers is significant. The elder two of the children were in England; it was expected that the widow, the younger two children, and the somewhat wayward servant would need to be cared for in this country; while part of the estate seems to have been there, and part here. Therefore John Carver was chosen to administer affairs on this side of the sea, and it looks as if his associate "Mr. Williamson" were selected to do like service in England. Mourt's "Relation" (p. 36) states that when, 22 March (1 April), 1621, which was a fortnight before the "Mayflower" sailed for home, Massasoit and his brother first visited the colonists, "Captain *Standish* and Master *Williamson* met the king at the brooke, with halfe a dozen Musketiers;" and as no man of that name appears upon the list of the Company, or was known otherwise to be on the ground, it has been always supposed that, among the many obvious carelessnesses of the unwatched press of John Bellamie, this name had gotten itself misprinted for that of Allerton, or some other of about the right length. The occurrence of the name here again, however, raises the question whether a man named Williamson were not present with the forlorn colonists, and present in a condition and under circumstances to make his being joined with Governor Carver as an executor of this will eminently probable. I think this question should be answered in the affirmative, but will return to the point after one or two other suggestions.

4. The three witnesses of the will were John Carver, Giles Heale, and Christopher Joanes. Joanes was unquestionably the captain of the "Mayflower." Bradford simply calls him (p. 68) "Mr. Ioans." Morton also (pp. 11, 12) calls him "Mr. Iones." Mourt's "Relation" (p. 4) calls him "Master Iones." Prince (p. 70) copies them. The Rev. Edward D. Neill, in an article in July, 1874, of the "Genealogical Register,"[1] assuming that he was identical with the Jones who was Captain of the "Lion" in 1617, and of the "Discovery" in 1622, declares that his first name was "Thomas." But a careful reading of this article shows that Mr. Neill is mistaken in the claim that he has presented any *proof* of the identity of the men. Producing no evidence whatever, he says "without doubt" they were the same. But the fact that when Jones

[1] Vol. xxviii. p. 314.

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with the "Discovery" visited Plymouth in 1622, Bradford simply (p. 127) says, "a ship comes into y^e^ harbor, *one Captain Jons* being cheefe therin," without hint or suggestion that he was their old acquaintance of the "Mayflower," is, to my mind, conclusive that the captain of the "Discovery" was another Jones. At all events, there was some Christopher Joanes in Plymouth on Monday, 2 (12) April, 1621, who was wanted in London to be a witness at the probate of this Mullins will; and who could he have been if he were not the captain of the "Mayflower," about to sail three days later for London?

One name remains: Giles Heale. Who was he? On the fly-leaf of a copy of Henry Ainsworth's "Psalms in Metre," of the edition of 1618, which I own (used in their service of song in the House of the Lord by the church in Salem for forty years, and by the church in Plymouth for seventy), some former owner has (as I am very apt myself to do) pasted a clipping from some antiquarian bookseller's catalogue, offering (for £2 12*s.* 6*d.*) a copy of the same volume. The bookseller adds: "This is an interesting volume to the American collector, for its first fly-leaf has the following inscription:

"'This booke was given unto M^r^ *Giles Heale, Chirurgion,* by Marke Allerton, Tailor in Virginia, the X. of February, in the year of our Lord 1620: Da. Williams.'"

Virginia was (then) New Plymouth. The "X. of February in the year of our Lord 1620" was Saturday, fifty-one days before the date of the certification of the copying of this will. "*Marke* Allerton" is simply the misreading, by the bookseller, of the *Isaacke* which was written on the fly-leaf; in which connection it is interesting to note that Isaac Allerton is set down in the Leyden Records as being then and there a tailor. Giles Heale was a *chirurgeon*, and I submit was the surgeon of the "Mayflower." A reference to the "Court Records of the East India Company" (p. 89) shows that in fitting out four ships in 1600, the "Scourge," of 600 tons, had four carpenters, four calkers, ten gunners, one steward and steward's mate, one cook and cook's mate, two surgeons and a barber; the "Hector," of 300 tons, had three carpenters, three calkers, six gunners, and the same number of stewards, cooks, and surgeons; the "Assension," of 260 tons, and the "Susan," of

240 tons, had each two carpenters, two calkers, five gunners, and the same number of stewards, cooks, and surgeons as the larger ships. It seems fair to infer, then, that the "Mayflower," of 180 tons, by the same usage, would have been officered with at least one surgeon, and that Giles Heale was his name.

To return now to "Mr. Williamson." You will have noticed that this inscription of presentation from Allerton to Heale seems to have been witnessed by "Da: Williams." I take leave to think that this was an abbreviated or misread chirography for *Williamson;* that the man's first name was David; and that he was the factor, financial agent, or supercargo of the "Mayflower." The East India Records to which I have just referred show (p. 100) one principal and three subordinate factors in each ship, — whence it becomes easy to think that in this West Indian voyage at least some one respectable and thoroughly competent man of business would have accompanied the expedition to look after the interests of the Company, who were risking considerable property with a party of colonists whose obvious poverty made promise hold a much larger place than performance toward the immediate satisfaction of all claims upon them. Grant that Mr. David Williamson was such a man, and held such a post, and his presence with Captain Miles Standish in the interview with the Indian king becomes appropriate and natural, as does the fact that poor Mullins, knowing that Williamson on the return of the ship would take his will over to be probated in London, asked him to be its executor for the benefit of his two children in England, as Governor Carver was desired to look after the interests of his widow and the two younger children and servant here.

Dr. DEXTER also submitted the following communication: —

Elder Brewster's Library.

I have ventured upon the difficult undertaking of interpreting those brief minutes of the Library of Elder William Brewster which are contained in the sworn inventory made, 18–28 May, 1644, by Gov. William Bradford, Assistant Thomas Prence, and the Rev. John Reyner, and recorded in the Plymouth Colony "Book of Wills," vol. i. pp. 53–59. A literal transcript of that inventory was printed by Dr. Justin Winsor, in our Proceedings for March, 1887; and those who recall it

will remember that in but a single instance does the title of a book occupy more than one line, and usually less than half a line, with the briefest and often the blindest possible suggestion of what the volume was. The fact, moreover, that this crude and casual mention of these hurrying inventorists became sometimes still more obscure through the imperfect comprehension and rude spelling of the scribe, and the copyist upon the Records, has added not a little to the task.

I have succeeded beyond any expectation, or even hope, with which I commenced the labor; and I venture to think that the result of my researches may be found worth attention, not merely through its direct interest as an important fact in an honored life, but for the indirect light which it casts upon the early literary history of New England.

I, in each case, prefix, *in ipsissimis verbis*, the language of the inventory, with the price affixed, following this by my suggestion of what the book probably was, and, when known, adding where it may now be found. Where the date is bracketed or queried, it is because there is more than one edition which might have been had, with no means of determining which was had. Those marked thus (*) are in my own collection. *B. M.* is the British Museum.

		£ *s.* *d.*	
1–2.	[2 little chatachismes]	0.0.4	
	[probably] An Appendix to Mr. Perkins his Six Principles of the Christian Religion, by J. R.		1606?
3.	[1 Lambeth on the Will of man]	0.0.2	
	François Lambert: The minde and judgement of maister F. Lambert of Avenna of the wyll of man, declarynge . . . howe . . . it is captyve and bonde, and not free: taken out of hys commentaries upon Osee the Prophete . . . Newelye trāslated into English by N[icholas] L[esse] etc. 8°. *B. M.* [4256. a.]		[1548]
4.	[1 morrall discourse]	0.0.2	
	[possibly] Owen Feltham: Resolves Divine, Morall, Political. 12mo. *B. M.* [G. 10331.]		1620
5.	[Discouery of Spanish Inquisition]	0.0.3	
	Gonsalvius Montanus: A Discovery and playne Declaration of Sundry subtill practises of the Holy Inquisition of Spayne . . . Set forth in Latine, by R. G. M. and newly translated [by V. Skinner.] London, 4°. *B. M.* [4071. c.]		1568
6.	[Johnson on 18th Math.]	0.0.4	
	Francis Johnson: A Short Treatise concerning the Exposition of those Words of Christ,		1611

£ s. d.

Tell the Church, etc. Matt. xviii: 17, etc. Amsterdam? 4°. *B. M.* [608. g. 41.]*

7. [Remaynes of Brittaine] 0.1.0
M. N. [i. e. W. Camden]: Remaines of a greater Worke, Concerning Britaine, the inhabitants thereof, their Languages, Names, Surnames, Empreses, Wise Speeches, poesies and Epitaphes. London, 4°. 1605
B. M. [674. b. 7.]

8. [Description of New England] 0.0.4
John Smith: A Description of New England: or the observations, and discoveries, of Capt. J. Smith in the North of America in the year 1614: with the successe of sixe ships, that went the next yeare 1615; and the accidents befell him among the French men of warre: etc. London, 4°. 1616
B. M. [C. 13. a. 11. (2.)]

9. [Nova Testamenti Malarato] 1.4.0
Avg. Marloratus: Novi Testamenti Catholica expositio ecclesiastica, ex probatis theologis excerpta et diligenter concinnata, sive Bibliotheca Expositionum Nov. Test^{i} —— Geneva, fol. 1605

10. [Tromelius & Junius Biblia Sacra] 0.18.0
Testamenti Veteris Biblia Sacra . . . recens ex Hebræo facti, brevibusque Scholiis illustrati ab I. Tremellio et F. Junio, etc. London, 4°. 1580
B. M. [1409. h. 7.]

11. [Beza noua testament, lat. & gre.] 1.0.0
Jesv Christi D. N. Nouum testamentum, siue Nouum fœdus. Cuius Græco contextui respondent interpretationes duæ: vna, vetus: altera, noua. Theodori Beze, diligenter ab eo recognita, etc. Geneva, fol. 1582

12. [Centuria Selecta] 0.8.0
?[G. Sohnius:] Centuria [Selecta] Epistolarum Theologicarum. [Heidelberg] etc. fol. [1590]

13. [Calvin duodecim pphet] 0.15.0
Ioannis Calvini Prælectiones in Dvodecim Prophetas (quos vocant) Minores, etc. Genevæ, fol. 1567
Prince Lib. [53.7.]

14. [Clauis Scriptura flacio Illirico] 0.15.0
Flacius Illyricus: Clavis Scripturæ s. sev de sermone sacrarum literarum, etc. Basileæ, fol. 1617
Prince Lib. [51.4.]

		£ s. d.	
15.	[Peter Martyr Com. prior ad Corinthos] . . P. Martyr: In 1. Epistolam ad Corinthios Commentarii doctissimi, etc. Tiguri, fol.	0.8.0	1567
16.	[Musculus ad Isaiam & Romanos] . . . . . Wolfgang Moesel: In Esaiam prophetam commentarii locupletissimi: In Epistolam ad Romanos commentarii, nunc demùm magno studio recogniti, cum indice. Basil, fol.	0.12.0	1600
17.	[Regneri prandinī] . . . . . ?? [N. Reusneri symbolorum Imperatoriorum Classis. London, 8°.] *Prince Lib.* [imperfect] [79. a. 4.]	0.2.6	1619
18.	[Œcolumnadī in Ieremia] . . . . . J. Œcolampadius: In Ieremiam prophetam librum. Basil, fol.	0.3.0	1558
19.	[Crisostm, Mattias & Ioannes] . . . . . J. Chrysostom: Homiliæ in Mattheum, et in S. Iohannem Evangelistam, etc. [London] [8°.]	0.6.0	[1590]
20.	[Musculus Psalmos David] . . . . . Wolfgang Moesel: In Davidis Psalterium sacrosanctum Commentarii; in quibus et reliqua Catholicæ Religionis nostræ capita passim, non prætermissis Orthodoxorum etiam Patrum sententiis, ita tractantur, ut Christianus lector nihil desiderare amplius possit. Basil, fol.	0.12.0	1573
21.	[Calvī at Daniel] . . . . . J. Calvini: Prælectiones in Librum Prophetiarum Danielis. I. Budæi & C. Ionuillæi labore excerptæ. Genevæ, fol. *Prince Lib.* [53.12.]	0.5.0	1591
22.	[Calvī on Isā] . . . . . J. Calvini: Commentarii in Isaiam, opera N. Gallasii. Genevæ, fol. *Prince Lib.* [53.6.]	0.15.0	1583
23.	[Musculus ambos Epist ad Corinthos] . . . Wolfgang Moesel: In Apostoli Pauli ambas Epistolas ad Corinthios commentarii. Basil, fol.	0.08.0	1600
24.	[Molleri ad Psalmos] . . . . . Enarrationis Psalmorvm ex Prælectionibvs H. Molleri, novissima editio. Genevæ, fol. *Prince Lib.* [43.2.]	0.10.0	1619
25.	[Lanaterus Esequeh] . . . . . L. Lavaterus: Ecclesiastes Salomonis, cum annotationibus, etc. Tiguri, 4°.	0.05.0	1575?

		£ s. d.	
26.	[Zanchī ad Ephe]	0.06.0	
	C. Zanchi: Commentarii in Epistolam ad Ephesios, etc. [Heidelberg?] fol.		1613
27.	[Syntagma amudo polo Syntagmatis Theologia Christian]	0.10.0	
	Amandus Polanus: Syntagma Theologiæ Christianæ juxta leges ordinis methodici conformatum, fol. Hanoviæ. *Prince Lib.* [60.4.]		1615
28.	[Sulteti Isaiam]	0.05.0	
	Abraham Scultetus: Annotata in Proph. Esaiam, etc. [Amsterdam], 4°.		1614?
29.	[Purei Hoseam]	0.01.0	
	David Pareus: In Hoseam Prophetam Commentarii prolegomena, etc. Heidelberg, 4°. *Prince Lib.* [43.4]		1616
30.	[Gualterin Deluerin, nou. testa.]	0.02.6	
	Rodolph Gualther: Archetypi Homiliarum in quatuor Evang, et Acta Apost, etc. Tiguri, fol.		1601
31.	[Psalm Pagnii.]	0.02.6	
	? S. Pagnini: Psalmi cum Commentario. Antwerp, fol.		1614?
32.	[Pareus in Genosa]	0.08.6	
	D. Pareus: In Genesin Mosis Commentarius, etc. Frankfort, fol. [Mr. W^m^ Brewster, Cam.]		1615
33.	[Piscator in Nova Testament]	0.17.0	
	J. Piscator: Commentarii in omnes Libros Novi Testamenti, quibus continentur: 1. Analysis logica singulorum librorum et capita; 2. Scholia in singula capita; 3. Obseruationes locorum doctrinæ è singulis capitibus. London, 8°.		1594?
34.	[Pareus ad Romanos]	0.05.0	
	D. Pareus: Commentarius in Epistolam ad Romanos. Francof, 4°.		1608
35.	[Pareus ad Priorem Corinthis]	0.04.0	
	D. Pareus: Commentarius in Epistolam priorem ad Corinthios. Heidelberg, fol.		1616?
36.	[Caluin Eze. vigint prima]	0.03.0	
	J. Caluin: Prælectiones in Ezechielis prophetæ viginti capita priora. Geneva, 8°.		1565?
37.	[Tabula Analytice Stephano]	0.01.6	
	Stephanuskis: Tabulæ Analyticæ, quibus ex-		1593

£ s. d.

emplar illud sanorum sermonum de fide, charitate, et patientia, etc. London, 4°.
B. M. [3127. bb.]

38. [Cartwright harmā 4 Euangl] 0.05.0
T. Cartwright: Harmonia Evangelica, per analysin logicam, et metaphrasin historicam. Amsterodami, 4°. [Yale Coll. Lib. with auto.] 1627
Prince Lib. [47.11.]

39. [Pascillia Hemnigm] 0.01.0
Nicolaus Hemmingius: Postilla Evangeliorum in diebus Dominicis & Festis Sanctorum. Haffniæ, 8°. 1569?

40. [De Vera Ies. Chr. Religione] 0.01.0
? P. Dvplessis-Mornay: De veritate Religionis Christianæ liber, etc. Herbornæ Nassoviorum, 8°. 1602
Prince Lib. [67.5.]

41. [Erasmus in Marcin] 0.01.6
? D. Erasmus: Moriæ Encomium, etc. Argert. 1511

42. [Parkerius politica Eccle] 0.05.0
R. Parker: De Politeia Ecclesiastica Christi, et Hierarchica opposita. Libri tres, etc. Francofurti, 4°. 1616
*

43. [Piscator in Genesn̄] 0.02.0
Jo. Piscator: Commentarius in Lib. Genesin, etc. Herborn, 8°. 1596?

44. [Kykermano Systema Phisica] 0.03.0
Bart. Keckerman: Systema geographicvm. Adjecta sunt Problemata nautica. Hanoviæ, 8°. 1612
Prince Lib. [34.19. a.]

45. [Beza Confess. Christ] 0.02.4
T. Beza: Confessio Christianæ Fidei, et ejusdem collatio cum Papisticis Hæresibus. Londini, 8°. 1575
B. M. [3505. aa.]

46. [Rollock in Dany] 0.02.6
In Librum Danielis Prophetæ, R. Rollici commentarius. Edinbvrgi, 4°. 1591
Prince Lib. [45.17.]

47. [Dauen in priō Juni] 0.02.0
Lambertus Danæus: Commentarium in priorem ad Ioannem Epistolam. Genevæ, 8°. 1585?

48. [Thom Thomaseus Dix] 0.02.0
Thomas Thomasius: Dictionarium, etc., longè auctiùs locupletiúsque redditum, etc. Cantab. 4°. 1606
B. M. [12993. c. 16.]

		£ s. d.	
49.	[Bastwick Apologeticus]	0.00.6	
	J. Bastwick: Apologeticus ad præsules Anglicanos criminum Ecclesiasticorum in Curia celsæ Commissionis, etc. [n. p.] 8°.		1636
	B. M. [1010. a. 18.] *Prince Lib.* [58.15.]		
50.	[Machauelii princeps]	0.01.8	
	N. Macchiavelli: De Viri Principis Institutione.		1619?
51.	[Elenchus papistice Bastwick]	0.00.06	
	J. Bastwick: Elenchus Religionis Papisticæ. 8°.		1633
52.	[Rollock at Psalmos]	0.02.06	
	R. Rollock: In selectos aliquot Psalmos Davidis. Genevæ, 8°.		1599
53.	[Rainoldi de Romana Eccles]	0.02.06	
	J. Rainoldi: de Romanæ Ecclesiæ Idololatria in cultu sanctorum, reliquiarum, imaginum, aquæ, salis, etc., aliarumque, etc. Oxon, 4°.		1596
	B. M. [477. a. 9.]*		
54.	[Caluin in Josua]	0.01.0	
	J. Caluin: Commentarius in Librum Josue. Genevæ, 4°.		1578?
55.	[Syntagma Vigandus]	0.01.06	
	Jo. Wigandus: Syntagma, seu corpus doctrinæ veri et omnipotentis Dei, ex Veteri Testamento tantum, etc. Basil, 4°.		1564
56.	[Epistola Apologetica]	0.01.06	
	? An Apologicall Epistle, directed to the right Hon Lords and others of her Majesties privie Counsell, etc. [by Rob^t Persons]. 8°.		1601
	B. M. [699. a. 39.]		
57.	[Paraphrasa Erasmus in Luke]	0.01.06	
	D. Erasmus: Paraphrasis in Lucam.		
58.	[Latina Grammatica]	0.00.06	
	? Syntagma grammaticum, or, an easie . . . explanation of Lillies Grammar, etc. 8°.		1616
	B. M. [827. a. 2.]		
59.	[Hebrew gramat]	0.00.06	
	? J. Avenarius: Grammatices Ebraicæ trespartes. Vitebergæ, 4°.		1586
60.	[Camden Brittan]	0.03.0	
	W. Camden: Britannia . . . Sive florentissimorum regnorum, Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, et		1586

£ s. d.

Insularum adjacentium . . . descriptio, etc. Lond. 8°.

61. [Rollock ad Romanos Ephes] 0.03.0
R. Rollock: Analysis Dialectica in Pauli Apostoli Epistolam ad Romanos, et Ephesios, etc. Edinburgi, 4°. 1594

62. [Dictio. Triglott] 0.01.06
? Gul. Morelius: Verborum Latinorum cum Græcis, Anglicisque conjunctorum, locupletissimi Commentarii, etc. Londini, fol. 1583
B. M. [12933. l. 6.]

63. [Buxtorff Lexicon] 0.04.06
Jo. Bvxtorff: Lexicon Hebraicum et Chaldaicum, cum brevi Lexico Rabbinico Philosophico. Basileæ, 4°. 1607

64. [Cartwright prouerbīa] 0.07.0
Commentarii in Proverbia. Authore T. Cartvvrighto, etc. Lugdunum Bat., 4°. 1617
[printed by W. Brewster.] *Prince Lib.* [45.4]*

65. [Iunii ad Ecclām Dei] 0.00.03
F. Iunius: Ecclesiastici sive de natura et administrationibus Ecclesiæ Dei, libri tres. Francofurti, 8°. 1581
Prince Lib. [58.16.]

66. [Tyrocinia] 0.00.04
J. Prideaux. Tyrocinium ad syllogismum legitimum contexendum, etc. Oxford, 4°. 1629
B. M. [12924. aa. 3. (2.)]

67. [Poemata Heringii] 0.00.02
Fr. Herring: In fœlicissimum . . . Iacobi primi, Angliæ . . . Regis, etc. Poema Gratulatorium, etc. Londini, 4°. 1603
B. M. [1070. c. 18. (1.)]

68. [Ad Reverend. patres Eccles. Anglican] . . . 0.00.06
? Ad reverendissimos [patres] Ecclesiarum Anglicanarum . . . Episcopos, etc. [remonstrance ag^{t} y^{e} treat^{t} of Puritans] [London] 4°. 1625
B. M. [700. d. 3. (4.)]

69. [Amesii contra Grevin. Co.] 0.00.06
Gul. Amesii: Rescriptio Scholastica et Brevis ad Nic. Grevinchovii Responsum illud prolixum, quod opposuit dissertatione de Redempt. Gen. et Electione, etc. Roter^{dn}, 8°. 1634
*

70. [Hypomneses] 0.00.03

		£ s. d.	
	? Hypomnemata Logica, Rhetorica, Physica, Metaphysica, Pneumatica, Ethica, Politica, Œconomica, per I[o] P[rideaux] Coll. Exon. Oxford, 8°.		1620?
71.	[Antichristus prognostica]	0.00.04	
	? T. Brightman. Antichristum Pontificiorum monstrum fictitium esse, etc. Ambergæ, 8°.		1610
72.	[Harmonia Evangelia]	0.00.06	
	Harmoniæ Evangelicæ. M. Chemnitio inchoatæ, & per Polycarpvm Lyservm continvatæ, libri qvinqve. Francofurti, fol. *Prince Lib.* [52.11.]		1622
73.	[1 English bible lattin letter]	0.08.00	
74.	[1 English bible]	0.06.00	
75.	[A new Testament]	0.05.00	
76.	[Mr. Ainsworths Psalms in prose & meter] .	0.02.00	
	The Book of Psalmes: Englished both in Prose and Metre wth Annotations, etc., by H. A. Amsterdam, 4°. *B. M.* [3436. cc. 35.]*		1612
77.	[1 new testament]	0.01.04	
78.	[Major Coment new testament]	0.12.00	
	John Mayor: A Commentarie upon the four Euangelists, the Acts of the Apostles, etc. London, fol. *B. M.* [1010. e. 6.7.]		1631
79.	[Hexapla vpon Daniell]	0.05.00	
	Hexapla in Danielem: that is a six-fold commentarie upon . . . Daniel, by A. Willet. Cambridge, fol. *B. M.* [1010. e. 10.]		1610
80.	[2 volumes of Mr. Perkins]	1.10.00	
	The Workes of that Famous and Worthie Minister of Christ, in the Vniversitie of Cambridge. M. W. Perkins, etc. Cambridge, fol. *B. M.* [3752. g.] *Prince Lib.* [61.4.]*		1603 1608
81.	[Mr. Hernes works]	0.05.00	
	? Samuel Hieron: The Workes of S. H. two volumes. London, fol. *B. M.* [1012. e. 12.]		1624 1625
82.	[Babingtons works]	0.08.00	
	The Workes of Gervase Babington . . . conteining comfortable notes upon the five Bookes of Moses . . . also an Exposition upon the Creed, etc. London, fol. *B. M.* [1013. f. 16.]		1615
83.	[Cartwright against Remisc]	0.08.00	
	T. Cartwright: A Confvtation of the Rhemists		1618

		£ s. d.	
	translation, glosses and Annotations on the New Testament, etc. [Leyden,] fol. [Printed by W^m Brewster] *B. M.* [689. g. 10.]* *Prince Lib.* [53.21.]		
84.	[Byfield on Coloss].	0.05.00	
	N. Byfield: An Exposition upon the Epistle to the Colossians . . . Being the substance of neare seauen yeeres Weeke-dayes Sermons. Lond. fol. *B. M.* [3266. g.]		1615
85.	[Dodoner Herball]	0.06.00	
	Rembert Dodoens: A brief Epitome of the new Herball, etc., first set forth in y^e^ Dutch tongue. Lond. 4°. *B. M.* [987. e. 19.]		1606
86.	[Mr Rogers on Judges]	0.06.00	
	Richd. Rogers: A Commentary upon the whole booke of Iudges, preached first . . . in sundrie lectures, etc. London, fol. *B. M.* [3165. f.] *Prince Lib.* [43.12.]		1615
87.	[Mr Richardson on y^e^ state of Eur.]	0.04.00	
	Gabriel Richardson: Of the State of Europe. XIIII. Bookes, containing the historie, and relation of the many provinces hereof. Oxford, 4°. *B. M.* [10107. i.]		1627
88.	[Knights Concord]	0.05.00	
	William Knight: An Axiomatical Concordance. London. [Watt. ii. 576. j.]		1610
89.	[Calvin on Isay]	0.06.00	
	J. Calvin: A Commentary upon the Prophecie of Isaiah . . . tr. by C. C[otton] [London] fol. *B. M.* [3166. f.]		1609
90.	[Willet on Romans]	0.06.00	
	A. Willet: Hexapla: that is a Six-fold Commentarie upon the Epistle to y^e^ Romanes. Cambridge, fol. *B. M.* [3266. h.]		1611
91.	[Greusames works]	0.10.00	
	Richard Greenham: The Workes of . . . R. G. . . . collected into one volume [fifth and last edition]. London, fol. *B. M.* [1012. e. 8.]		1612
92.	[Bodens Comon weale]	0.08.00	
	Jean Bodin: The six Bookes of a Commonweale. Out of y^e^ French & Latine Copies . . . by R. Knolles. London, fol. *B. M.* [30. f. 20.]		1606
93.	[Willet on the 1^st^ Samuel]	0.04.00	

		£ s. d.	
	A. Willet: An harmonie upon the first booke of Samuel, etc. Cambridge, 4°. *B. M.* [3165. c.]		1607
94.	[Surveyor by Ratbone]	0.03.00	
	Aaron Rathbone: The Surveyor in Foure Bookes. London, fol.		1616
95.	[Willet on Genesis]	0.07.00	
	A. Willet: Hexapla in Genesin, that is a six-fold Commentary upon Genesis, wherein sixe severall translations, that is, the Septuagint, and the Chalde, two Latin, . . . two English . . . are compared with the original Hebrew, and Pagnine and Montanus . . . together with a six-fold use of every chapter . . . wherein above a thousand theological questions are discussed, etc. London, fol. 2 vols.		1608
96.	[Seneca Workes]	0.06.00	
	L. A. Seneca: The Workes of L. A. Seneca both Morrall and Naturall . . . tr. by T. Lodge. London, fol. [Has various autographs, and is now owned by J. McLellan, Woodstock, Conn.] *B. M.* [524. k. 13.]		1614
97.	[Wilcocks on Psalmes]	0.06.00	
	T. Wilcox: A right godly and learned Exposition upon the whole Booke of Psalmes, wherin is set forth the true Division sence & Doctrine, etc. London, 4°. *B. M.* [1107. g. 4.]		1586
98.	[Cottons Concordance 2 volumes]	0.12.00	
	Clem^{t} Cotton: A complete Concordance to the Bible of the last translation, etc. London, fol. *B. M.* [3103. e.]		1631
99.	[Scholastical discourse about the crosse] . . .	0.04.00	
	R. Parker: A Scholasticall Discovrse against symbolizing with Antichrist in Ceremonies: especially in the signe of the Crosse. [n. pl.] fol. *B. M.* [1226. g. 7.] *Prince Lib.* [70. a. 2.3.]*		1607
100.	[Taylor upon Tytus]	0.05.00	
	Thos. Taylor: A commentarie upon the Epistle . . . to Titus . . . Preached in Cambridge by T. T., reviewed and enlarged with some notes. Cambridge, 4°. *B. M.* [3266. e.] *Prince Lib.* [47.2.]		1619
101.	[Hill upon Life Euer.]	0.05.00	
	Rob. Hill: Life everlasting: or the true knowledge of One Jehovah, Three Elohim,		1601

£ s. d.

and Jesus Immanuel: collected out of the best moderne diuines, etc. Cam. 4°.
B. M. [4223. b.]

102. [Wilsons Dixonor] 0.06.00
Thos. Wilson: A Christian Dictionary, opening the significations of the chiefe Words dispersed generally through Holy Scripᵉˢ of the Old & New Testᵗˢ London, 8°. 1622
B. M. [3109. c.] *Prince Lib.* [51.8.] [1648.]

103. [Waimes Christiā Synagogue] 0.02.00
Jo. Weemes: The Christian Synagogue; wherein is contayned the diverse reading, the right pointing, translation, and collation of Scripture with Scripture; with the customs of the Hebrewes and Proselytes, etc. London, 4°. 1623
B. M. [483. b. 7.]

104. [Gibbines question & disputacons] 0.02.06
Nich. Gibbens: Questions and Disputations concerning the Holy Scripture, etc. London, 4°. 1601
B. M. [690. d. 2.]
Prince Lib. [45.21.] [1602.]

105. [Caluin Harmon Evan.] 0.06.00
J. Calvin: A Harmonie upon the three Evangelists Matthew, Mark, and Luke, with the commentarie . . . of I. C. Whereunto is added a Commentarie upon S. John, by the same authour. London, 4°. 1610
B. M. [3225. b.]

106. [Defence of Synod of Dort by Robin] . . . 0.02.00
Jo: Robinson: Defence of the doctrine propovnded by the Synode at Dort: against J. Mvrton and his associates, in a treatise, etc. [n. pl.] 4°. 1624
Prince Lib. [65.33.] *

107. [Messelina] 0.03.01
?? Nathˡ Richards: The Tragedy of Messalina, the Roman Emperesse, as it hath been acted with generall applause, divers times, by the Company of his Maiesties Revells. London, 8°. 1640
B. M. [162. b. 15.]

108. [Downams Warfare 2 pt] 0.04.00
Jo. Downame: The Christian Warfare. 2ᵈ pt. [there were four.] London, 8°. 1609
B.M. [4408, f.] *Prince Lib.* [55.42.] [1612.]

109. [Barlow on 2 Tymothy] 0.02.06

£ s. d.

Jo. Barlow: An Exposition of the Second Epistle of the Apostle Paul to Timothy, the first Chapter, etc. London, 4°. 1625
B. M. [3266. b.]

110. [Cartwright ag^st^ Whitgift 2 pt] 0.02.00
T. Cartwright: Second replie agaynst Maister Doctor Whitgiftes second answer touching the Churche Discipline. [n. pl.] 4°. 1575
B. M. [225. e. 22. (1.)]
Prince Lib. [49.67.68. a.]*

111. [Jackson ag^st^ Misbeliefe] 0.02.00
Th. Iackson: A Treatise containing the original of Unbelief, Misbelief, etc. London, 4°. 1625
B. M. [3755. a.]

112. [Granger on Eccl.] 0.02.00
Tho: Granger: A familiar Exposition or Commentarie on Ecclesiastes, etc. London, 8°. 1621
B. M. [3166. aaa.]

113. [Brightman on Reuel.] 0.05.00
T. Brightman: The Revelation of S. John Illustrated with an Analysis & Scholions, etc. Leyden, 8°. 1616
B. M. [3185. bb.]*

114. [Birdag Anti] 0.02.00
? Tho: Beard: Antichrist the Pope of Rome: or, the Pope of Rome is Antichrist: Proved in two treatises, etc. [London], 4°. 1625
B. M. [1019. l. 4.]

115. [Byfield on 1 Peter] 0.05.00
N. Byfield: A Commentary . . . upon the second chapter of the first Epistle of St. Peter. London, 4°. 1623
B. M. [3266. cc.]

116. [Weymes on Image of God in Man] . . . 0.02.00
J. Weemes: The Pourtraiture of the Image of God in Man, in his three Estates of Creation, Restauration, Glorification, etc. London, 4°. 1627
B. M. [T. 798. (2.)]
Prince Lib. [44.15.] [1636.]

117. [Parr on Romans] 0.05.00
Elnathan Parre: Exposition upon the Epistle to the Romans. London, fol. [1631]
Prince Lib. [44.8.] [in works.]

118. [Robinsons Observacons] 0.02.00
Jo: Robinson: Observations Divine and 1625

£ s. d.

Morall. For the Fvrthering of knowledg, and vertue, etc. n. pl. 4°. *B. M.* [4411. dd.]*

119. [Right way to go to worke] 0.02.00
[S. B.] The Right Way to goe to Worke, being a Sermon on Prov. xvi: 3. 1622
[Arber, Stat. Reg. iv. 87.]

120. [Byfields sermons on 1 Peter] 0.05.00
N. Byfield: Sermons upon the first Chapter of the first Epistle Generall . . . of Peter, etc. London, 8°. *B. M.* [3266. ccc.] 1617

121. [Dod on Commandm^ts] 0.02.06
Jo. Dodd: A Plaine and familiar Exposition of the Ten Commandements with a catechisme. London, 4°. 1615
B. M. [3109. c. (1).] [Ed. 1632.]*

122. [Mayor on Catholick Epistles] 0.03.00
Jo. Mayer: Ecclesiastica Interpretatio: or, the Expositions upon the difficult and doubtful passages of the seven Epistles called Catholike, etc. London, 4°. *B. M.* [1003. c. 27.] 1627

123. [Taylor parable on the Sower] 0.02.00
Tho: Taylor: The Parable of the Sower and of the Seed, etc. London, 4°. 1621
B. M. [4266. bb.]

124. [Narme of Chr. Strarr.] 0.02.00
W. Narne: Christs Starre: or, a Christian treatise for our direction to our Saviour, and for our conjunction with him, etc. London, 4°. 1625
B. M. [4401. e. 10.]

125. [Morley of truth of religion] 0.03.00
P. de Mornay: A work concerning the trewnesse of Christian religion, translated into English by Syr Philip Sidney, Knight; and Arthur Golding, the fourth time published. London, 8°. *B. M.* [4016. b.] 1617

126. [Attersons badges of Christianity] 0.02.00
?? W^m Attersoll: [I think some sub-title of Commentary on Numbers.] 8°. 1618
B. M. [3105. a.] *Prince Lib.* [43.7.]

127. [Downam Consolatrix] 0.03.00
Jo. Downame: Consolations for the afflicted, wherein is shewed how the Christian may be enabled to bear all crosses and miseries with 1612

£ s. d.

patience, etc. London, 4°. [3d pt. of Xn Warfare] [No. 108, ante].
B. M. [4408. f.] *Prince Lib.* [55.42.]

128. [Elton on 7 Romans] 0.02.06
Ed. Elton: The complaint of a sanctified sinner answered, or an explanation of the seventh chapter of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans. London, 4°. 1618

129. [A declaracon of Quintill. question] 0.02.00
? [Some unassigned English version, apparently, of one or more of the Declamations of Quintilian; the earliest translation which I have met being that of Warr (published anonymously). London, 1686.]

130. [Byfeild on 3 of Peter] 0.01.06
N. Byfield: A Commentary upon the three first chapters of the first Epistle . . . of St. Peter. Wherein are . . . handled such points of Doctrine as naturally flow from the Text. London, fol. 1637
B. M. [3266. g.]

131. [7 prbleames against Antechrist] 0.01.00
G. S.: Sacræ Heptades, or seaven problems concerning Antichrist. [n. pl.] 4°. 1626
B. M. [3186. e.]

132. [Dike upon Repent] 0.01.06
Dan. Dyke: A Treatise of Repentance, etc. 4°. 1618
Prince Lib. [55.37.]

133. [Sibbs Soules Comfort] 0.03.06
R. Sibbes: The Soules Conflict with it selfe, etc. London, 8°. [1625]
B. M. [4409. de.] [1636.]

134. [Passions of the mynd] 0.01.06
? Robt Southwell. The Passion of a Discontented mind. London, 4°. [apparently 3d edn.] 1621
B. M. [1076. i. 20.]

135. [5 bookes of Sermons stichet together] . . . 0.01.00
[There is nothing to show whether these were printed discourses, or Elder Brewster's own manuscripts, thus bundled together.]

136. [Constitucons & Cannons of bb. of Cant.] . . 0.00.02
Constitvtions and Canons Ecclesiasticall. Treated vpon by the Bishop of London . . . and the rest of the Bps. and Clergie of the Province of Canterbury, etc. London, 4°. 1604
B. M. [5155. aa. 5.]*

		£ s. d.	
137.	[Wittenhall discovery of abuses]	0.01.00	
	Th. Whetenhall: A Discourse of the Abuses now in question in the Chvrches of Christ, of their creeping in, growing vp and flourishing in the Babilonish Ch'h of Rome, etc. [n. pl.] 4°. *B. M.* [108. a. 47.]*		1606
138.	[Rollock on Thessal]	0.02.00	
	R. Rollock: Lectures upon the First and Second Epistles of Paul to the Thessalonians, etc. Edinburgh, 8°. *B. M.* [3266. ee.]		1606
139.	[Heauen opened by Coop]	0.02.00	
	Heauen opened. A book by Rev. William Cowper, minister of God's Word. [Arber, Stat. Reg. iii. 393.]		1608
140.	[Treasury of Smiles]	0.04.00	
	Rob. Cawdrey: A Treasurie or Store-House of Similies . . . newly collected into Heades and Common places. London, 4°. *B. M.* [4410. n.]		1609
141.	[Downefall of Popery]	0.02.00	
	Th. Bell: The Downefall of Popery. Proposed by way of a new Challenge to all English Iesuites and . . . papists, daring them . . . to make answere thereunto if they can. London, 4°. *B. M.* [3935. b.]		1605
142.	[Saints by calling by Wilson]	0.02.00	
	Th. Wilson: Saints by calling: or called to be Saints. A godly Treatise of our holy Calling to Christ by the Gospel, etc. London, 8°. *B. M.* [4409. gg.]		1620
143.	[Wittenhall discovy of abuses]	0.02.00	
	[Seems to be a duplicate of No. 137, *ante*.]		1606
144.	[Udal on Lamentacons]	0.01.04	
	J. Vdall: A Commentarie upon the Lamentations of Jeremy, etc. London, 4°. *B. M.* [3166, aaa.]		1599
145.	[Dyocean Tryall]	0.00.06	
	P. Baynes: The Diocesans Tryall. Wherein all the sinnewes of Doctor Downhams Defence are brought into three heads, and orderly dissolved. 4°. *Bodleian* [110. j. 217. (2).] *B. M.* [E. 207. (7).] [1641.]*		
146.	[Sparks agst Albin]	0.02.06	

£ s. d

Tho. Sparke: An Answere to J. de Albines notable Discourse against heresies . . . compiled by T. S. [with copy of Discourse itself as printed at Douay]. Oxford, 4°. 1591

B. M. [697. g. 29.]

147. [Wottons defence of Perkins Refor Catholicke] 0.02.06

Anth: Wotton: A Defence of M. Perkins booke called A Reformed Catholike: against the cavils of a Popish writer, one D. B. P. or W. B. in his Deformed Reformation. London, 4°. 1606

B. M. [3932. e.]

148. [Brinslow on Ezech] 0.03.00

J. Brinsley: The third part of the true watch, etc. Taken out of Ezekiel Chap. 9. London, 4°. 1622

Prince Lib. [55.104.]

149. [Defence of Ministers reasons] 0.01.06

[S. Hieron]: A Defence of the Ministers Reasons, for Refvsall of Svbscription to the Booke of Common prayer, and of Conformitie, etc. [n. pl.] 4°. 1607 *

150. [Downam ag^st^ Bath & Wells] 0.01.06

Geo. Downame: A Defence of the Sermon preached at the Consecration of the L. Bishop of Bath and Welles, against a confutation thereof by a namelesse Author, etc. London, 4°. 1611

B. M. [858. g. 12.] *Prince Lib.* [59.15.]*

151. [A discourse of troubles Chu. of Amster.] . . 0.01.06

Geo. Johnson: A Discourse of some Troubles and Excommunications in the banished English Church at Amsterdam. Published for sundry causes declared in the preface to the Pastour of the sayd Church, etc. Amsterdam, 4°. 1603

Trinity Coll., Cambridge. [c. 4.53.]

152, 153, 154. [Mr. Smyths 3 treatises] 0.02.06

? John Smyth: (1) Principles and inferences concerning the Visible Church. [n. pl.] 16°; 1607

(2) The Diferences of the Churches of the Separation, etc. [n. pl.] 4°; [1608]

(3) The character of the Beast, or the false constitution of the Church discovered in certain passages betwixt Mr. R. Clyfton & John Smyth, etc. [n. pl.] 4°. [1609]

[The first is in the *Lib. of York Minster*;* the

£ s. d.

second in *Harvard Coll.;* and the third in the *Bodleian.*] [Pamph. 7.]

155. [Discourse of Equivocation] 0.01.06
H. Mason: The new Art of Lying, covered by Iesuites under the vaile of Equivocation; discovered and disproved. London, 12mo. 1634
B. M. [852. c. 1.]

156. [Mr. Smyths paroliles] 0.00.08
Jo. Smyth: Paralleles, Censvres, Observations, Aperteyning to three several writinges, viz. [n. pl.] 4°. 1609
Bodleian [4°, S. 9. Art. B. S.]*

157. [A peticon for reformacōn] 0.00.06
?A Petition to her Maiestie [on Reformation in the Church of England] [n. pl.] 4°. 1593
Prince Lib. [78.97.]

158. [A primer of Chr. Relig.] 0.00.09
?J. Sprint: The Svmme of the Christian Religion, in form of Question and Answer. London, 8°. 1613
Prince Lib. [57.34.]

159. [A discourse of variance betweene pope & Venet.] 0.01.00
Chr. Potter: A Sermon, etc. hereunto is added an Advertisement touching the History of the quarrels of Pope Paul 5, with the Venetians, etc. London, 8°. 1629
B. M. [4474. aa. 96.]

160. [Broughton on Lament.] 0.01.00
H. Broughton: The Lamentations of Ieremy, translated. . . . With explications, etc. [No pl.] 4°. 1608
B. M. [1003. b. 9. (8).]

161. [Perkins on Sat. Sophist] 0.00.06
W. Perkins: Satans Sophistrie answered by our Saviour Christ. Cambridge, fol. [Subsequently published in the third volume of the three volume edition of Perkins's Works, as "The Combat between Christ and the Devill displayed," etc.] [1603]
*

162. [A discourse of Adoracōn of Reliqus] . . . 0.01.00
?Jo. Polyander: Discourse against the Worship of Reliques, etc. [London] [4°.] 1611
Liby. of Emmanuel Coll. Camb. [10.5.43.]

163. [A trew mark of Catholike Church] . . . 0.00.06

		£ s. d.	
	T[heo.] B[eze]: A Discourse of the true and visible Markes of the Catholique Church, tr. by T. Wilcox. London, 16°. *B. M.* [702. a. 43.]		1622
164.	[A quodlibet to bewarr of preise]	0.00.04	
	? ? A Decacordon of ten quodlibeticall questions concerning religion and state, etc. [n. pl.] 4°. *B. M.* [4091. dd.]		1602
165.	[Iustifycacon of Sepācon]	0.02.00	
	Jo. Robinson: A justification of Separation from the Church of England; against M^r^ R. Bernard his invective intituled The Separatists schisme. [n. pl.] 4°. *B. M.* [4135. b.]*		1610
166.	[Storke answere to Campion]	0.02.00	
	W. Charke: An Answere to a seditious pamphlet lately cast abroade by a Jesuite (E. Campian) with a discoverie of that blasphemous sect. London, 8°. *B. M.* [4106. a.]		1580
167.	[Dike on the heart]	0.02.00	
	D. Dyke: The Mystery of Selfe-Deceiving. Or a discourse . . . of the deceitfulnesse of Mans Heart. London, 4°. *B. M.* [4404. d.] *Prince Lib.* [55.36.]		1615
168.	[Perkins on 11 Hebrewes]	0.03.02	
	W. Perkins: A cloud of faithfull Witnesses leading to the Heavenly Canaan; or a Commentarie upon 11. Heb. London, fol.		1618
169.	[Bayne on Ephes.]	0.02.00	
	P. Baynes: An entire Commentary upon the whole Epistle of the Apostle Paul to the Ephesians . . . with a logical analysis, spiritual and holy observations, confutation of Arminianism and Popery, and sound edification for the diligent reader. London, fol.		1643
170.	[Dike on repent. & ch. temtations]	0.02.00	
	D. Dyke: Two Treatises. The one, of Repentance; the other of Christs Temptations, etc. London, 4°. *B.M.* [4404. h.] [1631.] *Prince Lib.* [55.37.]		[1618]
171.	[Bolton on true happynes]	0.01.06	
	R. Bolton: A discourse about the state of true happiness: delivered in certaine sermons, etc. London, 4°. *B. M.* [4452. c.]		1612

£ s. d.

172. [Downam ag^st Beller] 0.01.08
G. Downame: A Treatise concerning Antichrist, . . . proving that the Pope is Antichrist . . . against all the objections of R. Bellarmine, etc. London, 4°. 1603
B. M. [478. a. 25.]

173. [Wotton on 1 Iohn] 0.02.00
Anth. Wotton: Sermons on part of Chapter first of St. Iohns Gospel. London, 4°. 1609

174. [Gouge Armor of God] 0.02.00
W^m Gouge: Παναπλια του Θεου: The Whole armor of God, or the Spirituall Furniture which God hath provided to keepe safe euery Christian Soulder from . . . Satan, etc. London, 4°. 1616
B. M. [4402. ccc.] *Prince Lib.* [56.33.]

175. [Plea for Infants] 0.01.06
R. Clyfton: A Plea for Infants and Elder people concerning their Baptisme; or, a Processe of the Passages between Mr. John Smyth and Richard Clyfton. Amsterdam, 4°. * 1610

176. [Dod on Commandm^ts] 0.03.00
[Seems to be a duplicate of No. 121, *ante*.] 1615

177. [Rollock on effectual calling] 0.01.10
R. Rollock: A Treatise of Gods effectual Calling written in the Latine tongue . . . and now . . . translated by H. Holland, etc. London, 4°. 1603
B. M. [858. f. 10.]

178. [Calling of Iews by Finish.] 0.01.00
H^y Finch: The Calling of the Iewes, etc. [attributed by B. M. Catalogue to W^m Gouge, who seems to have published it.] London, 4°. 1621
B. M. [4034. cc.]

179. [Prin Antearminescence] 0.00.08
W^m Prynne: Anti-Arminianisme. Or, the Church of Englands old Antithesis to New Arminianisme, etc. London, 4°. 1630
B. M. [700. g. 6. (3).] *Prince Lib.* [60.21.]*

180. [Discouery by Barrow] 0.03.00
H^y Barrowe: A Brief Discouerie of the false Church. As is the mother such the daughter is. [n. pl.] [Dort] 4°. *Dr. William's Lib., London.* * 1590

£ s. d.

181. [Ainsworths defence of Scripture] 0.01.06
H. Ainsworth: A Defence of the Holy Scriptures, Worship, and Ministerie used in the . . . Churches separated from Antichrist, ag^t Mr. Smyth, etc. Amsterdam, 4°. 1609
B. M. [4103. d.]*

182, 183. [2 Downams Reply ag^st Bath] 0.03.00
[Seem to be two duplicates of No. 150, *ante*.] 1611

184. [Admonition to Parli^nt] 0.01.06
J. Field & T. Wilcox: An Admonition to the Parliament. London, 16°. 1571
Bodleian [A. 9.6. Linc.]*

185. [Refutacon to Gifford] 0.02.06
H. Barrowe & J. Greenwood: A Plaine Refvtation of M. Giffardes Booke, intituled, A short treatise against the Donatists of England, etc. [n. pl.] 4°. 1605
B. M. [T. 804. (3.)] *Prince Lib.* [59.68.]*
[This is the volume referred to in Bradford's *Dialogue* [Young, *Chronicles of Plymouth*, p. 424] as having been reprinted by Francis Johnson at his own charge; he having destroyed all but two copies of the first edition of 1591.]

186. [Perth Assembly] 0.01.06
[J. Forbes]: Perth Assembly: containing (1) The Proceedings thereof; (2) The Proofe of the nullitie thereof, etc. [n. pl.] [Printed by W. Brewster in Leyden.] 4°. 1619
B. M. [4175. a.]*

187. [Defence of the Ministers reasons] 0.01.06
[Seems to be a duplicate of No. 149, *ante*.] 1607

188. [Treatise of Ministery of England] 0.01.00
F. Johnson: A Treatise of the ministery of the Church of England, etc. [n. pl.] 4°. [I have Brewster's copy with his autograph.] * 1595

189. [Cassander Anglicañs] 1.01.08
J. Sprint: Cassander Anglicanus; shewing the Necessity of Conformitie to the Prescribed Ceremonies of our Chvrch, in case of Depriuation, etc. London, 4°. 1618
B. M. [873. h. 15.] *Prince Lib.* [58.4.]*

190. [Downams warfarr] 0.05.00
[Probably another of the four parts of No. 108, *ante*.] 1609

£ s. d.

191. [The meane of mourneing] 0.03.00
Th. Playfere: The Meane in Mourning. A sermon [on Luk. xxiii: 28] etc. London, 8°. 1611
B. M. [4452. aaa. (2.)]

192. [Hackhill History of Judges] 0.00.00
? Geo. Hakewill: Scutum Regium, Id est, adversus omnes regicidas et regicidarum patronos, ab initio mundi, etc. Londini, 8°. 1612
B. M. [523. a. 7.]

193. [Sweeds Intelligencer] 0.01.06
The Swedish Intelligencer. The first part. Wherein out of the truest and choysest Informations, are the famous actions of that warlike Prince [Gustavus Adolphus] historically led along, etc. London, 4°. [four P^ts^ in all.] 1632
B. M. [9435. c.]

194. [Comunion of Saints] 0.02.00
[H. Ainsworth]: The Communion of Saints. A Treatise of the fellowship that the Faithful have with God, and his Angels, and one with another; in this present life, etc. [n. pl.] 8°. 1615
B. M. [4409. bbb.]*

195. [Abridgment of Ministers of Lincolne] . . . 0.01.06
An Abridgment out of that booke which the Ministers of Lincoln diocess deliuered to his Maiestie upon the first of December last, being the first part of an Apologye for themselves and their brethren that refuse the subscription, etc. [reprinted by W. Brewster, at Leyden.] 8°. 1617
B. M. [698. g. 4. (5.)] *Prince Lib.* [78.114.] [Ed. 1605.] *

196. [Jacob Attestation] 0.01.00
H. Jacob: An Attestation of many Learned, Godly and famous Divines, etc., justifying this doctrine, viz.: that the Church government ought to bee alwayes with the peoples free consent, etc. [n. pl.] 8°. *B. M.* [698. a. 35. (1.)] 1613
Prince Lib. [58.28.] *

197. [Modest Defence] 0.03.00
A Trve Modest, and Ivst Defence of the Petition for Reformation, exhibited to the Kings most excellent Maiestie. Containing an Answere to the confutation published under the names of some of the Vniversitie of Oxford, 1618

		£	s.	d.	
	etc. [n. pl.] 16°. [Printed at Leyden by William Brewster.] *B. M.* [3935. a.]*				
198.	[Exposicon of Canticles]	0	01	00	
	? T. Wilcox: An Exposition upon the Canticles, etc. London, fol. *B. M.* [3752. f.]				1624
199.	[Whitgifte answere to a libell]	0	01	00	
	J. Whitgift: An Answere to a certen libell intituled An Admonition to the Parliament, etc. London, 4°. *B. M.* [1019. e. 3.]*				1571
200.	[A reply to a libell]	0	02	00	
	? ? T. Cartwright: A Replye to an Answere made of M. Doctor VVhitegifte againste the Admonition to the Parliament, etc. [n. pl.] [n. d.] 4°. *Prince Lib.* [49. 67. 68. a.]*				[1573]
201.	[Duplessĩ of a Chur]	0	02	00	
	P. Dvplessis-Mornay: A notable Treatise of the Church, in which are handled all the principall questions that haue been moued in our time concerning this matter, etc. London, 4°. *B. M.* [696. b. 28.]*				1606
202.	[Perkins on Iude]	0	02	00	
	W. Perkins: An Exposition of Iude, containing 66 sermons, etc. Cambridge, [fol.] *B. M.* [3752. g.] [in Works.]*				[1603]
203.	[Downams 4 treatises]	0	02	00	
	J. Downame: Foure Treatises tending to disswade all Christians from . . . the abuses of Swearing, Drunkennesse, Whoredome, and Bribery, etc. London, 4°. *B. M.* [4404. f.] [Ed. 1613.] *Prince Lib.* [55.88.]				1609
204.	[Deareing on Hebrews]	0	03	00	
	Ed. Dearing: XXVII. Lectures . . . upon part of the Epistle . . . to the Hebrues, etc. London, 4°. *B. M.* [3166. b. (2.)]				1590
205.	[A Collection of Englands Deliũanc^{e}] . . .	0	01	06	
	G. Carleton: A Thankfull Remembrance of Gods Mercy, In an Historicall Collection of the great and mercifull Deliverances of the Church and State of England, etc. London, 4°. [3^{d} edn.] *B. M.* [807. c. 22.]*				1627
206.	[1000 notable things]	0	01	06	
	Th. Lupton: A Thousand Notable things				1601

		£ s. d.	
	of sundrie sorts. Whereof some are wonderfull, some strange, some pleasant, divers necessary, a great sort profitable, and many verie precious, etc. London, 4°. *B. M.* [7321. bbb.]		
207.	[Riches of elder ages]	0.00.00	
	Guil. Telin: Archaioplutos. Or the Riches of Elder Ages; Prooving . . . that . . . auncient emperors and kings were more rich and magnificent, then such as live in these daies, etc. London, 4°. *B. M.* [C. 40. b. 9.]		1592
208.	[Dod on Comandm^ts^]	0.02.06	
	[Seems to be a duplicate of Nos. 121 and 176, *ante.*]		1615
209.	[Sweeds Intilligencer]	0.01.06	
	[Probably another "part" of No. 193, *ante.*]		1632
210.	[tymes turne coat]	0.00.06	
	? Turncoat of the Times. A Ballad. [*B. M. Cat.*]		[1635]
211.	[A continuacon of adventur of Don Sebastian]	0.00.04	
	? [J. Teixera: The strangest adventure that ever happened. . . . A discourse concerning the successe of the King of Portugall Dom Sebastian from the time of his voyage into Affricke . . . in the year 1578, unto the sixt of Ianuary this present 1601, (done in Spanish, then in French & englished by A. Munday). London, 4°.] *B. M.* [1195. a. 1. (8.)]		1601
	or:		
	[E. Allde: The Battell of Barbarie, between Sebastian King of Portugall, and Abdelmelec King of Morocco; with the death of Capt. Stukely. As it was sundrie times plaid by the Lord High Admerall his seruants,] or something kindred to these?		1594
212.	[Surveyor Dialougs]	0.01.00	
	Jo. Norden: The Surveyors Dialogue. Divided into five Bookes: Very profitable for all men to peruse, that have to do with the revenues of land, or occupation thereof, etc. London, 4°. *B. M.* [530. E. 5.]		1607
213.	[Apology Chur. of England ag^st^ Brownists] .	0.01.06	
	J. Hall: A common Apologie of the Chvrch		1610

£ s. d.

of England; against . . . the Brownists, etc. London, 4°.

B. M. [698. g. 40.] *Prince Lib.* [59.59 a.]*

214. [Kings declaracon about Parliaᵗˢ] 0.00.02

James I.: A Declaration of the Kings Majesties intention and meaning toward the lait Actis of Parliament. Edinburgh, 8°. 1585

B. M. [288. a. 31.]

215. [Scyrge of Drunkerds] 0.00.02

W. Hornby: The Scourge of drunkennes. [In verse.] London, 4°. 1619

B. M. [C. 34. f. 33.]

216. [Syons Plea] 0.02.00

A. Leighton: An Appeal to the Parliament, or Sions Plea against the Prelacie. Printed in the year and month wherein Rochell was lost. [n. pl.] 4°. 1628

B. M. [698. g. 8. (2.)]

[This is the book for publishing which Dr. Leighton was twice whipped and pilloried, his ears cut off, his nose slit, his cheeks branded "S. S." (sower of sedition), and he imprisoned eleven years in the Fleet.]

217. [Elton of Comandmts] 0.02.00

Ed. Elton: Gods holy minde touching matters morall, uttered in ten commandements. London, 4°. [1619]

218. [Treatise of Chr. Religion] 0.02.00

[Jo. Ball]: A Short Treatise: contayning all the principall Grounds of Christian Religion. By way of Questions and Answers. London, 8°. [1620]

B. M. [3505. b.] [7th ed.]

Prince Lib. [69.24.] [10th ed.]

[Before 1632 it went through 14 editions, and was translated into Turkish in 1666.]

219. [A battaile of Palatinate] 0.01.06

A true Relation of all such Battailes as has been fought in the Palatinate, etc. London, 4°. [Hazlitt, *Collections & Notes*, 3d series, 1887, p. 184.]

220. [Treatise 122 Psalm] 0.00.06

Robt Harrison: A Little Treatise vpon the first verse of the 122 Psalme, etc. [Leyden,] 1618

£ s. d.

16°. [first printed [n. pl.] in 1583, and reprinted by W. Brewster, in 1618.]
B. M. [3090. a.] [Ed. 1583.] [1618.]*

221. [Concordance of yeares] 0.00.06
Ar. Hopton: A Concordancy of Yeares. Containing a . . . most exact computation of time, according to the English account. Also the use of the English and Roman Kalender, etc. London, 8°. [newly augmented.] 1616
B. M. [717. c. 39.]

222. [Cesars Tryumphs] 0.00.02
? ? [R. Davies]: Chesters Triumph in honor of her Prince. As it was performed upon S. Georges Day 1610, in the foresaid Citie. London, 4°. 1610
B. M. [C. 30. d. 3.]

223. [A dialogue concerning Ceremonies] . . . 0.00.04
Sam! Gardiner: A Dialogve or Conference betweene Irenæus and Antimachus, about the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England. London, 4°. 1605
B. M. [698. g. 4. (4.)]

224. [Essayes about a prisoner] 0.00.03
[Geffray Mynshul]: Essayes and Characters of a Prison and Prisoners. Written by G. M. of Grayes-Inne, Gent. London, 4°. 1618
B. M. [884. h. 31. (1.)]

225. [Politike diseases] 0.00.06
? Jaq. Hurault: Politicke, moral and martial Discourses. tr. by A. Golding. London, 4°. 1595
B. M. [8404. cc.]

226. [Exposicon of Liturgie] 0.00.08
Jo. Boys: An Exposition of al the principal Scriptures used in our English Liturgie, etc. London, 4°. 1610
B. M. [1219. g.]

227. [Magnifycent Entertaynement of King Iames] 0.00.06
Th. Decker: The Magnificent Entertainment: given to King Iames, Queene Anne his wife, and Henry Frederick the Prince, upon the day of his Majesties triumphant Passage (from the Tower) through his Honourable Citie (and Chamber) of London, being the 15. of March, 1603. . . . With the speeches and Songes, delivered, etc. London, 4°. 1604
B. M. [C. 34. c. 23.]

		£ s. d.	
228.	[A modest defence]	0.00.06	
	[Seems to be a duplicate of No. 197, *ante*.]		1618
229.	[Essex practise of treason]	0.00.06	
	[F. Bacon]: A Declaration of the Practises & Treasons attempted and committed by Robert late Earle of Essex and his Complices against her Majestie and her Kingdoms. . . . Together with the very confessions and other parts of the Evidences themselves . . . taken out of the Originals. London, 4°. *B. M.* [E. 1940. (1.)]		1601
230.	[Prosopeia]	0.00.02	
	? [Prosopopœia, or a Conference held at Angelo Castle, between the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of Spaine. [a satire, in verse.] London, 4°. *B. M.* [11626. d. 64. (2.)]		[1620] 1136
	or:		
	? Prosopopoia, or Mother Hubberds Tale [in Verse] by Ed. Spenser. London, fol. *B. M.* [C. 28. m. 17. (2.)]		
231.	[Withers motto]	0.00.04	
	Geo: Wither: Withers Motto: Nec habeo, nec careo, nec Curo. London, 8°. *B. M.* [1076. c. 19.]		1621
232.	[Standish for woods]	0.00.06	
	Ar. Standish: New Directions of experience . . . for the increasing of Timber and Fire-wood, with the least waste and losse of ground, etc. London, 4°. *B. M.* [1146. d. 32.]		1615
233.	[A recantacon of a Brownist]	0.00.04	
	P. Fairlambe, The Recantation of a Brownist, or, a Reformed Puritan, etc. [n. pl.] 4°. *B. M.* [105. c. 47.]*		1606
234.	[A supply to German History]	0.01.00	
	? A suplement to the sixth part of the German History. [Arber, Stat. Reg. iv. 321.]		1634
235.	[Of the use of silk worms]	0.00.06	
	O. de Serres: The perfect use of Silk wormes, and their benefit, with the . . . planting of Mulberrie trees . . . and the figures to know how to feede the Wormes, and to winde off the Silke. tr. by N. Geffe. London, 4°. *B. M.* [B. 632. (1.)]		1607

£ s. d.

236. [Newes from Verginia] 0.00.06
[R. Rich] Newes from Virginia. London. [a poem.] [But one copy (in the Huth Collection) now known.] 1610

237. [News from Palatinate] 0.00.04
News from the Palatinate. A true and comfortable Relation of the wonderfull proceedings of Count Mansfield, from his first coming into the Palatinate unto this present moneth. Likewise, the raising of the seige of Franckendale by Sir. Horatio Vere, etc. The Hage, 4°. [Hazlitt, *Coll*s & *Notes*, 3d ser. 183.] 1622

238. [Hacklett] 0.02.00
R. Haklyt: The principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English nation, made by Sea, or over Land . . . within the compasse of these 1500 yeeres, etc. whereunto is added the last most renowned English Navigation [Sir F. Drake's] round the . . . earth. London, fol. *B. M.* [C. 32. m. 10.] 1589

239. [Byfeild on the oracles of God] 0.03.02
N. Byfield: The Marrow of the Oracles of God, or, Divers Treatises, containing Directions about sixe of the waightiest things can concerne a Christian in this life. London. 12°. *B. M.* [4403. bb.] [Ed. 1630.] 1620

240. [Gods monarchy Deuells Kingdome] . . . 0.00.04
I. Anwick: His Meditations upon Gods Monarchie and the Devill his Kingdome, And of the knowledge that Man in this life may obtaine of the . . . Godhed, etc. London, 4°. *B. M.* [1355. e. 38.] 1587

241. [New shreds of old share] 0.00.06
? ? Jos. Wybarne: The New Age of Old Names, etc. London, 4°. *B. M.* [8406. bb.] 1609

242. [Discharg of 5 imputations] 0.01.00
Tho. Morton: A Discharge of five Imputations of Mis-allegations falsly charged against the Bp. of Durham, etc. London, 8°. *B. M.* [1019. f. 22.] 1633

243. [Dauids Musick] 0.00.06
R. Allison: Psalmes of Dauid in Meter, the plaine song being the common tunne to be sung 1599

£ s. d.

and plaide vpon the lute, or pharion, citterne, or base violl, seuerally or altogether, the singing part to be either tenor or treble to the instrument, according to the nature of the voyce, or for foure voyces; with tenne short tunnes in the end, to which, for the most part of all the Psalmes may be vsually sung, for the vse of such as are of mean skill, and whose leysure least serueth to practize. London, fol.

244. [Horne sheild of the Rightous] 0.01.00
Rob. Horn: The Shield of the Righteous: or the ninety-first Psalme expounded. London, 4°. *B. M.* [3089. c.] 1625

245. [Ruine of Rome] 0.01.06
A. Dent: The Ruine of Rome: or an Exposition upon the whole Revelation, etc. London, 16°. 1633
B. M. [3185. aa.] *Prince Lib.* [70. a. 26.]

246. [Downame on 15 Psalm] 0.01.06
Geo. Downame: Lectures upon the fifteenth Psalm. London, 4°. 1604

247. [Pisca Evangelica] 0.01.06
W. Symonds: Pisgah Evangelica — a comment on the Revelation of Iohn. London, 4°. 1606
B. M. [3187. b. (1.)]

248. [Virell on Lords prayer] 0.01.06
P. Viret: A faithfull and familiar exposition upon the prayer of our Lord Iesus Christ, and of . . . things worthie to be considered upon the same. [tr. by J. Brooke.] London, 4°. 1582
B. M. [3225. b.] *Prince Lib.* [48.24.] [French, 1548.]

249. [Answere to Cartwright] 0.00.06
? Rob^t Browne: An Answer to Master Cartwright his Letter for Ioyning with the English churches: whereunto the true copie of his sayde letter is annexed, etc. [n. pl.] 4°. 1583
Bodleian [L. 43. Th.]

250. [Broughton on Gods Diuinitie] 0.01.00
?[H. Broughton]: A require of Agreement to the groundes of Divinitie studie: wherin great scholars falling & being caught of Iewes, disgrace the Gospel: & trap them to destruc- 1611

		£	s.	d.	
	tion. London, 4°. *B. M.* [1019. e. 7. (2.)] *Prince Lib.* [50.10.] [in Works, 1662.]				
251.	[Bayne tryall of Christ state]	0	01	06	
	P. Baynes: The trial of a Christians estate: or, a discoverie of the causes, degrees, signes and differences of the Apostasie both of true Christians and false, etc. London, 4°. *B. M.* [4474. c. 31.]				1618
252.	[Wheatley on Gods husbandry]	0	01	00	
	W^m^ Whately: Gods Husbandry: (P^t^ 1) Tending to shew the difference betwixt the hypocrite and the true-hearted Christian; (P^t^ 2) Tending chiefly to the Reforming of an hypocrite, etc. London, 4°. *B. M.* [4455. a. (2.)]				1622
253.	[Exposicon on Reuelac]	0	01	00	
	? W. Perkins: A godly and learned Exposition . . . upon the three first Chapters of the Revelation . . . by . . . W. P. London, fol. *B. M.* [3186. h.]				1607
254.	[Perkins Reformed Catholik]	0	01	06	
	W. Perkins: A Reformed Catholike: or a declaration shewing how neere we may come to the present Church of Rome in sundrie points of Religion: and wherein we must for ever depart from them, etc. London, 8°. *B. M.* [4255. aa.]*				1611
255, 256.	[Johnsons & Withers works]	0	02	00	
	Rich^d^ Johnson: The Golden Garland of Princely pleasures and delicate Delights, etc. London, 8°. *B. M.* [C. 39. b. 36.]				1620
	Geo. Wither: The Workes of . . . containing Satyrs, Epigrams, Eclogues, Sonnets and Poems, Whereunto is annexed a Paraphrase on the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, etc. London, 8°. *B. M.* [1076. c. 12.]				1620
257.	[10 sermons of the supper]	0	01	06	
	J. Dod & R. Cleaver: Ten Sermons, tending chiefly to the fitting of men for the worthy receiving of the Lords Supper . . . six by J. D. and four by R. C. etc. London, 8°. *B. M.* [4452. b. b.]				1634
258.	[Ciuill Conuersacon Gnahzo]	0	02	00	

		£ s. d.	
	Stef. Guazzo: The civile Conversation of M. S. Guazzo, written first in Italian, divided into foure bookes, the first three translated out of French by G. pettie . . . the fourth out of Italian, by B. Young. London, 4°. *B. M.* [721. e. 5.]		1586
259.	[Smyths plea for Infants]	0.00.06	
	[I think catalogued to Smyth by mistake, and really a duplicate of No. 175, *ante*.]		1610
260.	[Bacons p˜ficiency in Learning]	0.02.00	
	F. Bacon: The twoo Bookes of F. B. Of the proficience and advancement of Learning, divine and humane. London, 4°. *B. M.* [721. e. 7.]		1605
261.	[Arguments agst seinge]	0.01.06	
	?? P. Forestus: The Arraignment of Urines: wherein are set downe the manifold errors and abuses of ignorant Urine-monging Empirickes, cozening Quacksalvers, women-physitians, and the like stuffe, etc., epitomized and translated by . . . J. Hart, etc. London, 4°. [2 pts.] *B. M.* [1188. i. 8. (1. 2.)]		1623
262.	[Theologicks]	0.00.06	
	? H. Clapham: Theological Axioms or Conclusions, publicly controverted, discussed and concluded by that poore English congregation in Amstelredam to whom H. C. . . . administereth the Gospel, etc. Ams^{tdm}. 4°.		1597
263.	[Eming on Iames]	0.01.06	
	N. Hemming: A learned and fruitful Commentarie upon the Epistle of Iames the Apostle. [tr. by W. Gace.] London, 4°. *B. M.* [3265. c.]		1577
264.	[Catholike Judg.]	0.01.00	
	? The Judgment of a Catholike Gentleman, concerning King Iames Apology, etc. [n. pl.] 4°. [*Watt.* 735. e.]		1608
265.	[The spirituall watch]	0.01.00	
	T. Gataker: The Spirituall Watch, or Christs generall Watch-word. A meditation on Mark xiii: 37, etc. London, 4°. *B. M.* [4474. d. 110.]		1619
266.	[reasons for reformacon of Chur. of Eng^{l}] . .	0.00.06	

£ s. d.

H. Jacob: Reasons taken out of Gods Word, and the best humane testimonies, prouing a necessitie of reforming our Churches in England. [n. pl.] 4°. 1604

B. M. [4135. a.]*

267. [A looking glass ag^st^ Prelates] 0.01.00

W. Prynne: A Looking-Glasse for all Lordly Prelates, etc. 4°. *B. M.* [700, g. 6. (5.)] *Prince Lib.* [26.238.] * 1636

268. [A sermon of Bishop of London] 0.00.06

? R. Bancroft: A sermon preached at Paules Crosse 9. of Februarie, being the first Sunday in the Parleament, Anno 1588, etc. [Bancroft was not yet Bp. of London, until 1597, but, in later editions of the sermon, might naturally have been so styled.] London, 8°. 1588 1637, etc.

B. M. [693. d. 2. (2.)]*

269. [Resolucon for kneeling] 0.00.06

D. Lindesay: A Resolution of his resolutions for kneeling at the Sacrament. Edinburgh, 4°. 1619

270, 271. [2 Exact discouery of Romish doctrine] . 0.00.04

[T. Morton]: An Exact Discoverie of Romish Doctrine in the case of Conspiracie and Rebellion, by frequent observations, collected . . . out of . . . express dogmaticall principles of Popish priests and doctors. London, 4°. 1605

B. M. [852. h. 2.]

272. [Warr was a blessing] 0.00.06

? ? D. Digges: Foure paradoxes, etc. 2 of the worthinesse of warre and warriors. London, 4°. *B. M.* [T. 1053. (2.)] 1604

273. [Midland souldier] 0.00.04

? ? M. Parker: The Maunding Soldier: or, the Fruits of Warre is Beggery. [a ballad.] London, fol. [1629]

274. [Humillitie Christians life] 0.00.06

? D. Cawdrey: Humilitie, the Saints liverie; or the habit of humilitie, the grace of graces: fetched out of the wardrobe of St. Paul. London, 4°. *B. M.* [4473. aaa. 13.] 1624

275. [Church Deliūance] 0.01.00

[quite likely a duplicate of No. 205, *ante*.]

£ s. d.

276. [Coment on Ecclesiastic] 0.00.06
? J. Granger: A familiar Exposition or Commentarie on Ecclesiastes, etc. London, 8°. 1621
B. M. [3166. aaa.]

277. [Prerogative of Parli^nts] 0.00.06
Sir W. Raleigh: The Prerogative of Parliaments in England: Proved in a Dialogue . . . between a Councellour of State and a Justice of Peace. Midelburge, 4°. *B. M.* [1104. c. 31. (5.)] *Prince Lib.* [78.82.] [Ed. 1640.] 1628

278. [Temple on 20 Psalm] 0.01.06
W. Temple: A logicall analysis of twentie select Psalmes, performed by W. T. London, 4°. *B. M.* [1215. d.] 1605

279. [Abbott sermon] 0.00.03
Rob. Abbot: The Old Waye. A sermon [on Jer. vi: 16] preached at Oxford 8 Iuly, 1610, etc. London, 4°. 1610

280. [Soules Implantacon] 0.03.04
Tho. Hooker: The Soules Implantation, etc. London, 4°. *B. M.* [4409. f.] 1637

281. [A treatise of Stage pleas] 0.00.03
J. Rainolds: Th' overthrow of Stage-Playes, by the way of controversie betwixt D. Gayer and D. Rainoldes. Wherein all the reasons that can be made for them . . . are refuted. Whereunto are added . . . certaine latine letters betwixt the sayed M. Rainolds and D. Gentiles . . . concerning the same matter. [n. pl.] [Middelberg] 4°. 1599
B. M. [641. e. 13. (1.)]

282. [Apologue of Brownists] 0.00.04
[F. Johnson & H. Ainsworth]: An Apologie or Defence of svch True Christians as are commonly (but vniustly) called Brownists; against such imputations as are layd vpon them by the Heads and Doctors of the Vniversity of Oxford, in their Answer to the humble Petition of the Ministers . . . desiring reformation, etc. 4°. 1604
B. M. [105. c. 46.] *Prince Lib.* [78.109.]*

283. [State Mistery of Iesuits] 0.00.06
? P. Gosselin: The Mysteries of the Jesuits, 1623

		£ s. d.	
	by Questions and Answers, from the French. London, 4°.		
284.	[Dike Schoole of affliccon]	0.02.00	
	D. Dyke: The Schoole of Affliction, etc. London, 4°.		1618
	B. M. [3266. c.] *Prince Lib.* [47.16.]		
285.	[Sibbs Comfort]	0.01.06	
	Rich. Sibbes: The Saints Comfort; being the substance of divers sermons on Psalm cxxx. London, 4°.		1638
286.	[Taylor on 32 psalm]	0.02.00	
	T. Taylor: Commentaries on the xxxii Psalm, etc. London, 4°.		1617
287.	[Parable of the Vine by Rogers]	0.02.00	
	N. Rogers: The Wild Vine: or an Exposition on Isaiahs parabolicall Song of the Beloved. [Isa. v. 1, 2, 3, etc.] London, 4°.		1632
	B. M. [3166. b. (1.)]		
288.	[Apologeticall reply by Damfort]	0.02.00	
	J. Davenport: An Apologeticall Reply to a Booke called An Answer to the unjust complaint of W. B. etc. Rotterdam, 4°.		1636
	B. M. [4325. b.]		
289.	[divers books sticht together]	0.02.00	
	[I feel morally certain that, in 1876, I purchased, of the late Charles Hammond, LL.D., of Monson, Mass., this identical "divers books" — which therefore I insert here — seven in number.]		
289.	[L. Chaderton]: A Godly Sermon vpon the 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 verses of the 12. chapter of . . . Paule to the Romanes. [a reprint by W. Brewster, at Leyden of an edn. of 1584.] [n. pl.] Leyden, 16°.		1618
	B. M. [1114. a. 2. (2.)] [Ed. 1584.]*		
290.	[A True, Modest, and just Defence, etc. n. pl. 16°. [printed by W. Brewster, at Leyden.] [Duplicate of Nos. 197 & 228, *ante.*] *		1618
291.	J. Robinson: The Peoples Plea for the exercise of Prophesie, against Mr. John Yates, his Monopolie, etc. [n. pl.] [printed by W. Brewster at Leyden.] 16°. *Prince Lib.* [68.16.]*		1618
292.	R. Harrison: A Little Treatise vpon the first		1618

		£ s. d.	
	verse of the 122 Psalm, etc. [Duplicate of No. 220, *ante*.] *		
293.	T. Dighton: Certain Reasons of a Private Christian against Conformitie to kneeling in the . . . act of receiving. [printed by W. Brewster at Leyden.] [n. pl.] 16°. *		1618
294.	T. Dighton: The Second Part of a Plain discourse of an Vnlettered Christian, etc. [printed by W. Brewster in Leyden.] [n. pl.] 16°.*		1619
295.	W. Euring: An Answer to the Ten Covnter Demands, propounded by T. Drakes, etc. [printed at Leyden, by W. Brewster.] [n. pl.] 16°. *		1619
296.	[Broughton of Lamentacons]	0.00.06	
	H. Broughton: The Lamentations of Jeremy, translated . . . with explications, etc. London, 4° *B. M.* [1003. b. 9. (8.)]		1608
297.	[A good wyfe]	0.00.03	
	R. Brathwait: The Description of a Good Wife; or, a rare one among Women. [verse.] London, 8°. *B. M.* [C. 30. b. 19. (2.)]		1619
298.	[Northbrook against Images]	0.01.06	
	? John Northbrooke: A Treatise against Images, etc.		[1600]
299.	[The tryall of truth by Chibbald]	0.00.04	
	W. Chibald: A Tryall of Faith: by the touchstone of the Gospel, etc. London, 8°. *B. M.* [4405. cc.]		1622
300.	[The paterne of true prayer]	0.01.06	
	[Jo. Smyth]: The paterne of true Prayer, being an Exposition or Commentary on the Lords Prayer, etc. London, 8°.		1605
301.	[Household gouerment]	0.01.06	
	R. Cleaver: A Godly form of Householde Governement: for the ordering of private Families according to the direction of Gods word, etc. London, 8°. [Newly augmented, etc.] *B. M.* [4405. e.]		1612
302.	[Blackwells answers]	0.00.04	
	Mr. G. Blackwell (made by Pope Clement 8, Archpriest of England) his Answeres upon sundry his Examinations, etc. London, 4°. *B. M.* [861. f. 21. (1.)]		1607

£ s. d.

303. [Aristotles probleames] 0.00.06
The Problemes of Aristotle, with other Philosophers and Phisitions, etc. London, 8°. 1597
B. M. [8460. aaa.]

304. [Symers Indictment] 0.00.04
W^m^ Ward: A Synners Indictament, or certen sermons, by W. W. min^r^ at Prestwood, Lincolns^hre^. [Arber, Stat. Reg. iii. 504.] 1612

305. [Iohnsons psalmes in meeter] 0.00.04
[Can this be a mistake for *Ainsworth* — and so a duplicate of No. 76?] [Or is it by the author of No. 255?]

306. [Mores discovery] 0.00.03
? Geo. More: A true Discourse . . . which may serve as part of an Answere to a fayned and false Discoverie, etc. [London], 8°. 1600
B. M. [1395. a. 15.]

307. [A Sermon] 0.00.02
??[Possibly Rob^t^ Cushman's Sermon delivered at Plymouth — which nowhere else appears, and which one would think Brewster likely to have had.]

308. [Refutacon of tolleracon] 0.00.06
? ? G. Powel: The Catholikes Svpplication vnto the kings maiestie for toleration of Catholike Religion in England . . . whereunto is annexed Parallel-wise, a supplicatorie Counterpoyse of the Protestants, etc. London, 4°. 1603
B. M. [3925. bbb.]*

309. [Aphorismes of State] 0.00.02
Apherismes of State: or . . . secret Articles for the re-edifying of the Romish Church, agreed upon . . . by the Colledge of Cardinalls, etc. Utrecht, 4°. 1624
B. M. [1103. e. 18.]

310. [Of Union betweene England & Scotland] . . 0.00.06
Sir. W^m^ Cornwallis: The Miraculous and Happie Union of England and Scotland, etc. London, 4°. *B. M.* [600. d. 29. (8.)] 1604

311. [Tales of Popes custome house] 0.00.04
? W. Crashaw. Mittimus to the Ivbile at Rome: or the rates of the popes cvstome-hovse, etc. London, 4°. *Prince Lib.* [66.27.] 1625

		£	s.	d.	
312.	[Of Pope Ioane]	0.	00.	04	
	A. Cooke: Pope Ioane: A Dialogue betweene a Protestant and a Papist . . . proving that a woman called Ioane was Pope of Rome, etc. London, 4°. *B. M.* [226. a. 22.]				1610
313.	[A dialogue betweene a gent & a preist] . .	0.	00.	04	
	W. Watson: A dialogue between a Secular Priest and a Lay Gentleman. Remes, 8°.				1601
314.	[Against kneeling]	0.	00.	03	
	[Likely to be a duplicate of No. 293, *ante*.]				1618
315.	[Perkins on fayth]	0.	00.	03	
	? W. Perkins: Problems of the Roman Faith falsly called Catholic, against J. Cocceius, etc. London, 4°. *B. M.* [476. b. 1.] [in Latin.]				[1604]
316.	[Bacons Apologye]	0.	00.	03	
	Sir F. Bacon: his apologie, in certain imputations concerning the late Earle of Essex, etc. London, 8°. *B. M.* [C. 34. a. 4.]				1604
317.	[A History of Mary Glouer]	0.	00.	03	
	J. Swan: A True and breife Report of M. Glovers vexation, and of her deliverance by the meanes of fastinge and prayer, etc. [n. pl.] 8°. *B. M.* [8630. a.]				1603
318.	[A bundle of smale books & papers]	0.	02.	00	
319.	[Defyance of death]	0.	01.	00	
	Wm. Cowper: A Defiance to Death; wherein, besides . . . instructions for a godly life, we have strong . . . comforts to uphold us in death. London, 12°. *B. M.* [4401. aaa. 30. (1.)]				1610
320.	[A Christians apparelling]	0.	01.	06	
	[R. Jenison]: The Christians apparelling by Christ. Wherein is shewed . . . 1. the Happinesse . . . of all true Christians; . . . 2. the Duetie it selfe; 3. the Triall and Examination of our selves, etc. London, 8°. *B. M.* [1112. a. 3.]				1625
321.	[Perkins on repentance]	0.	00.	08	
	W. Perkins: Of the nature and practise of Repentance, etc. Cambridge, 8°. *B. M.* [4409. f.]				1595
322.	[Essays by Cornwallis]	0.	01.	06	

£ s. d.

Sir W^m Cornwallis: Essayes of Certaine Paradoxes, etc. [2^d ed.] London, 4°. 1617
B. M. [G. 10466.]

323. [Spirituall stedfastnes] 0.00.08
J. Barlow: A seasonable discourse of Spirituall stedfastnes, etc. London, 4°. 1632
B. M. [3266. gg. 1.]

324. [A manuell] 0.00.06
? J. Usher: Immanuel; or, the mystery of the Incarnation of the Son of God unfolded. Dublin, 4°. 1638
B. M. [4474. cc. 108.]

325. [A breiffe of bible] 0.00.06
Henoch Clapham: A Briefe of the Bible, drawne . . . into English poesy, etc. London, 12^mo. 1603
B. M. [3127. a.]*

326. [Jacob on 2^d Comand^nt] 0.00.04
H. Jacob: A plaine and cleere exposition of the second Commandement, etc. [Leyden], 8°. 1610
B. M. [4374. a.]*

327. [A pill to purge popery] 0.00.02
A Pill to purge out Poperie. Or a Catechisme for Romish Catholikes. Shewing, that Popery is contrary to the grounds of the Catholike Religion, and that therefore Papists cannot be good Catholikes, etc. London, 8°. [1600]
B. M. [3936. b.]

328. [Withers] 0.00.04
? J. Phillip: The Wonderfull Worke of God shewed upon . . . W. Withers . . . who . . . laye in a Traunce . . . tenne dayes, etc. London, 8°. 1581
B. M. [697. c. 37.]

329. [Cathologue of nobillyty of England] . . . 0.00.03
R. Brooke: A Catalogue and Succession of the Kings, Princes, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, and Viscounts of this Realme of England, since the Norman Conquest, to the present Yeare, 1619, etc. London, fol. 1619
B. M. [2119. f.]

330. [English Votaryes] 0.00.06
J. Bale: The Actes of English Votaryes, comprehendynge their vnchast practyses and examples by all ages from the worldes begynnynge to thys present yeare, etc. Wesel, 8°. 1546
B. M. [C. 37. c. 12.]

		£ s. d.	
331.	[Sibbs Yea & Amen]	0.01.06	
	R. Sibbes: Yea and Amen: or pretious promises, and priviledges spiritually unfolded in their nature and use, etc. London, 12mo *B. M.* [4378. a.]		1638
332.	[Sermons by Rollock]	0.01.00	
	R. Rollock: Certain Sermons on several places of St. Pauls Epistles, etc. Edinburgh, 8°. *B. M.* [4453. de. 1.] [repr. of 1634.]		1590
333.	[Kinges Bath]	0.00.08	
	Tho. Taylor: The Kings Bath; or a Treatise on Matt. iii: 13, to the end, etc. London, 8°. *Prince Lib.* [60. a. 14.] [in his Works, 1653.]		1620
334.	[Great Assise by Smyth]	0.00.08	
	? S. Smith: The Great Assize, or the day of Iubilee, etc. on Rev. xx: 11–15. London, 12mo.		[1625]
335.	[Martin on Easter]	0.01.00	
	?? N. Marten: The seventh voyage . . . into East India, etc. London, fol. *B. M.* [679. h. 11.]		1625
336.	[Smyth on 6th of Hosea]	0.01.06	
	Sam. Smyth: An Exposition upon the sixt Chapter of . . . Hosea, etc. London, 8°. *B. M.* [3166. de.]		1616
337.	[Discription of World]	0.01.00	
	G. Abbot: A briefe Description of the whole worlde, etc. London, 4°. *B. M.* [10004. c.]*		1620
338.	[Cantelus Cannon of Masse]	0.01.00	
	The Cauteles, Canon, and Ceremonies of the . . . Popish Masse . . . With certain annotations . . . set forth by . . . P. Viret & translated by Th. Sto[cker] etc. London, 8°. *B. M.* [C. 37. b. 18.]		1584
339.	[Perkins of Repentance]	0.00.06	
	[Seems to be a duplicate of No. 321, *ante.*]		
340.	[Gods mc̄y & Jurasā misery]	0.00.06	
341.	[Silū Watch bell]	0.00.06	
	T. Tymme: A Silver Watch-Bell. The Sound whereof is able (by the grace of God) to winne the most profane worldling . . . to become a true Christian, etc. London, 8°. *B. M.* [4403. d.]		1617

		£ s. d.	
342.	[7 Sermons by W. B.]	0.00.06	
	[I judge that these were MS. sermons written by W^m^ Brewster.]		
343.	[Burton ag^st^ Cholmely]	0.00.06	
	H. Burton: Babel no Bethel: That is the Church of Rome no true visible Church of Christ, in answer to H. Cholmley, etc. 4°. *B. M.* [108. d. 30.]		1629
344.	[Sibbs Saints p^r^viledges]	0.01.01	
	R. Sibbs: The Saints Comforts, divers sermons on Ps. 130. London, 12°.		1638
345.	[Sibbs Riches of mercy]	0.01.01	
	R. Sibbs: The Riches of mercy, in two treatises, etc. London, 12°.		[1638]
346.	[Regla Vite]	0.01.01	
	Th. Taylor: Regula Vitæ. The Rule of the Law under the Gospel [as to Libertines, Antinomians, etc.] London, 12°. *B. M.* [4256. a.]		1635
347.	[Pilgrimes p^r^fession]	0.00.08	
	T. Taylor: The Pilgrims Profession, or a sermon [on Ps. xxxix. 12] preached at the funeral of Mrs. M. Gunter, &c. London, 12^mo^. *B. M.* [1418. i. 10.]		1622
348.	[Sermon at Pauls crosse]	0.00.04	
	[Necessarily impossible to identify.]		
349.	[Nature & grace]	0.00.00	
	? Iohn Prime: A Treatise of Nature and Grace, in two books; with Answers to the Enemies of Grace, etc. London, 8°.		1583
350.	[Perkins of Predestinacon]	0.00.06	
	W. Perkins: A Christian and plaine treatise of the manner and order of Predestination, and of the largenes of Gods grace, etc. London, 8°. *B. M.* [4256. aa.]		1606
351.	[Spirituall trumpett]	0.00.08	
352.	[Vox Regis]	0.00.06	
	Tho. Scott: Vox Regis. London, 4°. *B. M.* [G. 3801.]		1623
353.	[Barrowes platforme]	0.00.06	
	Mr. H. Barrowes Platform. Which may serve as a Preparative to purge away Prelatisme with some other parts of poperie. Made		1611

£ s. d.

ready to be sent from Miles Micklebound to Much-beloved England, etc. [n. pl.] 8°.
B. M. [698. a. 35. (2.)]

354. [Exposicon of Lords prayer] 0.00.06
? W. Perkins: An Exposition of the Lords Prayer: in the way of Catechizing serving for ignorant people, etc. London, 4°. 1595
B. M. [3224. b.]

355. [Comon weale of England] 0.00.06
Sir Tho. Smith: The Common-Welth of England, and maner of government thereof . . . with new additions of the cheefe Courts in England, the offices thereof, and their severall functions, etc. London, 4°. 1589
B. M. [1137. f. 1.]*

356. [Right way of peace] 0.00.06
? R. Bruce: The Way to true Peace and Rest: delivered at Edinborough in XVI. Sermons, etc. London, 4°. 1617
B. M. [4455. a.]

357. [4th pt of true watch] 0.01.00
J. Brinsley: The True Watch and Rule of Life: fourth Part; containing prayers and tears for the Churches, etc. London, 12°. 1624
B. M. [876. b. 5.]

358. [Iohnson on Psalmes] 0.01.00
[I suppose a duplicate of No. 305, *ante*.]

359. [Byfield paterne of] 0.01.00
N. Byfield: The Principles or the Patterne of wholesome Words. Containing a collection of such Truths as are of necessitie to be believed unto Salvation, seperated out of the bodie of all Theologie, etc. London, 12°. 1627
B. M. [3557. a.]

360. [Duke promises] 0.00.06
?? Dav. Dickson: A Treatise on the Promises. Dublin, 12°. 1630
[*Watt.* 302. o.]

361. [A help to memorye] 0.00.06
A Helpe to Memorie and Discourse. The two Syrens of the Eare, and joynt Twins of Mans perfection. Extracted from the sweating braines of Physitians . . . and Poets, etc. London, 12°. [Partly in verse.] 1621
B. M. [C. 40. a. 41.]

£ s. d.

362. [p. posicons by Iohn Sprint] 0.00.11

Io. Sprint: Considerations and Arguments touching the poynts in difference between the godly ministers and people of the Church of England; and the seduced brethren, of the Separation. [London.] [1607]

[I have it, as cited in full to be replied to, by Henry Ainsworth.]

363. [The morality of law] 0.00.06

364. [Cases of Conscience by Per] 0.01.00

W. Perkins: The whole treatise of the Cases of Conscience, distinguished into three bookes, etc. Cambridge, 8°. 1608

B. M. [4406. cc.]

365. [Discouery of famyly of love] 0.00.06

? Io. Rogers: The Displaying of an horrible secte of grosse and wicked Heretiques, naming themselues the Familie of Loue, with the liues of their Authours, and what doctrine they teach in corners, etc. London, 8°. 1579

366. [Sermon of repentance] 0.00.06

? R. Mauericke: The Practice of Repentance, or a sermon [on Jer. iv. 14] etc. London, 4°. 1617

B. M. [4473. aaa. 24.]

367. [Sermon at Paules Crosse] 0.00.06

[Impossible to identify.]

368. [Sibbs spirituall maxims] 0.00.09

R. Sibbes: The Spirituall-Mans Aime. Guiding a Christian in his Affections and actions, through the sundry passages of this life, etc. London, 12°. 1637

369. [Memorable conceits] 0.01.00

Memorable Conceits of Divers Noble and famous personages of Christendom of this our modern time. London, 12°. [Hazlitt's Handbook, etc. (1867) p. 96.] 1602

370. [God & the Kinge] 0.00.04

[R. Mockett]: God and the king: or, a Dialogue shewing that our Soveraigne Lord King Iames being immediate under God within his Dominions, doth rightfully claime whatsoever is required by the Oath of Allegiance. London, 8°. 1615

B. M. [1139. b. 2.]

		£	s.	d.	
371.	[Smyth on Riddle of Nebuchudnez.] . . .	0	0	08	
	Henry Smith: Three Sermons: The Pride, the Fall, and the Restitution of King Nebuchadnezzar. London, 12mo.				1591
	B. M. [4474. a. 21; b. 102 (2.); a. 24.]				
372.	[Estey on Comandnts & 51st Psalm]	0	1	00	
	Geo: Estey: Certaine godly and learned Expositions upon divers parts of Scripture, etc. [Psa. 51; The Ten Commandments, etc.] London, 4°. *B. M.* [3127. d.]				1603
373.	[Christians dayly walk]	0	1	06	
	Hy. Scudder: The Christians Daily Walke, in holy security and peace. London, 12°.				[1620]
	B. M. [4402. b.] [6th ed. 1635.]				
374.	[Exposicon of 11 & 12 Reuelacon]	0	0	06	
	? Th. Taylor: Christs Victorie over the Dragon . . . in a plaine . . . Exposition of the 12 chapter of S. Iohns Revelation, etc. London, 4°.				1633
375.	[Treatise of English medicines]	0	0	06	
	[T. Bedford]: A Treatise: wherein is declared the sufficiencie of English Medicines for the cure of all diseases cured with medicine: Whereunto is added a collection of Medicines growing . . . within our English climat, etc. London, 8°. *B. M.* [1038. d. 36. (5.)]				1615
376.	[A dialogue of desiderias]	0	0	06	
	A Dialogue or Discourse, passing betweene Desiderius and Miles Micklebound, by occasion of their old love and new meeting. [n. pl.] 8°. [This is really, I suppose, a duplicate of No. 353, *ante;* being the sub-title of that which would appear to be the title of the book, if the first two leaves had been torn off.]				1611
377.	[A supplycacon to the King]	0	0	06	
	? [H. Iacob]: To the right High and Mightie, Iames, etc. An humble Supplication for Toleration and libertie to enjoy and observe the ordinances of Christ Iesvs in th' administration of his Churches in lieu of humane constitutions, etc. [n. pl.] 4°. *B. M.* [4135. a.]				1609
378.	[Abba father]	0	0	06	
	Elnat. Parr: Abba Father: or a plaine . . .				1618

		£ s. d.	
	Direction concerning the framing of private prayer, etc. London, 12°. *B. M.* [4403. e.] [5th ed. 1636.] *Prince Lib.* [44.8.] [in Works, 1631.]		
379.	[Abrahams tryall discourse] . . . . . ? J. Calvin: Seven sermons on Abrahams triall, faith and obedience in offering his son Isaack, etc. [Ames. iii. 1809.]	0.01.00	1592
380.	[Jacobbs ladder] . . . . . Hy. Smith: Iacobs Ladder, or the High Way to Heaven, etc. [Sermon on 1 Cor. ix. 24.] London, 8°. *B. M.* [4474. b. 74.]	0.01.06	1595
381.	[Perkins of Imagina] . . . . . W. Perkins: A Treatise of mans Imaginations, shewing, his natural evill thoughts; his want of good thoughts; the way to reforme them. London, 8°.	0.00.06	[1608]
382.	[Burton Christī question] . . . . . ? W^m: Burton: Certain Questions and Answers concerning the Attributes of God, etc. London, 4°.	0.00.06	1602
383.	[A toyle for 2 legged foxes] . . . . . J. B[axter]: A Toile for two-legged Foxes . . . for encouragement against all Popish practises. London, 8°. *B. M.* [874. d. 28.]	0.00.06	1600
384.	[A cordiall for comfort] . . . . . W^m Chibald: A Cordiall of Comfort: to preserve the heart from fainting with Grief or Feare, etc. London, 12°. *B. M.* [4405. aa.]	0.00.06	1625
385.	[Zacheus conuersion] . . . . . Jo. Wilson: Zacheus converted, or the Rich Publicans Repentance. Restitution. In which the Mysteries of the Doctrine of Conversion are laid open. Also of Riches . . . their getting, keeping, expending, etc. London, 12°. *B. M.* [873. b. 32.]	0.02.01	1631
386.	[Spirituall touchstone] . . . . . The Tovchstone of the reformed Gospel. In confirmation of the catholick doctrine. The last ed. [London], 12°. *Prince Lib.* [70. a. 29.]	0.00.03	[1621]
387.	[Dearmies advantage]	0.00.06	

		£ s. d.	
388.	[Englands summons]	0.00.06	
	Tho: Sutton: Englands Summons: a Sermon [on Hosea iv. 1–3]. London, 8°. *B. M.* [4474. b. 98.]		1613
389.	[Burton wooing his Church]	0.00.04	
	W^m^. Burton: God wooing his Church: two sermons, etc. London, 4°. [*Bodleian.*]		1602
390.	[Goulden key]	0.00.04	
	A Golden Key openinge the locke to Eternal Happynes. [Arber, Stat. Reg. iii. 399.]		1609
391.	[A remedy against famine & warr]	0.00.06	
	Jo. Udall: The true remedie against famine and warres, [five sermons upon the 1^st^ Chapter of the prophesie of Ioel] etc. London, 12°. *B. M.* [4452. b.]		[1587]
392.	[Treatise against popery]	0.01.00	
	? Tho. Stoughton: A generall treatise against poperie, etc. Cambridge, 8°. *B. M.* [3932. b.]		1598
393.	[Treatise of Gods religion]	0.00.08	
	?? R. Fills: History and Statutes of Geneva, etc. . . . whereby Gods religion is most purelie maintained, etc. London, 8°. *B. M.* [1127. b. 22.]		1622

Taking advantage of the vagueness of Entry No. 318 [a "*bundle* of small books and papers"], it may be said that there were no fewer than 400 separate books in this library at the time of Elder Brewster's decease; as many as 393 being separately and distinctly catalogued, — four of which had second volumes, making 397 in all, besides the "bundle" aforesaid.

Of these — throwing out thirty, the size of which remains undesignated, and sixteen, which I have thus far failed to identify — we have, in size, as follows: Folios, 48; Quartos, 177; Octavos et infra, 121.

As to language they divide as follows: In Latin, 62; in English, 302.

As to subject, without being specially exact in cases where a given volume would classify almost equally well under more than one head, I find: Expository, 98; Doctrinal, 63; Practical religious, 69; Historical, 24; Ecclesiastical, 36; Philosophical, 6; Poetical, 14; Miscellaneous, 54. I seem to find *thirteen* duplicates, suggesting the question whether it may not have been possible that this library — certainly one of extraordinary size and quality in those days to be collected and owned

by a single member of such a church, in such a primitive community and colony — had at least some small relation to the general wants, and may not have been intended, in part, for the general use.

To me, however, the most significant fact about the library is connected with the date of publication of a considerable portion of its constituent volumes. I am ready to concede all that may reasonably be claimed to the credit of uncertainties. I may, in a few instances, have mistaken one book for another of nearly the same title. Or volumes which I have only been able to trace in late dates may possibly, in rare cases, have existed in earlier editions, to some one of which the Elder's copy may have belonged. But, making all just allowance for every such source of error, I am still prepared to submit that the evidence of the dates of these works throws an extraordinary and very interesting light upon Elder Brewster's character as a man of books, and upon the Old Colony in its first generation as a place of books.

Mr. Brewster could not, of course, have brought over with him in the "Mayflower" any volume of a date later than August, 1620. Of the whole 393, I throw out, as being of unknown date, or as being unrecognized altogether, 23, leaving 370. Of these 281 — or roughly 75 per cent — bear date in or before 1620, and 89 — or very nearly 25 per cent — bear date after 1620. Or, to take the trouble to arrange them exactly, — it being remembered that a perfect assurance of accuracy is lacking in the case of six or seven, — we have them printed and issued as follows, namely: In 1621, 8; in 1622, 10; in 1623, 5; in 1624, 6; in 1625, 13; in 1626, 1; in 1627, 6; in 1628, 2; in 1629, 4; in 1630, 2; in 1631, 4; in 1632, 4; in 1633, 4; in 1634, 4; in 1635, 2; in 1636, 3; in 1637, 3; in 1638, 5; in 1640, 1; in 1641, 1; in 1643, 1. This gives us the remarkable fact that in only two of the years which the Elder spent in Plymouth before his last — namely, 1639 and 1642 — did he fail to avail himself of some of the freshest literature of the fatherland.

A few words ought to be devoted to the general character of this collection.

It contained four books by John Robinson [106, 118, 165, 291]; and eleven [64, 83, 186, 197, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295], printed in Leyden [1617–19], by Mr. Brewster himself. It needs not be said that it was a solid one, in more senses than one. Whoever undertook, whether by land or water, to transport its forty-eight folios and one hundred and seventy-seven quartos — to say nothing of the one hundred and twenty-one of smaller size — from Plymouth to the Elder's suburban residence in Duxbury, must have found it, for wain or wherry, a heavy job.

As I have intimated, it was most largely an expository collection. Now, the great and regnant fact about the Plymouth Colonists was that

they believed the Bible to be God's book for man's guidance, and that man's first duty is to understand, that he may be obedient to it. In their day it had not long been a common thing for common men to have a Bible, and to feel that they had any personal duty of studying, that they might practise, its precepts. Hence the great function of the pulpit in those days was felt to be to explain to the people the Word of God. Of John Cotton, Cotton Mather says:[1] —

"Here [in Boston] in an Expository way, he went over [between 1633 and 1652] the *Old Testament* once, and a Second Time as far as the Thirtieth Chapter of *Isaiah;* and the whole New *Testament* once, and a Second time, as far as the Eleventh Chapter to the *Hebrews.* Upon *Lord's Days* and *Lecture-Days*, he Preached thorow the *Acts of the Apostles;* the Prophesies of *Haggai* and *Zechariah;* the Books of *Ezra*, the *Revelation*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Canticles*, Second and Third Epistles of *Iohn*, the Epistle to *Titus*, both Epistles to *Timothy;* the Epistle to the *Romans;* with innumerable other Scriptures on Incidental Occasions."

The Pilgrim was the Puritan in his superlative degree, and it is not to be thought likely that Pilgrim Plymouth would fall behind Puritan Boston in this thing. It might, therefore, be assumed that Elder Brewster — upon whom, in the failure of "Mr. Crabe" to accompany the expedition, devolved, in theory as well as practice, at first, and in practice largely for many years, the care of the pulpit — would not fail to supply himself with the necessary helps of an exegetical character. We accordingly find in this collection, as follows, namely: Commentaries upon the whole Bible, 2; upon the whole New Testament, 6; upon the Four Gospels, 3; upon the Pentateuch, 1; upon the Prophets, generally, 1; upon Genesis, 3; upon Joshua, 1; upon Judges, 1; upon 1 Samuel, 1; upon the Psalms, 8; upon Proverbs, 1; upon Ecclesiastes, 3; upon the Song of Solomon, 1; upon Isaiah, 4; upon Jeremiah, 1; upon Lamentations, 2; upon Ezekiel, 1; upon Daniel, 3; upon Hosea, 1; upon Matthew, 1; upon Luke, 1; upon the Gospel of John, 1; upon the Epistle to the Romans, 5; upon 1 Corinthians, 3; upon 2 Corinthians, 1; upon Ephesians, 2; upon Colossians, 1; upon 1 Thessalonians, 1; upon 2 Thessalonians, 1; upon 2 Timothy, 1; upon Titus, 1; upon Hebrews, 1; upon James, 1; upon 1 Peter, 1; upon 1 John, 1; upon Jude, 1; upon the Apocalypse, 2; upon brief special passages, 26. There was also [98] Cotton's *Concordance*, in two folio volumes.

It is my strong impression that it is very doubtful whether, for its first quarter-century, New England anywhere else had so rich a collection of exegetical literature as this. Nor did the Elder depend, by any means, wholly upon the judgment of others as to what the Word of God meant. He had a Hebrew grammar [59], with Morelius's Latin, Greek,

[1] Magnalia, iii. 23.

and English dictionary [62], and Buxtorf's Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon [63], — tools which he had learned to handle at Peterhouse.

That the Elder did not, however, confine himself wholly to the ruts of theology, is suggested in that he took pains to have at his hand in the Plymouth woods, Lambert of Avenna's treatise "Of the Wyll of Man" [3]; "Les Six Livres de la Republique" of the great French jurist Jean Bodin, in Knolles's English as "The Six Bookes of a Commonweale" [92]; Sir Thomas Smith's "Commonwelth of England & maner of Government thereof" [355]; Lord Bacon's "Twoo Bookes, of the proficience and advancement of Learning, divine and humane" [260]; his "Apologie, in certaine Imputations concerning the late Earle of Essex" [316]; and his "Declaration of the Practices and Treasons of the Earle of Essex" [229]; "The Problemes of Aristotle" [303]; "The *Princeps* of Macchiavelli" [50]; Geffray Mynshul's "Essayes and Characters of a Prison, and Prisoners" [224]; with Sir Walter Raleigh's "Prerogative of Parliaments in England" [277]. And it is interesting to note how, for natural science and practical needs, he brought with him — for, by their dates, he could have brought them with him, — Keckerman's "Systema Geographicum" [44]; Archb. Abbot's "Briefe Description of the whole world" [337]; John Smith's "Description of New England" [8]; the "New Herball" of Rembert Dodoens [85]; Rathbone's "Surveyor" [94]; and John Norden's "Surveyor's Dialogue . . . very profitable for all men to peruse, that have to do with the revenues of land, or occupation thereof" [212]; Standish's "New Directions . . . for the increasing of Timber and Firewood, with the least waste and losse of ground" [232]; De Serres's "Perfect use of Silkwormes and their benefit" [235]; and Bedford's "Sufficiencie of English Medicines for the cure of all diseases cured with Medicine" [375].

In poetry this collection cannot be called strong. It had the fulsome and clumsy Latin strains in which the Rev. Dr. Francis Herring celebrated the gracious advent of King James [67]; and it had Ainsworth's amazing Psalmody [76], and Henoch Clapham's still more astounding verse, "A Briefe of the Bible" [325], of which I cite one stanza [p. 29]: —

> "Their names were thus, *Reuben* and *Simeon*,
> Then *Levi*, *Iudah*, *Dan*, and *Naphtali*,
> *Gad*, *Asher*, *Issachar*, *Zebulon*,
> *Joseph* and *Beniamin:* This *Joseph* enviously
> Was of his Brethren sold to Ægypt Land,
> Where *Ioseph* was advaunst by God his hand."

In W. Hornby's "Scourge of Drunkennes (in verse)" [215], I imagine that this library had the seed of what is commonly now called

Temperance literature. It looks a little as if it had one tragedy called "Messalina" [107]; and, with two or three ballads and broadsides [210, 230, 236, 273], it had Braithwait's "Description [in verse] of a Good Wife" [297], and a couple of volumes of George Wither [231, 256]; one of which [231] had that motto, "nec habeo, nec careo, nec curo," to which John Winthrop referred in his letter to Sir William Springe [Life and Letters, i. 396], where he called Wither "our modern spirit of poetry."

In the line of exceedingly miscellaneous, it had Thomas Lupton's "Thousand Notable Things of sundrie sorts. Whereof some are wonderfull, some strange, some pleasant, divers necessary, a great sort profitable, and many verie precious," etc. [206].

I have not discovered among these books a single volume identical with either of the nine-and-thirty which [Life, ii. 438] Governor Winthrop presented to Harvard College on its first Commencement in 1642.

I had in mind some endeavor to compare Brewster's collection in size and quality with those of the earliest worthies of the other New England colonies; but the subject so outruns my knowledge that it must be left to more competent scholars.

Mr. Winsor presented the following paper: —

List of some Briefs in Appeal Causes tried before the Lords Commissioners of Appeals of Prize Causes of his Majesty's Privy Council which relate to America, 1736–1758. *By* Paul Leicester Ford.

The lack of material for the study and history of American trade and commerce before the Revolution is so great that it hardly requires mention. In the writings of Charles Davenant, Josiah Child, Joshua Gee, William Douglas, John Ashley, Edmund Burke, Adam Smith, and in a few fugitive pamphlets is more or less matter on this subject, but it is at best imperfect and fragmentary. Yet this topic is not only important from an economic point of view, but equally so for the history of the causes of our Revolution; for the trade restrictions and Admiralty Courts on the one side, and the illicit trading and nullification of the English trade laws on the other side, were a most important element in the origin of that war.

In the library of Mr. Gordon L. Ford, of Brooklyn, New York, are two volumes of practically unknown papers which throw much light on this subject. Originally belonging to Chief Justice William Lee and Sir George Lee, members of the Privy Council, they consist, for the most part, of the printed briefs in marine cases arising in the French and Spanish War of 1739–1748, appealed from the Admiralty Courts

in England or in the English colonies to that portion of the Privy Council severally described as the "Lords Commissioners for Appeals in Prize Causes," the "Committee of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council for Affairs of the Plantations," or the "Lords Commissioners for hearing Appeals from the Plantations in America in Cause of Prize." As in appeal cases now, only enough of these briefs were printed to give the Commissioners and the opposing advocates each a copy; and this probably limited the edition to a dozen or fifteen copies, which sufficiently accounts for their rarity and neglect as historical matter. In these legal arguments and statements, however, is a great mass of American naval and commercial history; and these particular copies are given especial value by many long notes of the two Lees, giving their opinions, the positions of the different members of the Privy Council, and also the decisions of that body.

To make these papers better known I have prepared a list of all that treat of American trade, to which I have added a few notes. The titles are taken from the printed endorsements, which in each case is given in full and lined as printed. In a number of the briefs the dates have been left blank, and in others have been filled in with ink, which in this list are bracketed and printed in italics. The arrangement is by the ship in question, and chronologically by the date as written by the Lees. All matter in the notes in quotation is taken from their manuscript notes.

1736. Ship Victory. Solomon de Medina Mosesson, | and Others, | Appellants. | Matthew Norris, Esq; and | Edward Greenly, Esq; his | Majesty's Proctor, | Respondents. | The Appellants Case. | On the hearing of this Appeal, before the | Right Honourable the Lords Com-|missioners for hearing Appeals from the | Plantations in America, in Causes of | Prize; on the 2d Day of February, 1736, | at in the . [Signed] J. Strange, W. Strahan. Fo. pp. 4.

This case involved only part of the cargo of the ship, which was captured and carried into New York, but was afterwards released.

New-York. | Solomon Medina Moses-|son, and Others, | Appellants. | Matthew Norris, Esq; Respondent. | The Respondent's Case. | To be Heard before the Lords Com-|missioners of Appeals in Prize Causes, | on Wednesday the 2d. of February, | at Ten o'Clock in the Forenoon, at | the Cockpit, Whitehall. [Signed] G. Paul, J. Andrew. Fo. pp. 3.

Solomon Medina, and others Appellants. | Capt. Matthew Norris Respondent. | Reasons humbly offered on the Part of the | Appellants, in Support of the Jurisdiction of the | Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners for | hearing Appeals from the Plantations in Ame-|rica, in Causes of Prize. [Signed] Will. Strahan. J. Strange. Fo. pp. 3.

1743. Ship Le Grand Juste. Lords Commissioners of Prizes.| Peter Vincent Duplessis Master of | the French Ship Le Grand Juste,| taken by his Majesty's Ship of | War the Success, Bradwarden | Thompson, Esq; Commander, | Appellant. | The said Bradwarden Thompson,| Esq; | Respondent. | The Appellant's Case. | To be Heard before the Lords Commissioners | of Prizes, at the Cockpit, Whitehall, on| Tuesday the 17th Day of January 1743, at | Six of the Clock in the Evening. [Signed] W. Noel, W. Strahan, H. Edmunds. Fo. pp. 11.

"Le Grand Juste" was, by the statement of its own officers, engaged in illicit trading with the port of Havana. In this it was detected, seized by the "Success," and carried into Boston, and there condemned. This is an appeal from the decision of that Vice-Admiralty Court.

Peter Vincent Duplessis, late | Master of the pretended | French Ship, the Grand | Juste, | Appellant. | His Majesty's Procurator and | Bradwarden Thompson Esq; | Commander of His Ma-|jesty's Ship of War the | Success, and the Officers | and Mariners on Board at | the time of the Capture, | Respondents. | The Respondents Case. | To be heard before the Right Honourable the | Lords Commissioners for receiving Appeals in | Prize-Causes, at the Council Chamber, White-| hall, Tuesday 17 January 1743, at Six in the | Evening. [Signed] G. Paul, W. Murray. Fo. pp. 4.

1743. Ship La Sainte Rose. His Majesty's Proctor, on Behalf| of Thomas Greenville, Esq; | Commander of His Majesty's Ship | of War the Romney, and the | Officers and Mariners belonging | to the said Ship, | Appellants. | Mary Catharine Marye Widow of | Thomas Planterose, and Ste-|phen Marye, Natives of France, | Inhabitants, pretended Owners | of the Ship La Sainte Rose, | otherwise Santa Rosa, | Respondents. | Et e contra. | The Case of the Appellants in the | said Original, and Respondents in | the said Cross Appeal. | To be Heard before the Right Honourable the | Lords Commissioners of Prizes, at the | Council-Chamber in the Cockpit Whitehall, on | Saturday the 5th day of November 1743 | at 10 of the Clock in the Forenoon. [Signed] G. Paul, W. Murray, Ed. Simpson. Fo. pp. 4, 6.

"La Sainte Rose," trading in the West Indies and New Orleans, was seized as a Spanish vessel, and condemned as such. The Appellants put forth the plea that she was French, and on that ground the case is appealed.

Lords Commissioners of Prizes. | Mary Catharine Marye, Widow | Planterose, and Stephen Marye, | Appellants. | Edward Greenly, Esq; — Respondent. | The said Edward Greenly, Esq; — Appellant. | The said Mary Catharine Marye, | Widow Planterose and Stephen | Marye, | Respondents. | The Case of the Appellants in the | First, and Respondents in the Second | Appeal. | To be Heard before the Right Honourable the | Lords Commissioners of Prizes, at | the Council-Chamber in the Cockpit Whitehall, | on Saturday the

5th Day of November 1743. at | 10 of the Clock in the Forenoon. [Signed] T. Clarke, J. Andrew. Fo. pp. 8 [2].

1743. Ship L'Hirondelle. Lords Commissioners of Prizes. | Louis Roger, Master of the French Sloop called | L'Hirondelle, otherwise the Swallow, for | and on behalf of Petit de la Burthe | of Bourdeaux, Merchant, the Owner and | Proprietor of Bullion, to the Amount of | 77,982 Pieces of Eight, Two Bits and One | Half-bit, and also for and on behalf of | Gabriel Michel, of Nantes, Merchant, the | owner and Proprietor of Bullion, to the | Amount of 9,164 Pieces of Eight, seized on | board the said Sloop, | Appellant | Perry Maine, Esq; Commander of his Ma-|jesty's Ship of War the Orford, | Respondent. | The Case of the Appellants the said Petit | de la Burthe and Gabriel Michel. [Signed] W. Murray, Geo. Lee. Fo. pp. 7.

"W. Murray" is stricken out with a pen.

1744. Ship Charles. Before the Lords Commissioners for | Appeals in Prize Causes. | James Crokatt and others, Mer-|chants of London, Owners of | the Ship Charles, and of her | Cargo, taken by the Spaniards, | and retaken by two of his Ma-|jesty's Ships of War, | Appellants. | His Majesty's Procurator-General, | and Peter Warren Esq; and the | Hon. Henry Aylmer Esq;, the | Commanders of his Majesty's | Ships which retook the said | Ship Charles, | Respondents. | The Appellants Case. | To be heard before the Right Honourable the | Lords Commissioners for Appeals in Prize | Causes, at the Council-Chamber in the Cockpit | at Whitehall. [Signed] D. Ryder, W. Murray, Hen. Edmunds. Fo. pp. 3.

The ship "Charles," trading between Charleston, South Carolina, and London, England, was captured by the Spaniards, and recaptured by English men of war. The question at issue was whether the ship was subject to salvage only, or was a true prize.

James Crokatt, and others, Owners | of the Ship Charles, and her Cargo, | Appellants. | Edward Greenly, Esquire, his Ma-|jesty's Procurator-General, Peter | Warren, Esquire, Commander of | his Majesty's Ship the Launceston, | and the Honourable Henry Aylmer, | Esquire, Commander of his Ma-|jesty's Ship the Port-Mahon, and | the Officers and Mariners belonging | to the said Ships, | Respondents. | The Respondents Case. | To be Heard before the Right Honourable the Lords | Commissioners of Prizes, at the Council-Chamber, | at the Cockpit, Whitehall, on the | day of 1743, at | o'clock in the noon. [Signed] G. Paul, Wm. Noel, Joh. Audley. Fo. pp. 3.

1746. Ship La Fortune. Jamaica. | Lords Commissioners of Prizes. | Matthew Concannen, Esq; on the Be-|half of William

Chambers, Esq; | Commander, and the rest of the Offi-|cers and Mariners of his Majesty's | Ship Montague, Captors of the | French Ship La Fortune, and the | said Captain Chambers, his Officers | and Mariners, | Appellants. | Stephen Croupier de Kandran, late | Commander of the said Ship La For-|tune, on the Behalf of himself and | Messieurs Surcouffs, de la Lanne | Magon, John, Anthony, and Henry | Loubier, and James Tessier, | Respondent. | The Appellants Case. | To be Heard before the Right Honourable the Lords | Commissioners of Prizes, at the Council-|Chamber at the Cockpit, Whitehall, on | the day of March, 1745, at of the | Clock in the Afternoon. [Signed] G. Paul, D. Ryder, Hen. Edmunds. Fo. pp. 7.

"La Fortune," seized by the "Montague," was loaded with arms and ammunition for the Spanish American colonies. It was claimed that the vessel was French.

1747. Ship Santa Rosa. Jamaica. | John Draper, Esq., the Commander, | and the Officers and Mariners of his | Majesty's Ship the Adventure, | Appellants. | Augustin Dupony, Supercargo of the | Santa Rosa, as a Subject of the King | of France, on Behalf of himself, | and the pretended French Owners | of the said Ship and Cargo, | Respondent. | The Appellants Case. | To be Heard before the Right Honourable the Lords | Commissioners of Prizes, at the Council Chamber | in the Cockpit, Whitehall, on [*Wednesday*] the [*13th*] | day of [*January*] 174[7], at [*6*] of the Clock in the Afternoon. [Signed] G. Paul, W. Murray, Hen. Edmunds. Fo. pp. 3.

The "Santa Rosa," trading in the West Indies and Spanish Main, and loaded with Spanish goods, was seized by the "Adventure" man of war. The question at issue was the nationality of the ship.

Lords Commissioners of Prizes. | John Draper, Esq., Appellant. | Augustin Dupony, Respondent. | To be Heard before the Right Honourable the Lords | Commissioners for Hearing Prize-Appeals, at the | Council Chamber in the Cockpit, Whitehall, on | Monday, the 24th. day of February, 1745, at Six | o'clock in the Afternoon. [Signed] D. Ryder, Geo. Lee, Ed. Simpson. Fo. pp. 3.

John Draper, Esq; Appellant. | Augustin Dupony, Respondent. | An Appendix to the Respondent's printed | Case. | Containing the Proofs and Exhibits on | both Sides. Fo. pp. 7.

1748. Ship Carl Hendrick Wrangel. Lords Commissioners of Appeal | for Prizes. | Peter Rowland, Commander of | the Private Ship of War, | called the Hillary, | Appellt. | Rasmus Boo, Master of the Ship Carl Hendrick Wrangel, | on behalf of himself, and | Olof Wengren, Nicholas Jacob- | son, and others, Inhabi-|tants of Sweden, Owners of | the said Ship | Resp^{ts}. | Case on behalf of the | Respondents. [Signed] Wm. Noel, Ed. Simpson. Fo. pp. 4.

A Swedish ship, trading between Cadiz and Vera Cruz. The captor claimed that she was loaded with arms and ammunition, and was therefore forfeited, and, the Vice-Admiralty Court condemned her. The Claimant states that the arms, etc. were part of her outfit, and that her cargo was non-forfeitable.

Appendix. Fo. pp. 3.

Peter Rowland, Commander of the | Private Sloop of War The Hillary, | for and on behalf of himself, his | Officers and Mariners, | Captor and | Appellant. | Rasmus Boo, Master of the Ship | Carl Hindrick Wrangel, | Claimant and | Respondent. | Pedro Bruels, a Native and Inhabit-|ant of Bremen, Clerk of the said | Swedish Ship Carl Hindrick Wran-|gel, | Claimant and | Appellant. | Peter Rowland, Commander of the | said Private Sloop of War, The | Hillary, | Captor and | Respondent. | The Captor and Appellant's Case. To be Heard before the Right Honourable the Lords | Commissioners of Prizes, at the Council-Chamber—at the Cockpit, Whitehall, on the | Day of 1747. [Signed] W. Murray, R. Jenner. Fo. pp. 7.

"The Lords after much debate and consideration reversed the sentence and condemn'd the Ship &c. July 14th 1748."

1748. Ship South Kingston. Rhode Island. | Benjamin Hassard, and Others, Appellants. | John Rous, Respondent. | Et e contra. | The Case of the said Benjamin Hassard, | and others, Appellants in the Original, | and Respondents in the Cross-Appeal. | To be Heard before the Right Honourable the Lords | of the Committee of his Majesty's most Ho-|nourable Privy Council, at the Council Chamber | at the Cockpit, Whitehall, on the | Day of 1748, at of the Clock in | the noon. [Signed] Wm. Noel, A. Hume Campbell. Fo. pp. 3.

The "South Kingston," owned in Newport, was captured by an English privateer while trading between that port and Hispaniola, and was carried into Charleston, where she was condemned.

1748. Ship La Marquise d'Antin. In the Admiralty. | Lords Commissioners of Prizes. | In the Matter of the Ship La Marquise | d'Antin. | James Talbott, Commander of the | Prince Frederick Privateer, and | John Morecock, Commander of | the Duke Privateer, | Captors and | Appellants. | Edward Gibbon, Joseph Taylor, | and Edward Elliston, Esqs. and | Esther Gibbon, Spinster, Executors | of Edward Gibbon, Esq; deceased, | and Others, | Claimants | and | Respondents. | The Appellants Case. | To be Heard before the Right Honourable the Lords | Commissioners of Prizes at the Council Chamber, | at the Cockpit, at Whitehall, on the | day of 1746, at o'Clock in the Afternoon. [Signed] W. Murray, J. Andrew, Geo. Lee, Ed. Simpson, Cha. Pinfold, Rob. Jenner. Fo. pp. 7.

This ship, loaded in the name of Spanish agents by English merchants, and sent on a smuggling voyage to the Spanish West Indies, was on her return trip captured, under French colors, by two English privateers, and condemned in the lower court as a Spanish vessel. The case throws much light on the English and American illicit trading.

Lords Commissioners of Prizes. | James Talbot, and John More-| cock, Esquires, | Appellants. | Edward Gibbon, Esq. and others Respondents. | The Respondent's Case. | To be Heard before the Right Honourable the Lords | Commissioners of Prizes at the Council Chamber | at Whitehall. [Signed] G. Paul, D. Ryder, J. Audley, Hen. Edmunds, Jo. Taylor. Fo. pp. 8.

Lords Commissioners of Prizes. | In the Case of the Marquis | D'Antin. | Appendix to the Respondents | printed Case. Fo. pp. 3.

1748. Ship King's Meadow. Jamaica. | Catharine Mansfield, Widow | and Executrix of Thomas | Mansfield, deceased, | Appellant. | Against | Thomas Bontein, Esquire, | Naval Officer for the | Island of Jamaica, | Respondent. | The Appellant's Case. | To be Heard before a Committee of Council, | at the Cockpit, Whitehall, on the | Day of , 1748, at | o'Clock in the noon. [Signed] D. Ryder, W. Murray. Fo. pp. 3.

The "King's Meadow," built at Boston, New England, sailed under the assumed name of the "Young Catherine," and by means of false Dutch papers procured a cargo of wine at Teneriffe. On her arrival at Jamaica, however, having thrown overboard her true English papers, she was seized and condemned by the Port authorities.

Jamaica. | Mansfield against Bontein, | Gray and Maynard against Bontein, | Bradley against the Same, | and | Bennett against the Same, | Touching Three several Seizures made by Mr. Bon-|tein, Naval Officer of Jamaica, of Three Ships, | called The King's Meadow, The Dolphin, and The | Mercury. | And | The Commissioners of Victualling, Petitioners. | His Excellency Governor Trelawny, | and Mr. Bontein, | Respondents. | The Case of the Respondents to the above | Appeals and Petitions. | To be Heard before the Right Honourable the Lords of | the Committee of His Majesty's Most Honourable | Privy-Council, on [*Thursday*] the [*12*] Day of [*May*] | 1745, at [*Six*] o'clock in the [*after*]noon. [Signed] Wm. Noel, A. Hume-Campbell. Fo. pp. 11.

The | Case | of the | Commissioners for Victualling His Majesty's | Navy; relating to several Seizures | made of His Majesty's Stores by the | Naval Officer at Jamaica. | To be Heard before a Committee of Council, at the | Cockpit, Whitehall, on the | day of 1748, at o'Clock | in the noon. [Signed] D. Ryder, W. Murray. Fo. pp. 3.

Thomas Bontein, Esq; Appellant. | Edward Trelawny, Esq; Respondent. | The Respondent's Case. | To be Heard before the Right

Honourable the Lords Com-|mittees of Council for Hearing Appeals from the | Plantations, on [*Tuesday*] the [*18*] Day of December| 1753, at Six of the Clock in the Afternoon. [Signed] Rob. Henley, Al. Forrester. Fo. pp. 4.

Jamaica. | Thomas Bontien, Esq; Appellant. | Edward Trelawny Esq; Respondent. | The Appellant's Case. | To be Heard before the Right Honourable the Lords of | the Committee of his Majesty's most Honourable | Privy-Council, at the Cockpit, Whitehall, on [*Tuesday*]| the [*18*] Day of [*December 1753*] at [*6*] of the | Clock in the noon. [Signed] Wm. Murray, C. Yorke. Fo. pp. 3.

Appendix. | Being | An Abstract of several Acts of Trade | and Navigation; and Copy of His | Majesty's Order in Council of the | 24th. of December 1740. [Signed] Temple Stanyan. Fo. pp. 3.

1749. Ship Notre Dame de Deliverance. Lords Commissioners of Appeals. | Philip Durell, Esq; and others Appellants. | William Bollan, Esq; and others Respondents. | The | Case | of | Capt. John Wickham, and the Officers | and Mariners of his Majesty's Ship Lark; | on a Motion that they may be admitted to in-|tervene for their Interest. | To be Heard before the Right Hon. the Lords Com-|missioners of Prizes, at the Council Chamber, | Whitehall, on Thursday, the 1st Day of March, | 1749. [Signed] A. Hume-Campbell, Richard Smalbroke. Fo. pp. 3.

The "Notre Dame de Deliverance" sailed with relieving stores into Louisbourg after its capture by the English fleet and New England army. The ship was declared the prize of the fleet, and the question at issue was whether the men of war forming part of the fleet, but then absent on duty, or the New England privateers were entitled to a share of the prize money. The briefs are full of history of the siege of Louisbourg.

Appendix | to the | Printed Case | on | Behalf of the Officers, Seamen and | Mariners of his Majesty's Ships the | Hector and Superbe. Fo. 1 l.

Philip Durell, Esq; the Com-|mander and the Officers, Sea-|men and Mariners, of his | Majesty's Ship Chester; | And | John Brett, Esq; the Com-|mander, Officers, Seamen, | and Mariners, of his Ma-|jesty's Ship Sunderland, | Appell^{t} | William Bollan, Esq; and others, Respond$^{ts.}$ | Case | on | Behalf of the Officers, Seamen, and Ma-|riners of his Majesty's Ships, the Hector | and Superbe. [Signed] A. Hume Campbell, Rich^{d} Smalbroke. Fo. pp. 3.

In the Matter of the Notre Dame de | Deliverance. | His Majesty's Ships the Chester | and Sunderland, | Appellants. | His Majesty's Ships the Canter-|bury, Vigilant, Princess Mary, | and Mermaid, | and | The Boston Paquet Privateer, | Respondents and | Appellants by Ad-|hesion to the Ap-|peal of the Chester | and Sunderland. | The Shirley, Molineux, and | Tartar Privateers, | Respondents. | The Case

of the said Four Ships of War | the Canterbury, Vigilant, Princess Mary, | and Mermaid. | To be Heard before the Right Honourable the Lords | Commissioners of Appeals in Prize Causes, | at the Cockpit, Whitehall, on Thursday the 3d | Day of May 1750 at of the Clock in the | Afternoon. [Signed] Geo. Hay, Paul Jodrell. Fo. pp. 7.

The "Boston Packet," "Shirley," and "Molyneux" were fitted out by Massachusetts; the "Tartar" by Rhode Island. They are, however, always spoken of as "Privateers" or "Private armed ships."

Notre Dame de Deliverance. | The | Case | of | Three of the Respondents, viz. | John Rouse, Commander of the private | Ship of War, the Shirley, | Jonathan Snelling, Commander of the | private Ship of War, the Molineux, | And | Daniel Fones, Commander of the pri-|vate Ship of War, the Tartar. | To be heard before the Right Honourable the | Lords Commissioners for Appeals in Prize | Causes, at the Council Chamber, at White-|hall, on Thursday the 3d Day of May, 1750, | at Six of the Clock in the Evening. [Signed] W. Noel, Rob. Jenner. Fo. pp. 13.

Appendix | to the | Case of the Respondents, | John Rouse, Commander of the private Ship | of War, the Shirley, | Jonathan Snelling, Commander of the private | Ship of War, the Molineux, and, | Daniel Fones, Commander of the private Ship | of War, the Tartar. Fo. pp. 7.

Notre Dame de la Deliverance. | Lords Commissioners of Ap-|peals in Prize-Causes. | The Commanders and Officers of | his Majesty's Ships Chester | and Sunderland, | Appellants. | His Majesty's Ships Mermaid, | Canterbury, Vigilant, and | Princess Mary, and Four | Privateers, | Respondents. | The Appellants Case. | To be Heard before the Right Honourable the | Lords Commissioners of Appeals in Prize-|Causes, at the Council-Chamber, Whitehall, on | Thursday the 3d of May, 1750, at Six of the | Clock in the Evening. [Signed] G. Paul, W. Murray, Geo. Lee.

Lords Commissioners of Prizes. | The Ship Notre Dame de Deliverance. | Philip Durell, Esq; and Others Appellants. | William Bolan, Esq; and Others, Respondents. | The Case of the Respondent William | Bolan, Esq; on behalf of the Officers | and Mariners on board the Boston | Paquet. | To be Heard before the Right Honourable the Lords | Commissioners of Appeals in Prize Causes, | at the Cockpit, Whitehall. [Signed] Charles Pinfold, C. York. Fo. pp. 4.

Lords Commissioners of Prizes. | In the Case of Notre Dame | de Deliverance. | Appendix to the printed Case | of Capt. John Wickham. Fo. pp. 4.

Notre Dame de Deliverance. | Philip Durell, Esq; Commander | of his Majesty's Ship Chester; | and John Brett, Esq; Com-|mander

of his Majesty's Ship | Sunderland; and their Officers | and Mariners, respectively, at | the Capture of the above Ship | Appell^ts. William Bollan, Esq; and others, — Respond^ts. | Case | On Behalf of the | Massachusetts Frigate, Fame, and Cæsar. [Signed] A. Hume-Campbell, Rich^d Smalbroke. Fo. pp. 3.

John Kerly the younger, Agent for the | Majority of the Commission, Warrant, | and Petty Officers, and for the Majority | of the Mariners, or Foremastmen of his | Majesty's Ship of War the Sunderland, | John Brett, Esq; Commander, in relation | to the Notre Dame Deliverance, | Litant Master, a French Prize, taken | by his Majesty's said Ship the Sunderland, | and by his Majesty's Ship of War the | Chester, Philip Durell, Esq; Commander, | Appellant. | Peter Warren, Esq; pretending to be Agent | of the Majority of the Commanders, and | others, Officers and Mariners of his Ma-|jesty's Ships of War the Sunderland and | Chester, the Captors of the said Prize, | Respondent. | The Appellant's Case. | To be Heard before the Right Honourable the Lords | Commissioners of Prizes, at the Council-Chamber, | at the Cockpit, Whitehall, on Wednesday the 25th | Day of March, 1747. [Signed] W. Murray, Geo. Lee, Ch. Pinfold. Fo. pp. 7.

John Kerly the Younger, Appellant. | Peter Warren, Esq; — Respondent. | The Respondent's Case. | To be Heard before the Right Honourable the | Lords Commissioners of Prizes, at | Whitehall, on the [*25th*] Day of [*March*] 1746, at [*Six*] of the Clock in the After- | noon. [Signed] G. Paul, D. Ryder, Ed. Simpson, Rob. Jenner. Fo. pp. 7.

There are two editions of this. There is a mistake in the first page of the case before sent, which is here corrected.

Appendix | to the | Boston Packet's Printed | Case; | containing, | Copies or Extracts of the Depositions | of several of the Witnesses exa-|mined in the Cause. Fo. pp. 12.

It contains the affidavits of a number of New England men concerned in the Louisbourg Expedition, including those of Governor Shirley and William Pepperell. In addition to the printed pieces given above, there are two in manuscript, being: "Notes of Dr. Pinfold and Mr. Yorke argum^t to Prove the Boston Pacquet a Man of War"; "Some Observations in respect to the Boston Pacquets Claim to Share as a Man of War."

1749. Ship L'Agatta. Lords Commissioners of Prizes. | Arent Tuyn, and Others, Appellants. | George Walker and Others, | Respondents. | The Appellants Case. | To be Heard before the Right Honourable the Lords | Commissioners for Hearing Prize-Appeals, | at the Council-Chamber, at Whitehall. [Signed] D. Ryder, Ed. Simpson, Rob^t Jenner. Fo. pp. 8.

A Dutch ship, chartered by a Spanish firm and loaded with Spanish goods which she landed at Vera Cruz and Havana. On the homeward voyage she was

seized by four English privateers; and the court, finding she sailed under a Spanish register, condemned her.

In the Matter of the Ship L'Agatha. | Arent Tuyn, the pretended Master of the Ship L'A-| gatha, | Claimant | and | Appellant. | George Walker, Commander | of the private Ship of | War called the King | George; and Others, Com-| manders of a Squadron | of British Privateers | called the Royal Family, | Captors | and | Respondents. | The Respondents Case. | To be Heard before the Right Honourable the Lords | Commissioners of Prizes, at the Council-Chamber | at the Cockpit, Whitehall, on [*Thursday*] the [*30th*] | Day of [*November*] 1749, at six of the Clock in | the [*after*] noon. [Signed] W. Murray, Geo. Lee, Ch. Pinfold. Fo. pp. 7.

L'Agatta. | Appendix | to the | Respondents [i. e. Appellant's] printed Case; | Containing | Copies of several of the Exhibits and | Depositions. Fo. pp. 11.

1750. Ship St. Jan. Jan De Kok, Appellant. | James Purcell, and Others, Respondents. | The Appellant's Case. | To be Heard before the Lords Commissioners | of Appeals, on the day of . [Signed] D. Ryder, Ed. Simpson. Fo. pp. 7.

The ship "St. Jan" of Flushing was engaged in trade in the West Indies, and was seized under the suspicion of being Spanish.

St. Christophers. | In the Matter of the Ship St. John of | Flushing. | Jan de Kok, Appellant. | Richard Rowland, and Others, Respondents. | The Respondents Case. | To be Heard before the Right Honourable the Lords Com-| missioners of Prizes, at the Council-Chamber at | the Cockpit, Whitehall, on [*Thursday*] the [*22d*] day of [*Feb^ry*] 1749, at [*Six*] of the Clock | in the noon. [Signed] W. Murray, Geo. Lee. Fo. pp. 7.

"The Lords reversed the sentence, and decreed the Ship and Cargo to be restored to the Dutch owners."

Appendix. Fo. pp. 3.

1750. Ship Le Mentor. Lords Commissioners of Prizes. | Mentor. | Polycarpus Taylor Esq; Com-| mander of His Majesty's | Ship the Fowey, on Behalf | of himself and other the | Officers and Mariners of the | said Ship the Fowey | Appellants. | James Ross and Thomas Seel | jun. and Company, Owners | of the Private Ship of War | the Thurloe. | Respondents. | The Appellants Case. | To be Heard before the Right Honourable the | Lords Commissioners of Appeals in Prize | Causes, at the Council-Chamber at the | Cockpit, Whitehall, on [*Thursday*] the | [*14th*] Day of [*June*] 1740, at | o'Clock in the . [Signed] G. Paul, Geo. Lee, Ed. Simpson. Fo. pp. 4.

The ship "Le Mentor" was forced to join an English convoy, just before the news of the declaration of war with France, lest she should carry the news of

the convoy to France. In this position she was seized by the privateer "Thurloe," which knew of the war being declared. The question at issue was whether the frigate "Fowey" had not already taken possession of her.

Lords Commissioners of Appeals | in Prize Causes. | Le Mentor.| Polycarpus Taylor, Esq; Com-|mander of his Majesty's | Ship the Fowey, and his Of-|ficers, &c. | Appellants. | James Ross, and Others, the | Owners of the Thurloe Pri-|vateer, | Respondents.| The Respondents Case. | To be Heard before the Right Honourable the | Lords Commissioners of Appeals in Prize | Causes, at the Council Chamber, at | Whitehall. [Signed] W. Murray, Geo. Hay. Fo. pp. 4.

1750. Ship Hannah. In the Hannah of London. | Sabine Chandler of London, Mer-|chant, and Others, Owners of | the Hannah of London, Wm. | Fowler, Master, | Claimants | and | Appellants. | James Powell, Commander of the | Private Ship of War the | Old Noll, | Captor | and | Respondent. | The Appellants Case. | To be Heard before the Right Honourable the Lords | Commissioners for Hearing Prize Appeals, | at the Council-Chamber, Whitehall, on | the day of 17 at | of the Clock in the noon. [Signed] G. Paul, A. Hume-Campbell. Fo. pp. 3.

The "Hannah," trading from Jamaica to London, was captured by the Spanish, and shortly recaptured by the English. The question was whether the captors were entitled to salvage or prize money.

The Hannah of London. | Sabine Chandler, and | others, | Appellants. | James Powell, Respondent. | The Respondent's Case. | To be Heard before the Right Honourable the | Lords Commissioners for receiving Appeals | in Prize-Causes, at the Council-Chamber,| at Whitehall. [Signed] W. Murray, Geo. Lee. Fo. pp. 3.

1750. Ship San Francisco. Jamaica | Philip Wilkinson, and an-|other, | Appellants. | Moses Mendez, and Others, Respondents. | The Appellants Case. | To be heard before the Right Honourable | the Lords of the Committee of his Ma-|jesty's most Honourable Privy Council for | Affairs of the Plantations, at the Council-|Chamber in Whitehall. | [Signed] A. Hume-Campbell, Geo. Lee. Fo. pp. 4.

Two privateers, the "Fame," of Rhode Island, and the "New Exchange," of Jamaica, signed papers for a joint cruise. The "Fame" was lost by running aground, but the crew were saved and taken on board the "New Exchange," where they assisted in the capture of the "San Francisco," a Spanish vessel. The question at issue was whether the crew were entitled to a share in the prize. "The lords pronounced agst the Appellants and affirmed the decree given by the Chancellor of Jamaica."

Jamaica. | Philip Wilkinson, and Daniel Ayrolt, Appellants. | Moses Mendes, Abraham Musquitta, | and Mary Edzor, | Respondents. | The Respondents Case. | To be Heard before the Right Honourable the Lords of | His Majesty's Privy Council, at the Council-|Chamber, at the Cockpit, Whitehall, on [*Tuesday*] | the [*fourth*]

Day of [*Dec*r] 1748, at [*6.*] o'Clock in the noon. [Signed] D. Ryder, W. Murray, A. Hume-Campbell. Fo. pp. 7.

A. Hume Campbell's name is struck out, and "1748" is altered to "1750" with a pen.

1751. Ship Alexander the Great. Antigua. | Robert Maynard, Esq, Com-|mander of his Majesty's | Ship the Ipswich, | Captor | and | Appellant. | Warnaar Van Staaden, Com-|mander of the Ship Alex-|ander the Great, | Claimant | and | Respondent. | The Captor and Appellant's Case. | To be Heard before the Right Honourable the | Lords Commissioners of Prizes, at the | Council-Chamber at the Cockpit, Whitehall, | on Thursday the 14th Day of February 1750 | at Six of the Clock in the Afternoon. [Signed] W. Murray, Geo. Hay. Fo. pp. 7.

"A. Hume Campbell" is substituted with a pen for "W. Murray," which is stricken out. The ship the Respondent claimed put into Martinique to refit only, but was seized by the English vessel.

The Dutch Ship Alexander the Great. | Appendix | to the | Respondent's Printed Case. |

Lords Commissioners of Prizes. | Alexander the Great. | Thomas Maynard, Esq; Appellant. | Warnard Van Staden, Respondent. | The said Warnard Van Staden, Appellant. | Thomas Maynard, Esq; Respondent. | The Respondent's Case. | To be Heard before the Right Honourable the Lords | Commissioners for Hearing Prize-Appeals, | at the Council Chamber at Whitehall. [Signed] W. Murray, Geo. Lee. Fo. pp. 7.

"The Lords affirmed the sentence of restitution, but without costs." Two editions, one being printed on only one side of the paper.

1752. Ship Anna Maria St. Felix. Lords Commissioners for Appeals in Prize-Causes. | Anna Maria y St. Felix. | Francis Molla, Master. | James Tierney, Merchant, Appellant. | Charles Knowles, Esq; and | others, | Respondents. | The Appellant's Case. | To be Heard before the Right Honourable | the Lords Commissioners for Appeals in | Prize-Causes, at the Council-Chamber, | at Whitehall, on Thursday, the 12th of | March, 1752, at Six in the Afternoon. [Signed] W. Murray, G. Hay. Fo. pp. 5.

The ship was captured while on a voyage from Carthagena and Havana to Spain, and after being gutted, was burned, twenty-six days after the signing of peace. The owners accordingly brought suit for the recovery of the destroyed and seized property.

Anna Maria y St. Felix. | Francis Molla, Master. | James Tierney, Merchant, Appellant. | Charles Knowles, Esq; | and others, | Respondents. | The Appellant's Case. | To be Heard before the Right Honourable | the Lords Commissioners for Appeals in | Prize-Causes,

at the Council-Chamber at | Whitehall, on Thursday 20 Feb, 1752, at | Six in the Evening. [Signed] W. Murray, Geo. Hay. Fo. pp. 4.

Anna Maria y St. Felix. | Francis Molla, Master. | Case on the Behalf of the | Captains Toll and Pawlett, two | of the Respondents. | To be Heard before the Right Honourable the Lords | Commissioners for Appeals in Prize-Causes, at the | Council-Chamber at Whitehall, on Thursday | 1752, at Six in the Evening. [Signed] Charles Pinfold. Fo. pp. 3.

Anna Maria y St. Felix. | Francis Molla, Master. | James Tierney, of London, Merchant, | in behalf of the said Francis Molla, | the Master of the said Ship, and of | Don Libino Bernardo Vanden-| brouke, of Cadiz, in the Kingdom of | Spain, Merchant, and Others, Sub-|jects of the King of Spain, the Own-|ers and Proprietors of the said Ship, | her Tackle, Apparel, and Furniture, | and of the several Goods, Wares, and | Merchandizes, laden on board the | same, at the time of her being taken | and seized, | Claimant | and | Appellant. | Rear-Admiral Charles Knowles, Esq; | Polycarpus Taylor, David Brodie, | and Edward Clarke, Esqrs. | Captors | and | Respondents. | The Respondents Case. | To be Heard before the Right Honourable the Lords | Commissioners for Hearing Appeals in Prize-| Causes, on Thursday the 12th of March, 1752, | at Six o'Clock in the Afternoon. [Signed] A. Hume-Campbell, R. Smalbroke. Fo. pp. 3.

Appendix | to the | Printed Case in the Prize-Appeal | Relating to the | Polacra Anna Maria y St. Felix. Fo. pp. 7.

1752. Ship Vreyheit. Lords Commissioners of Prizes. | De Vreyheyd. | Hendrick Vos, Appellant. | Nathaniel Richards, Esquire, Respondent. | The Appellant's Case. | To be Heard before the Right Honourable the Lords | Commissioners for Hearing Prize-Appeals, | at the Council-Chamber at Whitehall. [Signed] A. Hume-Campbell, Geo. Hay. Fo. pp. 7.

This Dutch vessel sailed from Amsterdam for St. Eustatia and Curaçoa, but was compelled by accident to put into Martinique, where she was forced to sell her cargo by the French Governor. On putting to sea she was seized by two privateers and carried into Antigua, and there condemned; but the decision was reversed on appeal.

Before the Lords Commissioners for Appeals | in Prize-Causes. | The Vreyheit. | Hendrick 'Vos, the | Master, | Appellant. | Nathaniel Richards, | and Philip Basse, | Respondents. | The Respondents Case. | To be Heard at the Council-Chamber at | Whitehall, on Thursday, 30 April, 1752, | at Six in the Afternoon. [Signed] W. Murray, R. Smalbroke. Fo. pp. 7.

1752. Ship Catherina. Lords Commissioners of Prizes. | The Catharina, a Dutch Ship. | John Paasch, Master of the Ship

Ca-|tharina, | Appellant. | John Sweet, Commander of the Defiance Privateer, | Respondent. | The Appellant's Case. | To be Heard before the Right Honourable the Lords Com-|missioners of Prizes, at the Council-Chamber, at | the Cockpit, Whitehall, on Thursday the 11th Day | of June 1752, at 6 o'Clock in the Afternoon. [Signed] A. Hume-Campbell, Ed. Simpson. Fo. pp. 4.

The "Catherina" was built in the Bermudas, but was soon sold to a resident of Curaçoa, who employed her in trade between that island and the Spanish main. She was captured by the Rhode Island private armed ship the "Defiance," which carried her into Newport, where she was condemned. "The Lords reversed the sentence of condemnation."

Rhode-Island.| In the Matter of the Sloop | Catharina.| John Paas, Commander of the | Sloop Catharina, | Claimant | and | Appellant.| John Sweet, Commander of the | Brigantine or Private Ship | of War the Defiance, | Captor | and | Respondent.| The Respondent's Case. | To be Heard before the Right Honourable the | Lords Commissioners for Hearing of Appeals | in Prize-Causes, at the Council-Chamber, at the | Cockpit, Whitehall, on Thursday the 11th Day | of June 1752, at Six of the Clock in the After-|noon. [Signed] W. Murray, Geo. Hay. Fo. pp. 7.

1752. Ship The William Galley. Lords Commissioners of Prizes. | The William Galley. | Peter Cowenhoven and | other Dutch Subjects, | Appellants. | James Allen and others, Respondents.| The Appellants Case. | To be Heard before the Right Honourable the | Lords Commissioners for Hearing Prize-|Appeals, at the Council Chamber at White-|hall. [Signed] Wm. Murray, Rob Jenner. Fo. pp. 3.

Trading between Amsterdam and Curaçoa this ship was taken by an Havana privateer on the charge of smuggling, and retaken by the "Revenge" and "Success," Rhode Island privateers, who carried the prize into Rhode Island, where it was condemned. The point at issue was whether the ship had become a Spanish prize; and the Lords' decision restored her to the Dutch owners.

The William Galley. | Peter Cowenhoven, Claimant and Appellant.| James Allen, Commander of the | Privateer the Revenge, and | Peter Marshall, Commander of | the Privateer the Success, | Captors and | Respondents. | The Respondents Case. | To be Heard before the Right Honourable the Lords | Commissioners of Prize-Appeals, in the Coun-|cil-Chamber at the Cockpit, Whitehall, on Thursday | the 30th. day of November, 1752, at Six of the Clock | in the Afternoon. [Signed] A. Hume-Campbell, Geo. Hay. Fo. pp. 3.

1752. Ship Bacha or Tygress. Lords Commissioners of Appeals in Prize Causes. | The Bacha. | Thomas Frankland, Esq; Com-|mander of the Dragon Man | of War, and the Officers, | and Ship's Company, | Captors | And | Appellants. | Richard Newman, and others, Respondents. | The Appellants Case. | To be Heard

before the Right Honourable | the Lords Commissioners for Prize| Appeals, in the Council-Chamber, at | Whitehall. [Signed] W. Murray, Geo. Hay. Fo. pp. 3.

The privateer "Tygress," while cruising in the West Indies, was captured by the French, refitted by them as a letter of marque, and sent to sea, where she was recaptured by the English. The original owners claimed that only salvage was due to the recaptors, and that the ship belonged to them by law; and in this they were sustained on appeal.

Lords Commissioners of Appeals in Prize Causes. | The Bacha. Joseph Gay, Master; | formerly | The Tygress, Roger Bedgood, Master. | Thomas Frankland, Esq; Commander of | his Majesty's Ship Dragon, | Appellant. | Richard Newman, Robert Newman, | and Thomas Holdsworth, Merchants, | Charles Hayne and John Rowe, Esqs, | Respondents. | The Respondents' Case. | To be Heard at the Cockpit, Whitehall, on Thursday the | fourteenth Day of December, 1752. [Signed] A. Hume Campbell, Charles Pinfold. Fo. pp. 3.

Lords Commissioners of Appeals in Prize Causes. | Bacha; | formerly | The Tygress, Roger Bedgood, Master. | Appendix to the Respondents' Case. Fo. pp. 5.

1752. Ship La Magdelaine. Before the Lords Commissioners of Appeals | in Prize-Causes. | In the Matter of the French Ship | La Magdelaine, de Marseilles. | Thomas Derbyshire, Comman-|der of the Privateer, the | Terrible. | Appellant. | John Gradwell, Commander of | the Privateer the Laurel | Frigate. | Respondent. | The Respondent's Case. | To be Heard before the Right Honourable | the Lords Commissioners for hearing | Appeals, in Prize Causes, at the | Council Chamber, at Whitehall, on Thurs-|day, 21 Dec. 1752, at Six o'Clock in | the Evening. [Signed] W. Murray, Geo. Hay. Fo. pp. 3.

"La Magdelaine," from Martinique to France, was captured by three English privateers, who carry the prize into the courts to decide to whom she belongs. "The Lords unanimously affirm the decree, dividing the Prize between the 'Terrible' and the 'Laurell.'"

1752. Ship The Phœnix. Lords Commissioner of Appeals.| The Phœnix. | John Joseph Peyrac, Esq; Appellant. | Nicholas Drumgoold, James | Gordon, Esquire, and | others, | Respondents.| The Appellant's Case. | [Signed] A. Hume-Campbell, Ed. Simpson. Fo. pp. 3.

The "Phœnix," while trading between Curaçoa and Martinique, was seized by two privateers from St. Christophers.

St Christopher's | In the Prize-Cause, The Phœnix. | Jean Joseph Peyrac, Esq; | Claimant | and | Appellant. | Nicolas Drumgold, | and | Joseph Rous, | Captors | and | Respondents. | The Case of James Gordon. | To be Heard before the Right Honourable the Lords Com-|missioners of Appeal in Prize-Causes, at the Coun-|cil-

Chamber at the Cockpit, Whitehall, on Thursday | the 13th Day of December 1753, at Six of the Clock | in the Afternoon. [Signed] W. Murray, Geo. Hay. Fo. pp. 8.

St. Christopher's. | John Joseph de Peyrac, in Behalf of | Himself, and Others concerned in | the Sloop Phenix, and her Cargo, | Claimant | and | Appellant. | Nicholas Drumgold, and Joseph | Rouse, Commanders of the Bonetta | and Mary Privateers, in Behalf of | their Owners, and themselves, and | others, | Captors | and | Respondents. The Respondents Case. | To be Heard before the Right Honourable the Lords | Commissioners for Hearing of Appeals in | Prize-Causes, at the Council-Chamber in the Cock-|pit, Whitehall, on the | Day of 1753. at Six of the Clock in | the Afternoon. [Signed] W. Murray, J. Andrew, Geo. Hay.

Appendix. | (A) and (B). Fo. pp. 4.

1755. Ship Vrouw Dorothea. Vrouw Dorothea. | Michael Goolde, Master of the Private | Ship of War the Trelawny Galley, on | behalf of himself, and of the Owners, | Officers, and Mariners, of the said | Galley, | Captors and | Appellants. | Pieter Block, Master of the Vrouw Do-|rothea, and Claimant of the said Ship | and Goods, | Claimant and | Respondent. | The Case of the Captors and Appellants. | To be Heard before the Right Honourable the Lords Com-|missioners for Hearing Appeals in Prize Causes, in the | Council Chamber, at the Cockpit, Whitehall, on | [*Thursday*] the [*first*] Day of [*May, 1755*] at [*Six*] | o'Clock in the Afternoon. [Signed] W. Murray, Geo. Hay. Fo. pp. 7.

The ship "Dorothea" sailed from Amsterdam for Curaçoa, with a cargo of arms and ammunition. Seized on the suspicion of trading with the French, she was carried into Jamaica, but was released for want of proof. On putting to sea again she was captured by another privateer and carried into Charleston, South Carolina, where the Admiralty Court condemned her. The Lords ordered her restored.

Lords Commissioners of Appeals for | Prizes. | Michael Goolde, Master of the | Private Ship of War the | Trelawny Galley, | Appellant. | Pieter Block, on Behalf of him-|self and others | Respondent. | The Respondent's Case. | To be Heard before the Right Honourable the | Lords Commissioners of Appeals for | Prizes, at the Council Chamber, at the | Cockpit, Whitehall, on [*Thursday*] the | [*first*] Day of [*May 1755*] at [*Six*] | o'Clock in the [*After*]noon. [Signed] A. Hume Campbell, John Bettesworth. Fo. pp. 3.

1758. Dutch Ships. A | Summary Exposition | of the case,| Concerning the Dutch Ships that | are taken, in their going to or co-|ming from America, by | the English Men of | War & Privateers.| Amsterdam, | [*1758*]. 4to pp. 13.

This is a general statement for all the seizures of Dutch ships, and was for that reason apparently included in this collection by Sir George Lee.

NOVEMBER MEETING, 1889.

THE Society met on the 14th instant, and there was a large attendance.

Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, the President, called the meeting to order.

After the Recording Secretary had read his record of the last meeting, and the Librarian had made his customary report, the Corresponding Secretary announced that Prof. James B. Thayer had accepted his election to Resident Membership.

The PRESIDENT then said: —

Our meeting, and the hall in which we are seated are deeply shadowed by the decease yesterday of our distinguished, honored, and warmly cherished associate, and first Vice-President, Dr. Charles Deane. For forty years his welcome presence here has identified him with our meetings as one of the elders and chief pillars of the Society, for there are but four survivors who were here before him. Of the long series of faithful and laborious services wrought for the Society, by his industry, research, and pre-eminent historic qualities, the full columns of entries under his name on the Index of the first twenty volumes of our published Proceedings bear a striking testimony.

While his mortal remains are waiting for the last rites of affection and esteem, we cannot now and here substitute for his genial presence the tributes which are ready in our hearts, if not on our lips. Appropriate action will be taken hereafter.

Communications from the Third Section having been called for, Mr. R. C. WINTHROP, JR., said: —

In the course of some remarks made by Dr. McKenzie at the May meeting, he alluded to the existence in his parish at Cambridge of a local historical society much interested

in the early history of Cambridge, and more particularly in everything relating to the Rev. Thomas Shepard, that famous Puritan divine from whom both the parish and the society in question are named. After the meeting was over, I called Dr. McKenzie's attention to some Shepard letters printed many years ago by one of our committees on the Winthrop Papers. I found he had never heard of them, and I promised to see if there were any more. I have since ascertained that these Papers contain six original letters from the Rev. Thomas Shepard of Cambridge to Gov. John Winthrop the elder, and two letters from his son, the Rev. Thomas Shepard of Charlestown, to Gov. John Winthrop the younger. Five of these letters of the elder Shepard (one of them a very long one) are to be found in the seventh volume of our fourth series of Collections, and relate chiefly to the controversial theology of the early colonial period. Of the two letters of the younger Shepard, one of them, in which he communicates some interesting observations of the heavenly bodies at Charlestown in 1669, is in the tenth volume of our third series; while the other, which relates to matters of church government, is in the first volume of our fifth series. The reason these letters are so inconveniently scattered among three different volumes is because they were not all identified at the same time, and I am now about to communicate a letter from the elder Shepard to Gov. John Winthrop senior, which must have been mislaid or overlooked when the others were printed. It is without date; but as the writer did not arrive in New England until the autumn of 1635, and as his correspondent died in the spring of 1649, we can form some idea as to when it was written, — probably about 1640. The signature is unmistakably "Thomas Shepard" (*pard*); but Governor Winthrop, with that disregard of orthography so characteristic of our ancestors, forthwith endorsed it "Mr. Shepherd" (*pherd*). It is a short letter and rather a curious one, showing that although the writer had formerly chronicled with some bitterness in his diary the harsh treatment he had received from Dr. William Laud, when Bishop of London, yet he himself was imbued with not a little of Laud's disposition to deal summarily with "hereticks." I venture to read it because it contains a passage about which I wish to ask a question.

Rev. Thomas Shepard to Gov. John Winthrop.

[No date; indorsed by Gov. W. "M^r Shepherd."]

D^R S^R, — I returne unto you many harty thankes for your kind acceptance of my letter, though it might have appeared too playne & rude to you, & so deserve your censure. It hath gladded many of o^r harts to see your hart & the truth embracing each other, even tho errour for peace sake hath pleaded for entertaynment, which you have turned out of your hart & house & town to us to burne to death. The haeretick is yet kept prisoner, but we intend to see justice executed on him, according to your desire. It would be a woorke of singular benifit & use to wyar-draw by way of question & doubt these hidden misteries which may be the causes of division, for I feare there is *aliquid incognitum* which will in time appeare. Errour hath been ever fruitfull, and, commonly, false opinions which creepe out of doores & appeare in the battayle, are but the stragglers of the front army, which tho they be taken prisoners, yet little good will be done, because they have a party within which will renew the battayle when occasion serves. There is a kind of religion in the world which the author of it calls the unknowinge of a man's selfe, which is a mistery I must not open. The God of Heaven still fill you & preserve you holy & faythfull to His cause & truth even untill death! I am in much hast & have no leysure this day to come to Boston; when I doe I shall acknowledge yo^r love. Thus in great hast I rest

Yo^rs. in the L^d Jesus, THO. SHEPARD.

The question I wish to ask is, Who is the author just quoted who prescribed as a religion, two hundred and fifty or more years ago, the "unknowinge of a man's self"? The converse of this proposition we are familiar with. We all remember the old line of Juvenal, —

"E cœlo descendit γνῶθι σεαυτόν,"

and the modern couplet of Pope, —

"Know then thyself, presume not God to scan;
The proper study of mankind is man."

But who recommended the unknowing of ourselves?

I may add that the Rev. Thomas Shepard died at Cambridge in his forty-fourth year, August 25, 1649, and that he is described by a contemporary as a "poore, weake, pale complectioned man," who, in spite of the very pronounced

character of his theological views, was as distinguished for humility as for piety. In an exhortation to some young ministers while on his death-bed, he is stated to have told them three things concerning himself: That the study of every sermon cost him tears; that before he preached any sermon he got good by it himself; and that he always went into the pulpit as if he were to give up his accounts to his Master.

In view of the fact that, besides the letters I have named, at least thirteen of his sermons and religious treatises are to be found in print, — all of them probably in Harvard College Library, — I think we shall agree that no conscientious member of the Shepard Historical Society should fail to devote to them a considerable share of his Sunday reading; and I am sure that in this respect, as in all others, Dr. McKenzie sets them a good example.

I desire also to communicate a letter to Gov. John Winthrop the younger from his cousin Mrs. Margaret Heathcote, born Gostlin, dated June 27, 1665, and written from Antigua in the West Indies, where she and her husband had gone to reside. There are, among the Winthrop Papers, six letters of a later date from their son, George Heathcote, written from London, New York, and elsewhere; but this is the only one from Margaret Heathcote, and my reason for communicating it is that the recent works of Froude and others have stimulated fresh interest in the West Indies, and a passage in this letter throws a not altogether agreeable side-light upon manners and customs apparently prevailing in West Indian society at that early period.

To the Worp^ll^ Jn^o^. Winthrop, Esq^r^. these p^r^sent, at New-England.

June y^e^ 27. 1665.

Honnoured Cozen, — The wisdom of God has so ordered it as to bringe my husband and selfe to this Island here to live, and through mercy to enjoy the company and comfort of your deare brother. Truely, Cozen, he is a deare and tender cozen to me and I have much cause to praise God for him.[1] He is a reall Winthrop and truely noble to all, but much more to my husband and selfe. I am at this time at his house, but wee live 7 or 8 miles from him. My husband is agent

[1] Samuel Winthrop, youngest son of Gov. John Winthrop the elder, was then a leading planter in Antigua, and, in 1668, Deputy-Governor of that island. For many letters of his, see Winthrop Papers, part iv., 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., viii.

to Coll Middleton, and wee live on his plantation. And truely, Sir, I am not so much in love with any as to goe much abroad. This house of your brother's and my cozen's is all the joy I have in this place; — not that I want anything for I praise God I have no want; — but they all be a company of sodomites that live here, and truely, Cozen, I am really my father's daughter and can not comply with their ill manners. Sir, although it was not my happynes to see you in England, yet, sweet Cozen, honnor me so much as to let me kiss your hand once before I die, and in it you will engage her ever to remaine

Your truely loving Cozen and faithfull servant,

MARGARET HEATHCOAT,

(MARGARET GOSTLIN that was).

My husband presents his love & service to you.

I desire further to communicate some manuscript verses which I have recently found, not among the Winthrop Papers, but among some papers of my maternal grandfather, Francis Blanchard, of Boston. They are dated July 12, 1800, and are signed by three young gentlemen, in the following order, namely: first, by George Sullivan, whose father, Governor Sullivan, was then President of this Society, who took his bachelor's degree at Harvard in 1801, and was subsequently Secretary of Legation at Madrid and a member of the Massachusetts State Senate; second, by Leonard Jarvis, who took his bachelor's degree at Harvard in 1800, and was subsequently a well-known member of Congress, and an early donor of books to this Society; third, by Joseph Story, who took his bachelor's degree at Harvard in 1798, and was subsequently one of our Resident Members, and famous as Mr. Justice Story. The poetry is entitled "The Social Group," and commemorates the attractions of four ladies who were apparently prominent in Boston at the end of the last century. Their Christian names only are given, but they may perhaps be identified.

THE SOCIAL GROUP.

First JULIA comes, in Nature's matchless grace,
Her heart more lovely than her lovely face,
While round her cheek each fine affection plays,
Enamoured beauty sheds her magic blaze;
There, too, the Loves their softer charms combine,
And prove her temper, like her form, divine.

Next, sportive ANNE, than whom no fairer maid
E'er graced the green room or the russet shade,
With native wit her polished accents glow,
Quick as the light, and purer than the snow.

The artless MARY, void of all disguise!
Looks bright instruction from her melting eyes,
And while the cherub pours her strains along
We own the sway of eloquence and song.

Courtly with ease, with native humour gay,
Dressed in the virgin smiles of roseate May,
A sprightly nymph appears, whose radiant name
The Muse in LAURA gives admiring fame.

These chosen few create one bright divan
To Friendship sacred, formed on Virtue's plan,
Whose mingling influence aims with sweet control
By Fancy's charms to captivate the Soul;
To smooth life's rugged path with tender care
And steal its pilfered joys from stern despair;
With Wisdom's beams illumine Error's way,
And flash on sleeping Truth resistless day.

Hail, then, ye Fair! embalmed in memory's page,
Still may your virtues bloom through every age,
Till time with nature own supreme decay,
And genius, worth and beauty fade away!

GEORGE SULLIVAN.
LEONARD JARVIS.
JOSEPH STORY.

July 12, 1800.

What these young gentlemen had precisely in view, when they sang of stealing pilfered joys from stern despair, is not readily apparent; but the passage is certainly no more obscure than many in Robert Browning. I have had some hesitation in communicating this effusion, because the early rhythmical indiscretions of even so eminent a man as Mr. Justice Story are hardly to be considered material for history; but we have now and then consented to intersperse a few ill-considered trifles among the weightier matters of our volumes, and it has occurred to me as not impossible that these verses might afford a passing interest to some of our readers.

Before I sit down, I ask the attention of the Society to a single point in connection with the new volume of Proceedings this day laid upon the table, — the fourth volume of our second series of Proceedings, embracing nearly two years. It contains, together with much other matter, the reports of two Annual Meetings, those of 1888 and 1889, with this difference between them, — that whereas those members of the Society who were unable to be present at the Annual Meeting held in April, 1888, had an opportunity of reading what took place there in a Serial issued only two months afterward, yet, on the other hand, those members of the Society who were unable to be present at the Annual Meeting held in April last have had no opportunity of reading what took place there until to-day, an interval of seven months. I contend that this interval is too long. It is a very contracted view to take of this Society to allow it to be assumed that only the thirty or forty members who are able to attend an Annual Meeting are interested in what goes on there. So far from it, many of those who have the well-being of the Society most at heart are often prevented from participating in such occasions by various causes, and it is desirable that they should have an opportunity of reading what took place while the subject is fresh in their minds. The proceedings of an Annual Meeting do not consist merely of the election of officers for the year ensuing, with such remarks as the President or any member may see fit to utter, but they include a series of official reports upon the condition and prospects of the Society. The existing method of dealing with these reports is a peculiar one. An undue prominence, as it seems to me, is given to the Report of the Treasurer, which is printed in advance and forthwith distributed, while the reports of other officers and committees have to wait for publication until such time as happens to be convenient to the Publishing Committee to issue a serial or a volume. This practice of printing in advance the Treasurer's Report arose from the fact that much of it is necessarily devoted to statistics which are substantially repeated year by year, and to which it would be wearisome to the Society to listen ; but, in my judgment, it would be a more convenient and equitable arrangement to content ourselves with a summary of the Treasurer's Report at the meeting, and then, with as little delay as need be, to have all the reports, without dis-

tinction, printed and circulated together. Even to members who had listened to them a few weeks before, such a pamphlet would be useful for reference, as no one can accurately remember such things. Take, for instance, the long and valuable report, at the meeting in question, of Mr. Jenks, Mr. E. J. Lowell, and Mr. Frothingham,— the Committee appointed to examine the Library and Cabinet. Why should we have to wait seven months before being able to consider carefully the opinions and recommendations of these gentlemen?

When a member, of his own accord, sees fit to gratify us by reading some historical paper or by exhibiting some historical manuscript, it ordinarily matters little, either to him or to us, whether his remarks appear in type a few months earlier or a few months later. But when a member, in the discharge of duties specifically assigned to him, submits a report upon the immediate policy of the Society or the actual condition of some one of its departments, it is only fair to print it with reasonable promptitude. The idea may suggest itself to some one that where the shoe pinches is that among the reports thus delayed is one which it fell to my lot to draw up and read, as Senior Member at Large of the Council, — the longest, but by no means the most flattering, document ever submitted on a similar occasion. I venture to think I should have offered the present criticism even if I had not been personally concerned in the matter; nor was I alone concerned in it. It has become no secret that in the controversial part of that report I was inspired and aided by no less competent an authority than the Senior Vice-President of the Society, whose irreparable loss to us is uppermost in our thoughts to-day. No one who enjoyed in any marked degree his intimacy, can fail to recall how grievous to him had become the crowded state of our Library and Cabinet, how earnestly he deplored our wholesale methods of accumulation, and how convinced he was of the necessity for vigorous and reiterated remonstrance. He found himself too feeble to rise, as he had intended, and say a few words in support of my arguments; but in an interview which I had with him on the following day, he stated to me his intention of again bringing up the subject when his health should be restored. Both he and I anticipated that the Annual Reports would form part of a June Serial, as in the previous year; and I feel confident that I continue to carry out

his wishes by commenting upon a delay we were far from anticipating. I should regret, however, to be understood as finding fault with the Committee whose duty it is to publish the Proceedings. They have a great deal of hard work to do, which till now has fallen chiefly upon the shoulders of the Recording Secretary, to whom we all ought to be grateful for the care and pains he has given to it. As he had never been instructed to have the report of an Annual Meeting in print within a given time, still less to print it separately if no Serial was ready, he could not reasonably have been expected to initiate a procedure which I am strongly of opinion it will be for the convenience of the Society to adopt hereafter. I do not, however intend to end with a motion, but am satisfied, for the present, with calling attention to the subject.

The Hon. GEORGE S. HALE then spoke as follows: —

The "Nation" of March 14 last, in a notice, written by one of our active members, of "Louisiana" by Maurice Thompson, contains the line "He thinks the Spanish Main was an expanse of water," — as if he had no right to think so. This remark led me to some inquiry into the phrase, and now leads me to ask whether he might not reasonably have had that impression, even if it was correctly used at first with a different meaning.

There seems to be authority for its use in reference to the land and to the sea and land together, as well as by usage to the sea alone; and in one case to neither, but to the belt of islands along the coast. Wheeler's "Dictionary of the Noted Names of Fiction" defines it as "a name popularly given by the early English voyagers and English colonists of the West India Islands to the coast along the north part of South America, from the Musquito Territory to the Leeward Islands, . . . often erroneously thought to apply to the Caribbean Sea."

So H. Percy Smith's "Glossary of Terms and Phrases" defines it as "the Main land from the Orinoco to the Isthmus of Darien;" and Brewer's "Reader's Handbook," as the "Coast along the North part of South America." Johnston's "Gazetteer" gives it as a name for Terra Firma, which is, he says, "an obsolete name formerly applied to the *Spanish*

Main, S. America, since called Colombia." Morse's "Old American Gazetteer" speaks of it as land.

But in Cassell's Encyclopædic Dictionary, Johnson's Cyclopædia, and the American Encyclopædia, also in "Notes and Queries" (vol. viii. p. 502), it is explained or defined as *both* sea and land, including the southern portion of the Caribbean Sea, together with the contiguous coast.

"The Historical Finger-Post," by Edward Shelton, 1861, thus describes it: "A name given to the Atlantic Ocean and coast along the North part of South America from the Leeward Islands to the Isthmus of Darien."

Brewer's "Dictionary of Phrase and Fable" has the following: —

"Spanish Main: The circular bank of islands forming the Northern and eastern boundaries of the Caribbean Sea, beginning from Mosquito near the isthmus and including Jamaica, St. Domingo, the Leeward Islands and the Windward Islands to the coast of Venezuela in South America. It is not the sea but the bank of islands (Spanish *manea*, shackles). 'We turned conquerors and invaded the main of Spain.' — BACON."

See further discussion of the subject in "Notes and Queries," 3d series, vol. ix. pp. 22, 145, 308, 374; vol. x. p. 524.

So much for definitions in works not without authority. Now, turning to instances of its use in earlier and later books, the following may be quoted: —

"In the Lat. of 12 Deg. 30 Min. S. and about 150 Leagues from the Main of America." (Wafer's Voyages, 1699, p. 212.) "At six saw the Main in two Points of Land, with a large opening." (Bulkeley and Cummins, Voyage to the South Seas, 1743, p. 114.) "Also a remarkably round White Rock. This lies on the Larboard nearest to Grande, between it and the Main at the entrance going in." (Woodes Rogers, A Cruising Voyage round the World, 1718, p. 51.)

The above citations are from Professor Whitney. He adds: "The Spanish Main, the mainland of South America, and especially (perhaps exclusively) that portion which lies south and southwest of the West India Islands;" and by way of one definition of "main," he has: "The main land, the land belonging to a continental mass, as distinguished from that of islands adjacent to it."

In "A Gentleman in the Voyage, Sir John Hawkins' Second Voyage to the West Indies," Hakluyt's Voyages, 1589 (I quote from Arber's "English Garner," vol. v. pp. 87, 104), I find: "And the 22d we came to a place on the Main called Cumana," — an old city of Venezuela; also (p. 132): "But it is not unlikely but that in the main, where are high hills, may be gold and silver as well as in Mexico, because it is all one Main."

> "And such a port for mariners I ne'er shall see again
> As the pleasant Isle of Avis beside the Spanish Main."
> (Kingsley's "The Last Buccaneer.")

"The Spanish Main was warned and armed, and the Western Isles also." (Kingsley's Miscellanies, "Sir Walter Raleigh and his Time," p. 67.)

"Those, &c., have to work in the fields or in the mills under the hot sun of the Spanish Main." (p. 276.)

"For the reduction of the French and Spaniards in the West Indies and on the Main." (Rev. Wm. Gordon to James Bowdoin, 1770: Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., vol. vii. p. 292.)

Campbell's "parrot from the Spanish Main" would seem to have been a landsman.

It seems probable that "the Spanish Main" was the English name originally given to the more northern mainland of South America, but extended to include New Granada and Venezuela, and that it naturally came to apply both to the coast and the adjoining waters, where the early English adventurers cruised.

In an early Italian work, "Saggio di Storia Americana, Tomo IV. Stato presente di Terra Firma," Rome, 1784, the author applies this name (Terra Firma, p. 1) to the northern provinces of South America within about ten degrees more or less from the equator, in conformity, he claims, with the usage of the first discoverers of America. At first, he says, Terra Firma, so called, embraced only those provinces directly on the ocean, such as Cumana which Columbus first reached, Caraccas, Maracaibo, S. Marta, Catagena, and Darien. His successors gave this name to other provinces which lay adjacent to these, — Bogota, Antiochia, and others. But this new appellation was finally limited to these, or a little in addition. Probably this phrase, "Terra Firma," was at first

Englished by the words "Spanish Main;" but the word "Main" being often and familiarly applied both to the mainland and to the main sea, a confusion arose which led to the alternative or combined application of the words to both.

There are other instances of reputable usage distinctly referring to the sea, or ambiguous.

"As I dare say that the deck and cabins of a ship are much the same whether she be on the Spanish Main or in the British Channel." (Kingsley, p. 103.)

Longfellow thought it was water when he wrote, in the "Wreck of the Hesperus," —

> "Then up and spake an old sailor
> Had sailed the Spanish Main."

But (perhaps after Wheeler quoted him as in error) he altered it to "Had sailed *to* the Spanish Main." (Ed. of 1886.)

Dickens writes: "Of carrying me and little Emily to the Spanish Main to be drowned."

"Few men have been on the Spanish Main as often as I have without having had to do with the Guarda Costas once and again." (Walter Scott, in the "Pirate," vol. ii. p. 15.)

"She had fine luck down on the Spanish Main, both with commerce and privateering." (Vol. i. p. 143.)

"Pillaged a little village called Quempoa on the Spanish Main." (Vol. ii. p. 323.)

"He [Sir William Phipps] was impelled to undertake the recovery of the treasure in a wrecked and sunken vessel in the Spanish Main." (Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. v. 5th series, p. 204, editors' note on "Diary of Samuel Sewall.")

"The South Sea is pacific enough upon the Main and very turbulent upon the coast." (English translation of Exquemelin's "History of the Buccaneers," chap. cli. p. 354). But on page 206 (chap. cxxxii.), he speaks of a "place called Puebla Nueba on the Main."

Walter Besant, in his late novel of "Faith and Freedom," speaks of the "doings of our sailors on the Spanish Main and elsewhere" (p. 34); "drawing . . . a rough chart of the Spanish Main with as many islands as he could remember" (p. 301); "if they were to search the whole of the Spanish Main and the islands upon it" (p. 342).

To close with poetical authority which may be read either way, Barham says, in "Nell Cook," one of the "Ingoldsby Legends," —

> "My Father dear! he is not here,
> He seeks the Spanish Main."

May not an author nowadays pay his money and take his choice?

Mr. WINSOR said that the term "Spanish Main" did not arise until the buccaneering period, and that it designated at first the southern shore of the Caribbean Sea, in contradistinction to the islands, but that afterward this distinction was not observed.

Dr. EVERETT, who had written the original criticism on Thompson's book, expressed his conviction that when the term "Spanish Main" was the common prose description of a definite part of the globe, it invariably meant the mainland of Spanish America; that its use by later romancers and poets to mean "sea," arose from their misunderstanding of its use in the earlier accounts.

Judge CHAMBERLAIN referred to the importance which that part of the possessions in America known as the "Spanish Main" had for the trade and commerce of New England, and to the interruption of mercantile relations by the Revolutionary War, which caused much distress and led to diplomatic negotiations.

Dr. GREEN made the following remarks: —

Among the manuscript volumes belonging to the Historical Society is a book which contains the Minutes of the Massachusetts General Court for nearly a year during the Provincial period. It furnishes, apparently, rough notes of the proceedings, kept at the time by the Secretary of the Province or by his clerk, and used in making up the official records now in the possession of the Commonwealth. The records of the Council, as given in this book, begin on June 1, 1749, and end on May 22, 1750; while those of the Assembly, in another part of the volume, begin on May 31, 1749, and end on April 20, 1750. The entries are brief, and often abbreviated, and written partly by Josiah Willard, at that time the Secretary of the Province, though mostly by another hand. It is

not known when the volume was given, but it was first catalogued by Timothy Alden, Jr., who was Librarian from May 9, 1808, to October 26, 1809; and it may have been on the shelves of the Society for some years before that period. Occasionally, in the book, there are other entries than those connected with the two legislative bodies; and of this character are the following items about certain captives taken either by the Indians or the French. The paragraphs are all found on the same page, which is unnumbered, but evidently they were written at different times. With the exception of the third paragraph, they are in the handwriting of Secretary Willard.

David Morrison, Son of Hugh Morrison, taken at Colrain, the 28th Day of July, 1746, now in three & twentieth Year of his Age, if alive.

Jo Job, Mordicai Job, & John Jacob, Indians, of Nantucket, taken in a Sloop on a whaling Voyage, bound to Newfoundland, Zephaniah Pinkham, Master, by a French Man of War, of 36 Guns, 35 Leagues Westward of Cape Race, the 6th Day of June, 1746, & carried into Chebucto, & from thence carried to Canada.

David Woodwell writes from Hopkinton, Augt 22, 1749, That his Daughter Mary Woodwell is now in Captivity in Canada, that she was taken at New Hopkinton, Nº 5 [in New Hampshire], 3 years ago the 22d of last April, That she is with the St. Francois Indians.

John Thomson, of Boston, Cooper on Board Cpt. Rouse, taken by the Indians at St Johns, near Cape Breton, in July, 1746.

A Child or Children of Mary Foster, taken with her by the Indians some where in Casco Bay, her Husband being killed at the same time.

Mr. Clement Hugh Hill having resigned his place on the Committee for publishing the Proceedings, Mr. Charles C. Smith was appointed to fill the vacancy.

The Hon. Henry S. Nourse, of Lancaster, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

A new volume of the Proceedings, being the fourth of the second series, was ready for delivery to members at this meeting.

On motion of the Treasurer, it was voted that the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund be retained in the treasury, subject to the order of the Council, for the publication of a new volume of Collections.

SPECIAL MEETING, DECEMBER, 1889.

A Special Meeting of the Society was held on Tuesday evening, December 3, at eight o'clock, at the house of Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., to express its sense of the loss it has sustained by the recent death of its senior Vice-President, Charles Deane, LL.D.

After calling the meeting to order, the President, Dr. George E. Ellis, rose and said: —

Gentlemen, — This special meeting of our Society is called and held as a tribute of our personal affection and esteem for, and an expression of our profound respect and grateful appreciation of, the character and the faithful and fruitful life-work of our late first Vice-President, Dr. Charles Deane. The meeting was prompted by our considerate host. The response to his invitation is spontaneous. Well do we know that the modesty and the unobtrusive spirit of our associate would have made him shrink from any greatly different method of our tribute to him, as his life closed, from that in which at our regular meetings he had so often taken a part, as, one by one, through lengthening years, our members have passed away. But by promptings coming with their own force, the feeling was warm and general among us that his death called for a special and signal expression of our exalted and grateful estimate of him and of his services to us. It needs not that we should be oblivious of the care and toil of the founders of this Society in their early devotion to it, in gathering, preserving, and setting forth the records and relics of former days, thus rescued from loss. Nor would we put any name in rivalry with that of James Savage, in industry, in research, in intelligent interpretation and illustration, and in the patience of work. But having been in membership here for just half of the nearly completed century of the existence of the Society, and through the greater part of those years in association with Dr. Deane, I must say now that he has given to us longer, more varied, more fruitful years of service

in zeal, in care, in actual earnest devotion, and in the accomplishment of difficult and exacting work, than any one whose name is upon our roll. And more than that, the manifold products of his work carry with them that unprofessional, natural, solid, substantial quality, the fruit of a thorough business training, which, better than polish of style, rhetorical skill, or discursive literary culture, give to historical papers dignity and value. He pursued his studies under the fairest and richest of all conditions, save those of his own mental furnishing, within the walls of his own library, with his own books, rare, precious, and complete in their range and contents for the subjects which engaged him; and he had himself gathered those curious and costly materials. The mere possession of such a library, if by hap one had come into the ownership of it, might well tempt and goad him to put it to good uses. But its contents were of his own selection and acquisition, volume by volume, even sometimes page by page. It was like a full font of antique and quaint type arranged in cases, which he was to dispose into a text of wisdom, with truthful oracles for setting forth severely digested and authentic history. In his searchings through old book-stalls in this country, and in his visit abroad, he had come to know what to look for, and where to find it. Through his agents, and in scanning the catalogues of dispersed libraries, he obtained the antique and curious treasures called Americana, — now but rarely to be picked up, and at fabulous prices; and if editions of these differed in priority, fulness, or enrichment, his was the best. His own abounding and learned annotations in many of them are like the accumulated interest on old deposits. Such tools, implements, resources, found in him a skilled workman, apt in using them.

We know how largely his work was with the more recondite, obscure, the tangled and perplexed elements and periods of our history. His aim always was for severe and exact accuracy, the positive and certified facts of historical narration. He accepted such hues and incidents of romance as invested real persons and events, never decorating his pages with the inventions of fancy or fiction. The grim and sturdy navigators of the heroic Elizabethan age, the sea-explorers and adventurers of pioneer enterprises, engaged his keenest study, though it was often as puzzling to verify their courses and

landfalls as it would have been to follow their tracks on ocean ways. Those verbose, technical, and official parchments called Royal Charters, Patents, the forms and processes by which they issued and passed the Seals, and the grants and transfers under them, were often as vague and unverifiable as such would be to regions and privileges in the moon. He penetrated their secrets and methods, their appropriation of unbounded and unexplored territories by lines drawn in the air over them, as they conflicted, overlapped, and duplicated each other. This library of Mr. Deane was but the transfer of property from one kind into another, alike the product and material of his wisely directed and industrious life.

Our own library, with its crowded shelves and cabinets, is identified with him as if he had been its guardian and its catalogue. How diligently, how intelligently, with what discernment and skill, did he search into those fragmentary or voluminous papers! Crabbed and musty though some of them are, he found use and value in them. He disposed them in order, with notes for helpful guidance. How valuable to us are our gains from his privileged leisure, spent year after year in putting us into real knowledge and possession of our accumulated stores! Many of us had come to look directly to him for the information formally and technically to be sought by card or catalogue. I hope that by some subtle quality passed into them those manuscripts, so many of them arranged and calendared by him in those bulky tomes, will preserve for our successors the aroma of his virtue.

The cherished memories of those who have been longest in our membership will most fondly and tenderly associate with our meetings those two congenial companions, friends, fellow-townsmen, co-workers, Dr. Deane and George Livermore, that man of such rare and winning traits, so delicate, so earnest, so gentle, so devoted to our Society. They came into membership the same year. Both had had their training in a life of business; both devoted the means so acquired to the acquisition and best use of literary treasures. We owe to their friendship with each other and with another kindly benefactor the valuable and unique Dowse Library, with the fund for its care.

I recall that at a meeting held in our hall in commemoration

of Dr. Sparks there were arranged on the table something like one hundred substantial volumes, from his authorship or editorial care. Not in bulk, certainly, will the literary results of Dr. Deane's work equal that collection. Greatly different for the most part were the range and subjects for mind and pen, though of equal historical importance, which engaged those two faithful laborers. As already intimated, Dr. Deane's themes were many of them most obscure and perplexed in the materials for dealing with them. They were numerous, too, and varied in date, locality, and relations. He to whom shall fall the grateful office of Dr. Deane's biographer will find a keen and close diligence necessary to secure a complete list of his productions that are now in print. Some of the most brief and compact of them have in them a concentration of care, research, and value. I have incidentally used the name of our former President James Savage, the interpreter, expositor, and annotator of the earliest and most precious records of the Old Bay Colony, — Governor Winthrop's History, the founder and revered patron of the Massachusetts. Happily and most fittingly there came to Dr. Deane the opportunity and the ability to do an exactly parallel work for the annals of the Old Colony. He was the efficient agent in following up the identification of the long-lost History of the Colony by its Governor Bradford, which had mysteriously disappeared. The manuscript of this priceless treasure proved to be hidden away in the library of the Bishop of London, at Fulham. Dr. Deane at once procured an accurate transcript of it, and then presented it, carefully, intelligently, and luminously edited, to complete as it were in a noble volume the *origines* of our Commonwealth. I had the pleasure of giving a copy of that volume to Dean Stanley, on his visit to Plymouth. With absorbed interest he marked the pages with which historic localities and incidents were identified. On his return home he found in it a theme for discourse. So while the old Puritan manuscript was slumbering hard by him, its writer was the subject of a sermon on Forefathers' Day, in Westminster Abbey.

Just as Dr. Deane's life was closing there came from the press the eighth and last volume of that laborious and elaborate work, which in its purpose and progress had intently engaged his interest and co-operation, — "The Narrative and Critical

History of America," edited with such wide and exhaustive research and with such marvellous ability by our associate Dr. Winsor. Two of the most erudite chapters of that work were from the pen of Dr. Deane. His advice, judgment, and oversight were engaged through the whole of it. His own library, with its treasures for richest use, was one of the most helpful resources of the editor. During the nine years of its progress each volume as it appeared was discerningly welcomed by him in conference with his friend; but he was denied the sight of the last. A fine engraving of his form and features, in his genial serenity and dignity, is fitly presented in the first volume of the series, which appeared only after six preceding ones had been published. But I must not trespass by further detail upon the office of his fuller memorialist.

I have found it easy and attractive to draw this brief sketch of a part of the life-work, for ourselves and others, of our honored and beloved associate. Would that I might leave wholly to others the delicate office of delineating and defining the man, in personality, character, and spirit! We say to each other what we cannot say to all, and we all of us feel what none of us will speak. If it be true, as has been said, that we are most gently and winningly impressed by engaging traits in others more or less lacking in ourselves, then some of us may find a kindly monition in defining to ourselves, if we will, the charm and grace in the presence, the character, the mien, and speech of our vanished friend. Manliness, sincerity, dignity, and an ever gentle courtesy showed what his spirit was. The deliberation of his thought and utterance attested the discretion that was behind them. One might notice often that the mildest and most genial working of his features accompanied the expression of his strongest dissent or disapprobation. He was incapable of offending any one with whom he differed in view or opinion. When we had to take on trust matters of which we were ignorant, we would all admit that his assertions were the best substitute for our own knowledge. He had a candid consciousness of incompleteness in his attainments. He listened as courteously as he spoke. His judgment and dissent were always tempered. To those who have sat with him there, our hall will never wholly lack his presence.

The following is offered for the action of the Society in recognition of our loss: —

The Records of this Society for forty years are enriched in variety and value, by the papers contributed to them by our late associate and senior Vice-President, Dr. Charles Deane. It is with profound sadness that we must now enter upon those records that his life closed on the 13th of last month. Dr. Deane has long held a very high place in our fellowship for his historical acquisitions, for his skill and thoroughness in research, for his accuracy of statement, and for the weight of his opinions and judgment. He had examined many difficult points, and was discreet and conscientious in his decisions. But more even than by his constant service for us, we were all drawn to him by the winning charm and graces of his character, his genial dignity and courtesy, the simplicity of his sincerity and kindness. We can all gratefully unite in this tribute of affection and respect for one whom we so much honored. While entering this tribute upon our records we would convey the expression of it with our tenderest sympathy to his bereaved family.

The Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP then said: —

Few things, Mr. President, would have afforded me greater satisfaction than to pay an adequate tribute to so valued an associate and so esteemed a friend as Charles Deane. Had he been taken away from us earlier, before age had impaired whatever of faculty for such an effort I may have possessed, or been credited with possessing, in former years, I could hardly have found a subject of the sort on which I should have been more willing to dwell. I knew him so long and so well; I was for so many years an immediate witness of his devoted labors for this Society; I owed so much to his obliging co-operation and assistance in my thirty years of its Presidency, and I enjoyed so much of his personal regard and friendship during all this long period, — that anything I could have said of him or written of him would have come from the fulness of the heart, and been wholly a labor of love. As it is, I must be pardoned this evening for confining myself within a narrow compass.

It may be remembered that at a recent meeting of this Society I found occasion for a brief allusion to those with whom I was associated when I first became a member, just half a century ago. Mr. Deane was not of that number. He

was elected a member ten years later than myself; and it was five or six years later still before he began to make a distinguished mark on our records. He was with me on the Standing Committee in 1853 and 1854; but the Society was not then in the way of doing much for itself, or of having much done for it. It was still restricted and crippled, as it had been from its original organization in 1791, by the want of adequate apartments, and of the means for procuring or improving them. Such rooms as we had were in a condition of confusion and chaos which would baffle and beggar all attempts at description. Our monthly meetings were very thinly attended, and communications of importance or interest were as rare as in later years they have been frequent and regular.

But agreeably to the old proverb, it was darkest near day. A good time was then, at last, just opening for us. In 1855, at the same Annual Meeting at which I was called to succeed Mr. Savage as President, Mr. Deane became Chairman of our Standing Committee; and from that time until his recent illness and lamented death, he was recognized by us all as one whose services to this Society and to the cause of New England history could hardly be overestimated.

It is a most striking coincidence that the proceedings of the same Annual Meeting, in 1855, at which he first came to the front, include the acceptance by the Society of the munificent donation of ten thousand dollars from the late Samuel Appleton, as a Fund for the publication of our historical volumes, — and, as the very next item, the announcement that the most precious historical volume which we could ever hope to be privileged to publish had been at last discovered and identified in the library of the Bishop of London, at Fulham, and was awaiting our orders!

That announcement was made by Mr. Deane himself, who had taken a leading part in the identification of the Bradford Manuscript, and whose subsequent annotation and publication of it, in our Collections, was perhaps the most memorable work of his life. It certainly established his position as the umpire on any and every question relating to the Pilgrim Fathers.

A few months later the foundation of the Historical Trust Fund was laid by Mr. Sears; and before another year had

expired, the splendid library of Mr. Dowse, so long the envy of all who had ever seen it or heard of it, was presented to us by its venerable owner as the closing act of his remarkable life.

I need not say that this sudden change in the condition and prospects of the Society involved as much of care and of labor as it did of gratification and gratitude. I almost ache anew as I recall the work which devolved on the officers and members associated with me at that time. Most happily, however, there were found in our little number — then limited by law to sixty for the whole State — those who were willing and capable, and who entered on the work with enthusiasm, and carried it along to a successful completion. I may name especially Chandler Robbins, Richard Frothingham, Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, George Livermore, and Charles Deane. And of these five, I cannot hesitate to say, without any fear of being accounted invidious, that in view of the length, the variety, and the intrinsic value of his services, Charles Deane was the most important of them all. Had his dear friend, George Livermore, been spared to us longer, he might haply have contended for the pre-eminence. His intervention with Mr. Dowse, and his provision as one of Mr. Dowse's executors for the arrangement and preservation of the library which Mr. Dowse had given us, can never be forgotten. But he himself, were he living, would agree with me that the editing of the Bradford volume, the careful collation of the Belknap and Hutchinson papers, the preparation of the two volumes of our earliest history, and of so many of the volumes of our later Proceedings, and the numerous excellent memoirs of deceased associates, of which he was the author, taken in connection with his long and faithful service as our Recording Secretary, have fairly entitled Mr. Deane to the foremost place among our working members during the forty years of his membership.

I have said nothing of his services in other connections, — to the American Antiquarian Society, to the Boston Athenæum, and to other institutions. I have said nothing of the honors which he won abroad and at home, — his election as a fellow of the London Society of Antiquaries, and his degree as a Doctor of Laws and as a Master of Historical Study at the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Harvard College. I

have said nothing of his characteristic qualities as an historian or as a man,— his untiring research, his unfailing accuracy, his rigid historical exactness, which "nothing extenuated nor set down aught in malice," his amiable and obliging disposition, his private virtues, his Christian character; — I leave all these for those who may follow me. But I can hardly forego the opportunity of adding that a beautiful copy of an old illustrated edition of the Bible, in which he had inscribed my name with his own not long before his death, and which has now been most kindly transferred from his library to my own, has furnished me with a touching reminder that my affectionate regard for him was reciprocated to the last.

It only remains for me to second the tribute of Dr. Ellis.

Mr. Charles F. Adams spoke as follows: —

I must confess, Mr. President, to a feeling of strangeness, and I might almost say of presumption, as I find myself in answer to your call following you and Mr. Winthrop in paying such tribute as I may to the memory of Mr. Deane; for I have always been accustomed to regard myself as still a young member of the Society, while you, Mr. Winthrop, and Mr. Deane had already, when I was first introduced into its rooms, been active in its work and prominent on its rolls for more than a quarter of a century. None the less I am reminded of the passage of time, not only by the event we are here to commemorate, but by the fact that though my own entrance into the Society seems so recent, yet more than half the names of those then upon the roll have since been obliterated from it by death. The last published volume of our Proceedings shows that already I am far up towards the head of that procession which is ever silently moving whither Mr. Deane is now gone.

But the mere mention of that first morning when I found my way into the rooms of the Society brings back Mr. Deane to my mind. It was then, so far as I now can recollect, that I made his acquaintance. Possibly I had known him earlier, but if so I fail to recall the fact. I came to the rooms of the Society as a novice about to make my first attempt at historical investigation; for that deluge of centennial and quarter-millennial eloquence which has during the last fifteen years

submerged the land, and which only now holds out the first promise of subsiding for a time, was then about to begin. For some reason, which I cannot now account for, I was invited by the town of Weymouth to deliver an address in commemoration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the permanent settlement of the place; for Wessagusset, as Weymouth was called in the early records, came in the order of age next to Plymouth among Massachusetts towns, and the quarter-millennial celebration of the Old Colony had occurred only four years before. I came to the Society's rooms to learn something of Wessagusset and of the early days of New England, — matters about which I was, as it now seems to me, singularly uninformed; and, fortunately for me, on the threshold of my inquiries I met Mr. Deane. Meeting him, though of course I knew it not till later, made that one of the fortunate days of my life, for well do I remember the manner in which he extended to me his aid. Especially do I recall the gentle consideration with which, during the days which followed, he received my crude suggestions, and how kindly and imperceptibly to myself he guided me into the paths in which I should go.

To the delivery of that Weymouth address I owed my election as a member of this Society. After that, whenever combined occasion and leisure led me to wander in the field of historical research, I was in constant intercourse with Mr. Deane. I have served with him also on committees of this Society, especially upon the committee which, a few years ago, caused the index to the first twenty volumes of its Proceedings to be prepared. I think the suggestion that those Proceedings should be thus indexed was first made by me; but Mr. Deane was associated with me as the committee having the matter in charge, and it is hardly necessary to add that all the really valuable work done was done by him.

Of his familiarity with the records and proceedings of the Society, its publications, its traditions, and its unwritten usages and history, it is needless for me to speak. No one knew them as he knew them; no one is likely to have an equal knowledge of them again. It was he who first annotated a publication of the Society, and I remember his once telling me that though in pursuing this course with Bradford's History he but followed the example of Mr. Savage in the notes to his

Winthrop, yet Mr. Savage did not encourage his so doing. The old student of New England history was, he added, over-eager to know what Bradford had said, and the practice of annotating the publications of the Society was, moreover, in his eyes an innovation of questionable expediency. The only regret we now feel is that Mr. Deane in this matter allowed himself to be influenced even by the age and authority of Savage. But for that there is reason to believe the pages of Bradford would have been enriched far more than they now are by the wealth of learning which their editor was no less ready than able to lavish upon them.

And here, Mr. President, let me say that while I wholly concur in the praise you and Mr. Winthrop have given, and which others may give to Mr. Deane in this regard, I cannot but think that so far as Bradford's History was concerned he left his work unfinished. It was a matter on which I often talked with him. I was most solicitous that the great mass of detailed knowledge of our early history possessed by him should not be lost, and so I continually urged him to bring out as his *magnum opus* a new edition — an *édition de luxe* — of Bradford, in two volumes, to be known for all time as "Deane's Bradford," into the notes of which he should garner up his stores. The idea seemed always to commend itself to him, and repeatedly he assured me that the thing should be done. At last, a year or more ago, I met him one day on Washington Street, opposite the old State House; and, as was our wont, we stopped and exchanged a few words. Again I referred to "Deane's Bradford," and asked him when the work was to begin. Then for the first time I noticed a changed expression in his face. He seemed to have aged since I had last met him, and his reply foreshadowed the end. He simply said, "Ah, yes; I intended to do that, but it is now too late." And as I turned and walked on with a saddened feeling, I realized that "Deane's Bradford" was always to remain a want in New England historical work, — to my mind then and now an *hiatus valde deflendus*.

In earlier years — and my only regret is that the thing did not more frequently occur — it was my good fortune often to consult with Mr. Deane; and I do not think it would have been possible to consult with one whose methods were more calculated to excite respect. He was a natural historical

investigator. He had a calling that way. To me he seemed to have been over the whole field of early New England history, and his mind resembled some choice cabinet filled with many pigeon-holes, in each of which, properly labelled and docketed, was stored away some mental memorandum relating to subjects which, at one time or another, had been made by him matter of investigation. When one of these subjects came up, he as it were would open the cabinet of his mind, and produce from the proper pigeon-hole all that related to that subject. He never seemed at a loss; he never forgot; he was never mistaken. Particularly do I remember two examples of this. In preparing, some years ago, a paper on Sir Christopher Gardiner, which I read before the Society, I vaguely recalled having somewhere seen a reference made to the loose moral conditions existing at an early period among the fishermen of Maine. I wanted the reference, but a search for it seemed almost hopeless. I did not know where first to look. I merely remembered having somewhere in the course of my researches seen such an allusion, which in a general way I was able to describe. In my perplexity I happened to meet Mr. Deane, and stated the case to him. Well do I remember the smile which played over his face, and the bright, kindly look which lighted up his eyes as he heard of my perplexity. And here let me add that no one who ever knew Mr. Deane well is likely to forget that pleasant, friendly smile, and the bright kindly look of his eyes. They broke on you like sunshine; and the best thing about them was that you felt they did but reflect the nature within. When I say that a half-hour passed with Mr. Deane seemed to warm up a whole day and leave a bright mark for memory on it, like a ray of sunlight on some vanishing point in the horizon, — when I say this, I fancy I am only expressing a feeling in my own case which will call forth a sympathetic response in the minds of many others. He had an expression of his own, which was luminous as well as genial. The mere memory of it will always make pleasant for me the rooms of the Society.

But to return to the incident of which I was speaking, — as I mentioned my perplexity to him, Mr. Deane's face lighted up, and he instantly replied, "Ah, yes; that is contained in such and such a report, made at such and such a time. Wait, I will bring it to you"; and stepping to a neighboring book-

case he took down a volume, and turned at once to the very passage I wanted. The other occasion was of a similar nature, and my inquiries related to some early New Hampshire worthy who bore the title of captain, but what his name was I cannot now recall. I had chanced upon this personage in the course of my investigations, and prepared a note in regard to him. Fortunately for me, I submitted my work to Mr. Deane. He glanced over it, and said at once, "Yes; I see you are trying to support the theories of Mr. ———." I then learned for the first time that there had been controversy over the person in question, and Mr. Deane knew all about it; indeed, had himself, I think, taken part in the controversy. I assured him I wished only to obtain the facts, and if he would tell me what the facts were I should be only too pleased to incorporate them, so far as in me lay, into history. He accordingly reshaped what I had written, and I have no doubt that in accepting the form in which he left it I hit as nearly as might be upon the truth.

If my understanding of Mr. Deane's life is correct, he abandoned business at a comparatively early age, and then, enjoying an ample competency which enabled him to devote himself to chosen pursuits, he passed the remainder of life in those researches for which Nature had peculiarly adapted him. To my mind this constitutes what may fairly be described as an ideally successful career. There are some lines, written, I think, by the Oriental scholar, Sir William Jones, which I have not seen for very many years, and accordingly I shall doubtless quote them wrong, — many of those here are probably familiar with them and could correct me, — but they run in my memory thus: —

> "On nurse's knee, a naked, new-born child,
> Weeping thou sat'st, while all around thee smiled.
> So live that, sinking in the last long sleep,
> Thou mayest smile, while all around thee weep."

To me these lines, from birth to death, have always seemed to have concentrated in them the essence of a successful life; the idea of consciously approaching the end, and then, as one naturally would, looking back in review of the whole only to pass smiling away, realizing that as life had been given for enjoyment, you had also enjoyed it to the full, deriving your

keenest enjoyment from the happy and useful exercise of the best powers with which Nature had endowed you. This was given to Mr. Deane. Retiring from business pursuits and the necessity which compels so many, whether they desire to do so or not, to waste their lives in earning a living, — retiring from this business of earning a living while the sun still stood for him in mid-day sky, there came the long, contented, happy, busy afternoon, as that sun gradually drew to the horizon; and as it sank little by little, it seemed ever to shine upon him, as he sat within the walls of his library, with a mellower and a more golden light. There, within those walls, surrounded by the books he loved, which may truly be said in his case to have been not only for himself but for his friends, it was given him to grow old through years of usefulness and contentment. He had his cares and sorrows; that goes without saying. From them no man is exempt. None the less he had more, far more, of all that is best worth living for than is often given to those who seek the rewards and enjoyments of existence in noisier, more dusty, and more frequented paths. He was a world, and a happy world, within himself.

Therefore, meeting here as we now have met, with a sense upon us of the absence of one whom all respected, and all who knew admired and even loved, I think we cannot feel that we would have it other than it is. In the case of Mr. Deane we have seen the peaceful ending of a blameless, useful, and happy life, after years of prosperous tranquillity passed in the uninterrupted enjoyment and exercise of the choicest faculties with which Nature had endowed him. All this is so; but none the less his death has left in this Society a void which cannot be filled.

Mr. Stephen Salisbury was called on, as President of the American Antiquarian Society, of which Mr. Deane was also a valued officer.

Mr. President, — The American Antiquarian Society, feeling that it had suffered a peculiarly severe loss in the death of Dr. Deane, who had been a member thirty-nine years, a member of the Committee of Publication thirty-four years, a member of the Council twenty-five years, and Secretary of Domestic Correspondence for ten years, held a special meeting of the Council on the 27th ultimo to take action com-

memorative of their beloved associate. The President alluded to the many services of Dr. Deane to the Society, which comprised three formal reports of the Council and seventeen miscellaneous addresses and monographs, all of which were prepared with the care and completeness which characterized all Dr. Deane's literary work; and he further offered resolutions which set forth the many ways in which Dr. Deane had aided this Society, and expressed the gratitude with which his memory is cherished by his associates of the Council, stating the opinion that to the constant vigilance and efforts of Dr. Deane, much of the interest shown by the Society in purely historic research is justly due, while to him they are particularly indebted for a conspicuous example of a conscientious and unprejudiced historical method.

Senator Hoar seconded the resolutions, and spoke eloquently and with great feeling of the very high and almost unique position occupied by Dr. Deane among literary critics, in his remarkable equipoise of judgment and industry of investigation, which, owing to his breadth of vision and fairness of disposition, enabled him to do full justice to those from whom he differed in opinion. Mr. Nathaniel Paine and Mr. Charles A. Chase, of the Committee of Publication, referred to their great admiration of Dr. Deane as an editor and critic of the English language, as well as of their respect and love for him as a man. Mr. J. Evarts Greene then paid a tribute to Dr. Deane's intellectual worth as estimated by a managing editor of the Press.

From the date of Dr. Deane's connection with the American Antiquarian Society, may be noted the commencement of the practice of offering unsolicited historical papers at stated meetings, other than the formal reports which were expected. Dr. Deane was nearly always present at meetings of the Society, and frequently had prepared in advance something of interest; and those papers now enrich our publications, and many of them were afterwards privately printed. The officers of the Society have frequently consulted Dr. Deane as a mentor in cases of difficult administration, and have found that his judgment was uniformly wise, and was dictated "with malice toward none, but with charity to all." His genial presence was a benediction, and few could withstand the power of his open face and patient, intelligent courtesy. The character of gen-

tleman was so natural to Dr. Deane as never to be oppressive, which is often the case when that quality is the result of effort or training. The American Antiquarian Society feel that their sorrow is second only to that of the older society, which has enjoyed the constant and daily co-operation and supervision of an officer at once so faithful and so considerate.

Mr. JUSTIN WINSOR then said: —

It is at least forty years, Mr. President, since I first knew our lost friend. I was then a callow youth, more aspiring than wise, stirred with an impulse to do something — I scarcely knew what — in historical investigation, having derived that impulse, as I well remember, at the knee of an aged and near relative, who was accustomed to talk to me of the olden times. It was in the days before even Dr. Deane was a member of this Society, and we both came to its old rooms to pursue such search as was permitted in the manuscripts of its Cabinet. Here it was I first encountered my friend. I was much his junior, and I needed the beneficent serenity of his smile, the kindly advice, the sustaining help, which I readily got from him on the strength of a merely casual acquaintance. I never was quite absent from his influence ever after; but for many years next succeeding, when my studies lay in quite other spheres than those of American history, I never met him but to feel the better for the contact.

Thirty years passed before I was called to Cambridge and became his fellow-townsman. Acquaintance deepened into friendship, and such ties soon took on the strength of affection. It so happened that it was given to me at this time to undertake the control of some large historical works. I had the less hesitancy, because I felt that such a mentor was near me. When a little later he offered to me a building-site on a corner of his estate, and I built myself a house there, our intercourse became almost that of members of one family. During the progress of the works to which I have referred, he was constantly my adviser, and in some sections of them his judgment was compelling. I could not, and would not, dispute it. I saw him almost daily. Often of an evening I have gone across the grass to his house, to lay before him some historical problem which had arrested me. I found in him a

relief. He could show me authorities I had overlooked, and place for me in their true relations others of which I could tell him. If I left him with the question unsolved, I was pretty sure to find the next morning, when I came down to my desk, a note upon it awaiting me, telling me of investigations that had kept him from bed perhaps, and they were always pertinent and definitive.

I never knew any one more conscientious in investigation. His mental movements were far from rapid, but they were sure. He never left any stone unturned in whatever might be the field of his inquiry. "The mills of God grind slowly, but they grind exceeding small." Here was a man, true to his heirship as one of God's creatures, grinding slowly; but there was not so much as one particle which remained uncrushed.

The Hon. Samuel C. Cobb said: —

Mr. President, — If I consulted my own inclination at this time, I should remain silent. It would be more in consonance with the spirit which now possesses me, that I should listen to others, who have come here to pay their tributes of respect and esteem to the memory of the late first Vice-President of this Society, rather than to raise my voice in this presence. But I yield to a request which I have received, to say a word in regard to our late friend and associate as a man of business. My personal acquaintance with Mr. Deane covered a period of nearly twenty years, beginning soon after his retirement from active mercantile life. As directors of one of the older insurance companies of this city, we met frequently. In the discharge of the duties of that office, as in the execution of all other trusts, he was constant, assiduous, and painstaking. He combined great practical wisdom with a keen discrimination in solving the manifold problems of the financial and commercial world.

If at times he seemed a little slow to apprehend a business proposition, once he understood it, he was certain to reach a correct solution of it. A man of the highest sense of honor, of a matured and conscientious judgment, of unswerving integrity, and of unsullied character, his influence for good was felt wherever his business relations brought him in contact with others. It was in the field of historical research, how-

ever, rather than in the business world, that our friend found his greatest satisfaction and achieved his greatest success.

Mr. Deane will be remembered as an honorable, exemplary, and useful Christian gentleman. He was a good citizen and a true friend. We may not venture to intrude upon the sacred precincts of the home which was illumined by the transcendent beauty and loveliness of his character.

Who of us will ever forget his benign countenance, his winsome smile, or his cordial manner? A good man has gone from among us, — a man who performed his part in all the varied relations of life with honor, ability, and discretion.

Dr. William Everett said that the charm of Mr. Deane's familiar intercourse, alluded to by the other speakers, was especially conspicuous in his treatment of young men who showed an interest in his own favorite studies. Young men who enter on such fields as historical study are often received by their elders in those pursuits in a manner neither generous nor wise. Mr. Deane's reception of young historians and book-lovers was absolutely free from exclusiveness, patronage, or petting. He treated them exactly as he would his own contemporaries, opening to them the treasures of his library and his mind with a total forgetfulness of the fifteen or twenty or twenty-five years which separated him from them. This genial and brotherly treatment, while it was the best encouragement to the young man to pursue his studies, only increased his profound respect for his elder, which would have been shaken by any dwelling on the difference of years.

Dr. Samuel A. Green said: —

I am tempted, Mr. President, to relate a circumstance connected with Mr. Deane at the very last meeting which he ever attended. As is known to every gentleman here, this was the Annual Meeting on April 11, which had been called at twelve o'clock, instead of three o'clock, so that the members might enjoy the hospitality of the President during the afternoon. On that occasion there was a certain paleness about Mr. Deane's lips and cheeks, quite noticeable; and more than once at that meeting my attention was called to this appearance. Immediately after the adjournment, I went to him and asked how

he felt, when he said, "Not well at all," accompanying the remark with a characteristic gesture of the hand, which you all remember, over the region of the heart. I told him at once that he must go straight home, and give up the President's reception; and that I was talking not only as a friend, but as a physician. He replied that Dr. Ellis would not understand the reasons of his absence, and that, if he was well enough to be at the meeting, he ought to be well enough to go to his house. To this I offered to make the necessary explanation to Dr. Ellis, who certainly would agree with me in the advice I volunteered; when he replied that he would himself explain matters, and requested me to say nothing about it. The conversation lasted less time than it takes now to relate it; and the result was that he stayed away from the reception and went at once to Cambridge. On reaching Harvard Square, he took a carriage for his own house in Sparks Street, and never afterward left it again during his life.

The Rev. Edmund F. Slafter then said: —

Mr. President, — I rise not with the hope of adding anything important to what has already been said. But Dr. Deane's spirit and method were so admirably illustrated in an incident that came under my own observation some fifteen or more years ago, that I cannot refrain from a brief allusion to it.

I had been occupied some time in examining the organizations in England for establishing colonies in America before any actual settlements had been made, when I came to a very complicated puzzle, which I was wholly unable to fathom. At length, having exhausted all expedients, I wrote a note of inquiry to Mr. Deane. I received a prompt reply, in which he said, "Referring to my notes, I find I had written as follows." He then quoted from his own manuscript what furnished a solution of my difficulty, at once satisfactory and complete.

I was greatly impressed then, as I have been many times since, with the unselfish readiness and generous freedom with which he placed the results of his own researches at the disposal of others to whom he was not under the remotest obligation.

I saw, too, that his method of study was to illuminate the dark passages of history whenever he found them and as he

went along, incorporating his conclusions into rich and pertinent annotations to be used whenever they were needed at any future time.

But there was another side to Dr. Deane's character, of which I know a little; others doubtless know much more.

A few years ago a friend whom I knew well, was brought into association with him in the appropriation and dispersion of charities. His spontaneous generosity, his warm and ready sympathy, and his almost womanly tenderness left on the mind of my friend an indelible impression of the exalted excellence and goodness of his heart.

Dr. Deane, like truly great and noble souls, was in accord with the refined, the cultivated, and the learned; while his sympathies reached down to the poor, the depressed, and the suffering. With the one and the other he has left a fragrant memory that will be long cherished as a precious inheritance.

> "Far may we search before we find
> A heart so manly or so kind."

Dr. EDWARD CHANNING spoke substantially as follows: —

As one of the youngest members of this Society, I wish to give my testimony as to the influence exerted by our late associate on the young men of the present day. It has been well said Dr. Deane put forth no extended historical work, unless, indeed, his edition of Bradford's "Plymouth Plantation" might be so considered. But he did produce much work of great value. And I venture to assert that his scholarly, conscientious, and historically truthful papers have done much to place the study of American history on a sound and healthy basis in this country. I well remember when fresh from college I made what seemed to me an important historical discovery. Full of the importance of this discovery, I went to Dr. Deane and laid the matter before him. He listened patiently and long to my exposition of the facts as they appeared to me. He then asked me if I had consulted a certain book. I answered in the affirmative. And then he proceeded to pull down from his shelves book after book in refutation of the statement contained in the first authority. It did not occur to me till an hour or two later that my genial friend had in this pleasant fashion exploded my carefully elaborated theory.

Nor did Dr. Deane's sympathies with the young and inexperienced become chilled as he advanced in honors and years. For the past few years it has been my fortune to teach our colonial history in the college at Cambridge, and I can affirm from my personal observation that he has stimulated by his writings and words more than a score of young men to do good honest historical work within the last eight years. And how can any master of history use the gifts with which he has been endowed better than by stimulating others to work as he himself has worked?

The Recording Secretary, Rev. Dr. Edward J. Young, said: —

I have brought with me the last letter which I received from Dr. Deane, and which is probably one of the last he ever wrote. The handwriting shows great weakness, but the tone of it is characteristic of the man. It relates to a little book upon which he had made some remarks that are printed in the last volume of Proceedings.

Cambridge, Friday, 10th May, 1889.

Dear Dr. Young, — Very sorry not to have seen you when you called. I have been trying to write you for two weeks, but had not strength. I wanted to say that that little Morrell tract had better be omitted. I have not strength to edit it. Near the foot of the page on which I speak of the tract in a former Serial, I say it will appear at the end of the volume. Those words had better be cancelled by Wilson in the plate, and all will be right, and what I say about the tract all consistent. Sorry to trouble you. When you get old and rheumatic I will do as much for you, if I am able. Glad Mr. Winthrop got back safely from New York. Take care of that precious man. I have just been reading the excellent speeches of Dr. Ellis and Mr. Winthrop in the "Post," as made at the Society yesterday. Sorry I could not be present.

Faithfully yours, Charles Deane.

I may be permitted to add a word in reference to the warm personal relations which existed between my father and Dr. Deane. Not long after the "Chronicles of the Pilgrims" was published, there appeared in one of the newspapers a notice of the book, signed "C. D." The article showed such intelligence and familiarity with the subject, that my father was

eager to know who was the author of it. On inquiry he found that it was written by a young man who was then a commission merchant in Boston. He immediately sought him out, and that was the beginning of a friendship which was intimate and life-long; and my father nominated Mr. Deane as a Resident Member of our Historical Society.

Mr. R. C. Winthrop, Jr., then said: —

A number of members who much desired to be present this evening have been prevented from doing so, either by engagements of long standing, or by the delicacy of their health, or by the inclemency of the weather, which has caused several of them to send excuses at the last moment. Two of them, Mr. Parkman and Mr. Saltonstall, had fully intended to address us. I will not take up time by reading all the letters which have been received by me or by officers of the Society on the subject of this meeting, but I have selected three characteristic ones. The first is from Col. Henry Lee.

Brookline, Dec. 3, 1889.

My dear Mr. Winthrop, — My physician, who has held me by the throat ever since Mr. Forbes's funeral, absolutely forbids my going forth this evening. I am bitterly disappointed, as I held Dr. Deane in esteem and affection, and I long to listen to the tributes to him and to respond amen. We — all the descendants of the Puritans — are virtuous, but we are not all attractive; and Dr. Deane *was*. We all long to cease from our labors, and dream to find happiness in mere repose; but many an honest merchant or bold navigator reaches this long-sought haven only to find himself stranded, like his own "wealthy Andrew, dock'd in sand." Dr. Deane, like a philosopher, realized his dream of happiness by change of occupation, by a successful transfer of his energies.

Meeting him, years ago, again and again in the Cambridge cars, my curiosity was piqued to discover who was this gentleman with a kind of Sir Henry Wotton aspect, an air of dignity and repose, the look of one who in some cool, half-shaded library had beheld "the bright countenance of truth in the quiet and still air of delightful studies," and I did not rest until I discovered. I sought his acquaintance, which I have valued more and more highly ever since.

Yours truly, Henry Lee.

The second letter is from one who was in former years a familiar figure at our meetings, but whom, by reason of his

repeated absences in Europe, and his term of service as a cabinet-minister in Washington, we have long missed. I mean Judge Endicott.

Salem, Nov. 27, 1889.

My dear Winthrop, — I regret to say that I have engagements early next week which render it impossible for me to attend the meeting of the Society at your house on Tuesday evening. I am especially gratified that you should have asked me to say a few words on the great loss we have sustained in the death of Dr. Deane, and if I could be present I should take much satisfaction in doing so. Though during recent years I have seldom met him, yet I formerly often had occasion to consult him in regard to historical questions; for you know that the law sometimes turns upon a question of history, especially in Massachusetts, where the methods and usages of our ancestors on public matters, and a thorough examination of all the precedents, have often settled disputed questions in the courts. I can remember one case where Dr. Deane's sound learning and ready judgment may be said to have been of service in the administration of justice. I could recall other instances, did space and time allow; but at this moment we are probably all thinking more of the personal quality and influence of the man, his gracious manners, his ready friendship, his open mind absolutely fair, the confidence he inspired, the good work he gave in every labor and for every object to which the Society is devoted, and of the grievous personal and public loss that has befallen us. Hoping and believing that others will do justice to the subject and the occasion, I remain,

Very truly yours, William C. Endicott.

The third letter is from Dr. Henry M. Dexter, perhaps the most competent living critic of historical material relating to Plymouth Colony. In it he says: —

I recall with pain a positive engagement to be out of town on Tuesday evening. I have been made personally so much Dr. Deane's debtor by many undeserved personal kindnesses that I should condemn myself for serious ingratitude did I not, in spirit at least, join most heartily and tenderly in all expressions which may take shape on the occasion. I have always felt that his judgment as to any point in connection with Plymouth history was worth more than that of any other living man known to me. He always seemed to me about that, as about everything else, to be a wonderfully *exact* man. He knew all the jots and tittles of a subject, and he always seemed to know them off-hand and at once, without going to the books, as most of us have to go. I never detected him in a particle of that prejudgment which

is inhospitable to new evidence; and I have often thought how magnificent it would have been if a journal of Brewster or of Robinson could have been found in some forgotten heap of old papers, covering those vital years and pregnant events, and if we could have had Dr. Deane edit it with that microscopic knowledge of all the related facts and that loving tolerance toward every aspect which the most poly-sided subject may present. But, alas! such a journal has never yet turned up, and such editing as he would have given it is now no longer possible.

The Treasurer, Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH, was called on by the President, as one who had been closely associated with Dr. Deane for many years; but he declined to speak. It has been thought proper, however, in order to complete the record of the tributes to our late associate by members of the Society, to insert here an article written by Mr. Smith, which appeared in the "Boston Post" of November 14.

The death of Mr. Charles Deane, the distinguished historical scholar, which occurred at Cambridge yesterday morning, was not unexpected by his personal friends and his associates in the studies to which he was so strongly attached. For more than seven months he had been confined to his house with gradually failing strength; and now has come a not unwelcome release from a struggle between life and death which only a naturally strong constitution could have sustained so long. But the close of a life so fruitful in work of great and permanent value, and which it might reasonably have been hoped would be prolonged with full vigor for another decade, will be felt as a loss by every student of our early colonial history, and especially by every student of the earliest history of Virginia and Massachusetts. In his knowledge of the early history of these colonies, including the separate history of the Plymouth Colony, Mr. Deane had no peer; and the numerous monographs in which he made clear one or another obscure point in their history must forever remain monuments of his unwearied diligence in research, the soundness of his judgment, and his ardent love of truth.

Mr. Deane was born at Biddeford, in what was then the District of Maine, on the 10th of November, 1813, and completed the preparatory studies for admission to Bowdoin College at the usual age; but in consequence of the death in

college of an elder brother his plan of life was changed, and at the age of nineteen he came to Boston to enter on a business career. For this he was not less qualified than he was for a literary life. In a few years he became a partner in the great dry-goods firm of Waterston, Pray & Co., and in 1864 he retired from active business with an ample fortune. After that time he devoted himself mainly to historical studies, to which he had already given much attention. In 1849 he was chosen a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and two years later he was made a member of the American Antiquarian Society. In 1856 he received from Harvard College the honorary degree of A.M. In 1871 Bowdoin College conferred on him the degree of LL.D.; and in 1886, on the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Harvard College, he received from the University the same honorary designation, in recognition of his rank as an "antiquary and historian, a master among students of American history." These are only some of the many honors which he worthily won, and wore with rare modesty.

In the investigation of historical truth, Mr. Deane's mind always worked with absolute precision and accuracy. He was slow and cautious in forming an opinion on disputed questions, and was never hasty to print the results at which he had arrived. But when he had reached a conclusion on any question the most cautious investigators knew that he had probed the matter to the bottom, and that it was scarcely possible to learn anything more on the subject. He had a marvellously retentive and accurate memory. Whatever he had read, heard, or seen he could at once recall in its minutest details, to the confusion of others who thought they remembered everything, but whose memories were not so tenacious as his. With a mind so thoroughly stored with the fruits of patient research, largely conducted in his own priceless library, — the richest in early Americana of any private library in this neighborhood, — he had no theories to maintain, and he approached every question with absolute integrity of purpose. In his relations to other students of history no man could have been more candid or more courteous; and he was always ready to aid other investigators pursuing similar lines of inquiry. As a scholar, an associate, and a friend, he has left none but gracious memories.

For twenty-five years Mr. Deane was an officer of the Massachusetts Historical Society; and it was in this capacity that his most important literary work was done, though his masterly report on Burgoyne's Surrender and other papers were first read before the Antiquarian Society, and he contributed to other publications, besides printing some monographs independently. Eleven volumes of the "Proceedings of the Historical Society" were issued under his supervision; and to all of them he contributed important papers. He was at the same time the most active and influential member of the committees charged with the publication of eight of the Society's volumes of Collections. But the work by which he will be longest and most gratefully remembered is his carefully annotated edition of Governor Bradford's manuscript "History of Plymouth Plantation." He procured from England a transcript of this precious manuscript, which had long been buried in the library of the Bishop of London at Fulham; and he afterward edited it for the Historical Society in a manner which left nothing to be desired. If Mr. Deane had done nothing but publish this volume, his position and rank as an historical scholar would have been secure. But it is only the most important in a long series of works by which he won for himself a foremost place among historical students. An enumeration of them would fill far too much space here, and it is enough to say now that they cover a wide range of topics, and not one of them could well be spared from our historical literature. As a writer Mr. Deane's style was remarkably clear, compact, and direct. With no attempt at rhetorical display and with no needless exhibition of wide and various reading, it was the natural product of a full mind, intent only on carrying conviction to the minds of other inquirers.

The minute read by the President was then adopted by a rising vote.

DECEMBER MEETING, 1889.

The regular monthly meeting was held on Thursday, the 12th instant, at three o'clock P. M.; the President, Dr. George E. Ellis, in the chair.

The Recording Secretary read the records of the November meeting and of the special meeting held on the 3d instant; which were approved.

The Librarian read the list of donors to the Library for the last month.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that he had received a letter of acceptance from the Hon. Henry S. Nourse, elected a member at the November meeting.

The President then spoke as follows of the deaths of two members which had occurred since the last stated meeting:

We have again to introduce our meeting with a note of sadness, in recognizing the recent decease of two highly honored and valued associates, — Robert Bennett Forbes, Esq., and Gen. Francis Winthrop Palfrey.

Venerable in years, and long regarded in this and in a broader community as a typical example and authority in all the interests of a world-wide commerce, alike in earlier and in recent enterprises, east and west, the death of Mr. Forbes, on November 23, called out many and earnest and grateful expressions of the high regard in which he had been held among us. To the mercantile brotherhood he stood for all that is honored and noble in enterprise, integrity, and pure success as a navigator — skilled in his art, in the improvement of models, rig, and steering — and as a merchant prince; to all others he was known by many publications from his pen, his generous public spirit, his broad and hearty philanthropy, his lofty patriotism, and his simple virtues and benevolent heart.

General Palfrey, bearing an honored historical name, gathered to it the laurels of heroic patriotic service on the fields of our civil war. He was heroic, too, in the patient endurance of invalidism and the battle for life against the wounds he had

received in his campaign. Giving his young manhood and his professional prospects in the law to the call of his country, he afterward proved, by valuable historic papers contributed to this Society, what more he would have done for us, and how he would have deepened and extended the love and regard in which he was held, had that life been lengthened in health and strength, which closed at Cannes, France, December 5.

The Council ask the Society to place upon its records this expression of its tribute of respect to these two associates, each of them so faithful in his own use of life and ability.

The Hon. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL said: —

No one in private life was ever better known at home and abroad than Captain Forbes. His "Reminiscences," printed by himself for private distribution, have opened to us his life in the most attractive manner from his earliest childhood. And no one surely ever experienced more of adventure in childhood than he. His early voyages; his rapid advance from sailor before the mast to mate and captain; his life as a merchant residing in China and at home; his successes and his failures, bringing with them neither undue elation nor depression, — all are simply told, as I have many a time heard him narrate them in his charming manner, with winning smile and musical voice; so that there remains little to add except the tribute which any and all his warm friends would pay to his memory.

Thirty-five years ago I became acquainted with Mr. Forbes, and was for some days his guest. From that time, for twenty years and more, I saw much of him. For some years he occupied an office adjoining mine, and talked frequently and freely about himself and his experiences.

He was an admirable type of the kind of man which the early half of this century produced here, but which, alas! has ceased to exist with the opportunity which we have cast away for producing it. I refer to the merchants who began life by *going to sea*. And what noble men they were! Intelligent, generous, patriotic, they were at all times ready to lend a helping hand to every deserving charity, and often became founders of some of our most useful and admirable institu-

tions. All of them who are left are now old men, and there are none to take their places. They have disappeared with our ships. No longer can our boys who are not students, and who like no better to be caged in shops or factories, take to themselves wings, and sailing on foreign voyages, subjected to wholesome discipline, thus learn to be brave, intelligent men of the world.

Mr. Forbes was a *brave* man; no other would have jumped from the "Europa" in a dense fog in mid-ocean, before a boat could be lowered, to save the poor wretches who were shrieking for help and sinking around him.

A generous, noble-hearted man, no other would have organized the scheme for relieving starving Ireland, and have volunteered his services to command the "Jamestown," with her precious freight of food for that unfortunate people; no other would have devoted time and money to the establishment of the Sailors' Snug Harbor and the Sailors' Home, and to the life-saving service of the Massachusetts Humane Society.

He was noted for his industry, and was always busy about something. For amusement at home, during his later years, he built pretty models of ships and boats which he gave the sons of his many friends. He was very fond of the society of young people, and had a rare faculty of amusing them. He was almost as ardent a lover of a fine horse as of a boat, and a bold rider, exciting the wonder and admiration of even the English riders at Pau, when he was sixty-five.

Captain Forbes was fond of a good joke, and had a fund of humor, when I first knew him, which made him very attractive; but he never could tolerate anything that bordered on profanity or even coarseness.

His keen appreciation of everything that was courageous and manly among seamen was perhaps his chief characteristic, and he will be remembered as the sailors' friend.

Mr. John C. Ropes spoke in substance as follows: —

General Palfrey was a man so well equipped for the work of life that we have, and cannot help having, much the same feeling about him, on hearing of his death, that we have when a young man dies. There was so much that he would have

done, had his health and strength permitted. He possessed capacity of a high order, a strong purpose to make the most out of life, and untiring industry; but these great qualities availed little against the persistent attacks of disease.

He was a man who always took life seriously; his ideal was high. His plan of life was carefully made; its execution was entered upon with a deliberate and persistent energy that was certain to attain satisfactory results.

I knew him first during the war. His duties as Lieutenant-Colonel of the Twentieth Massachusetts Volunteers were most faithfully performed. He never spared himself. His thoroughness in mastering the details of the service; his determination to have the regiment everything that a regiment from Massachusetts ought to be, in drill, in discipline, and in conduct, in the camp and in action; his loyalty to the gallant veteran who commanded it; his exact justice toward the officers and men of his command; his bravery in action, — constitute his claim as a soldier to the gratitude of his fellow-citizens.

But here fortune was against him. Struck down and permanently disabled after a year of service, he had no opportunity to win the distinction that might have awaited him had his career been prolonged.

His life after the war was a constant struggle against pain and weakness. It was a steady and most gallant fight; his constant purpose being to do the work for which he felt himself fitted, and the doing of which he therefore felt must be his appointed task in the world. For General Palfrey was a most conscientious man; earnestly desirous to ascertain the proper field of duty, he was equally decided and persistent in the doing of the work. Unfortunately he was so much hampered by his health that he was able to accomplish but little. But his writings, though few, were of the best of their class. His brief memoir of Major Henry Livermore Abbott, of his own regiment, who was killed in the battle of the Wilderness, is an admirable piece of work. A more difficult task, the Life of Brevet Major-General William F. Bartlett, was welcomed by the public as one of the most interesting and notable biographies that the war gave to us. His contribution to the Scribner series of the Campaigns of the Civil War, the volume on the Antietam and Fredericksburg, was carefully, impartially, and vigorously written, and is an authority on that

period of the war. His paper in "The Memorial History of Boston" is a valuable summary of the work of Boston in the civil war.

General Palfrey's methods of thought, speech, and action were perhaps somewhat formal, somewhat conventional; but every one knows the strong attachment which he inspired among his friends, and the absolute confidence which was everywhere reposed in him. The soldiers of his regiment could always go to him and be sure of a kindly and careful hearing of their grievances, or a considerate and generous attention to their wants. The officers under him confided in his equal and exact justice. His friends knew no friend more loyal, more unwavering, more devoted.

Mr. Charles F. Adams then said: —

I should not feel warranted, Mr. President, in adding to what Mr. Ropes has said, were it not that I am one of the few members of this Society who, in common with General Palfrey, took a soldier's part in the War of the Rebellion. Were my friend General Devens here, it would, I feel, be eminently proper that he should say something. In his absence, I do not think it can be otherwise than proper for me to undertake to do that which he would have done so much more happily.

I do not remember the time in my life when I did not know Frank Palfrey. His father and mine were always closely associated, and, before I was born, warm personal friends; and so Frank and I knew each other as boys, though he was somewhat older than I. Subsequently, just after he had taken his degree at Harvard, at my own request I was taken from the school where I then was, and put under his charge to be fitted for college. For two years I was thus in almost daily contact with him in the most intimate way; the memory of the summer mornings in which we read Greek together at his room in Cambridge is, indeed, still very fresh with me, and I seem to smell the fragance of the blossoms as it was wafted in through the open windows, mixed with the hum of the insects and the sound of the distant college bells. Those days were early in the fifties, when Franklin Pierce was Consul, I being still a boy and Palfrey hardly a man, — days

pleasant to recall. Later on, from 1856 to 1861, we were young men together in society, and incipient practitioners of the law, during that period which might not inappropriately be described, so far as he and I and our friends were concerned, as the golden period of a golden youth. Then came the War of the Rebellion; and he took a commission in the Twentieth Massachusetts Infantry, while, a few months later, I accepted one in the First Cavalry. I remember meeting him in the army but once, in September, 1862, when the army of the Potomac was on its march to the dread field of Antietam. One afternoon as we were toiling along the dusty road which led for so many of those who then travelled it to a soldier's grave, I came across a regiment resting in bivouac, which I recognized as the Twentieth Massachusetts. I looked for Palfrey, and soon found him sitting on the hillside, engaged, if I remember aright, in writing a letter. I dismounted and, after an exchange of warm greetings, sat with him on the grass until my duties called me away, while we recounted to each other our experiences, and discussed the chances of the campaign and of the impending battle. The next I heard of him he had been grievously wounded in the fight of Sedgwick's division; nor do I believe he ever again knew what it was to enjoy a physically painless day.

I hardly remember again meeting Palfrey until the war was over. He had then resumed life as best he could, manfully taking up the life-long burden imposed upon him by a shattered arm. For years after, he and I constantly met as members of a little association of officers who had seen service in the Rebellion, and whose custom it was to dine together periodically every winter; and it is a curious fact in connection with that club, consisting as it did of some twenty men now no longer young, many of whom had been grievously wounded in battle or their constitutions broken by campaign exposure, — it is a curious fact, I say, that of those men who have thus dined together for more than twenty years, Palfrey is the first who has died a natural death.

It seems to me unnecessary to add to what Mr. Ropes has said in his delineation of General Palfrey's character. I endorse it all. Nevertheless, there is one point, somewhat perhaps in the nature of a limitation, to which I think it not out of place to allude. Mr. Ropes referred to General Palfrey more than

once as a "formal man." I think he might more properly have been described as a man whose ways were studied, — a man who was, though in no offensive sense of the term, artificial in externals. That he had a kindly and loyal nature, no one who knew him well could ever doubt. There was in him no taint of treachery or malignancy. A man of decided ability, his ability found expression in a peculiar way, — a way which it seems to me was more in vogue forty years ago than now, — with great facility for acquiring, he modelled himself upon others. Mr. Ropes has referred to the way in which he would labor to perfect himself in whatever he took hold of. It seemed to make little difference whether it was a thing worth doing or not worth doing, he would work with the same untiring zeal to acquire proficiency in it; and he generally succeeded in so doing. His proficiency, nevertheless, was apt to impress those about him with a sense of artificiality, — as lacking, so to speak, the true ring. He was, in a word, seldom satisfied with being simply himself. I have alluded to this, not only as throwing a light on that "formal manner" which Mr. Ropes has mentioned, but because, as it seems to me, it oftentimes prevented General Palfrey from being estimated at his true worth. People were apt to take note of his foibles and artificial modes of expression, and disregard his better, more kindly, and more genuine self.

I have but one word more to say. Palfrey's name should, I submit, be inscribed with those others on the marble tablets that stand in the entrance to Harvard's Memorial Hall, — it should be writ on the roll of honor in our Battle Abbey as the name of one of those sons of the College who died for their country in the great civil war. He received the wound which sapped away his life, and which, through long years of suffering, slowly but surely brought him to his death-bed there at Cannes, — he received that wound in September, 1862, now twenty-seven years ago; but his death, at the end of all those years, was due to that wound no less than if he had died a few days later in the hospital, after falling, as he fell, at Antietam, in the advance of Sumner's corps. His name should be inscribed on the immortal tablets of Memorial Hall no less than the names of those who fell by his side, and died then instead of now. He did not the less die from the effects of

the wound received that day in fiercest battle because his death was lengthened out through seven-and-twenty years of suffering.

Dr. Samuel A. Green, a classmate at college of General Palfrey and Professor Allen, said: —

I remember, Mr. President, many years ago, when a distinguished associate of this Society, in paying a tribute here to the memory of a classmate, said that those of our contemporaries whom we call by their first names, and who call us by ours, are growing rapidly less and less in numbers as the years roll by. I appreciate the truth of this remark, and I feel now its full force. Within the past week Frank Palfrey and Bill Allen, both members of this Society, have been taken away. For more than forty years I have known them well, and have never addressed either of them otherwise than by his familiar nickname, although of late my intercourse with them, owing to various causes, has been but slight. They belonged to the Class of 1851 at Harvard, which, though small, has given eight members to the Historical Society. A singular and unusual mortality has just befallen this class, as three of its cherished members have died in distant and widely separated places, and all within the space of a short month, — first, Rhett, at Charleston, on November 12; then Palfrey, at Cannes, France, on December 5; and lastly, Allen, at Madison, on December 9.

> "Insatiate archer! could not one suffice?
> Thy shaft flew thrice; and thrice my peace was slain."

Francis Winthrop Palfrey entered college as the first scholar of his class, coming from the Boston Latin School, and throughout his college course maintained high rank, graduating with distinguished honors. Immediately after leaving college he entered the Law School, where he subsequently took the degree of Bachelor of Laws; and later he began the practice of his profession in Boston. Well grounded in the rudiments of his studies, he gave every promise of success at the bar. Soon, however, the great Rebellion broke out, and, like thousands of other young men at that period, appreciating their duties and their responsibilities, without hesitation Palfrey offered his

services to the government, which were readily accepted. Commissioned as Lieutenant-Colonel of the Twentieth Massachusetts Volunteers in the summer of 1861, he left the State with his regiment, which very soon afterward was engaged in the battle of Ball's Bluff. During the campaign of the next year this regiment saw a great deal of hard service, and was engaged in many severe battles. In some of these actions Palfrey was in command, and in more than one of them was wounded. At Antietam his shoulder was badly shattered, making a wound which was ultimately the cause of his death. Promoted to the Colonelcy, he was soon obliged to resign from the military service on account of his disabilities; and later he was brevetted a Brigadier-General. At intervals his old wound continued to trouble him, and I remember his saying to me in these rooms that he wished he had the same buoyancy of feeling and the same elasticity of spirit which once belonged to him, and that then he would do something worthy of his membership. His pen, however, was not idle, as he is the author of an excellent memoir of his comrade General Bartlett, and various other publications relating to the war. Just before sailing for Europe, a few weeks ago, General Palfrey had put the finishing touches on Volume V. of his father's "History of New England," which had been left in manuscript by the writer, but which still required some revision.

William Francis Allen, of Madison, Wisconsin, was chosen a Corresponding Member of this Society on Feb. 9, 1882. He was a native of Northborough, where he was born on Sept. 5, 1830, and a son of the Unitarian minister of that town. Soon after graduation he became engaged in teaching, which has since been his vocation. Many years ago Allen accepted a professorship in the University of Wisconsin, where he soon took a position among the foremost educators of the Northwest. He is the author of several text-books which have had a wide circulation, and was one of the compilers of a volume entitled "Slave Songs of the United States."

Mr. Henry W. Haynes then spoke as follows: —

Mr. President, — After the appreciative tributes already paid to the memory of our late associate, General Palfrey, I will occupy the time of the Society only a few moments longer.

But I cannot forget that I have had the privilege of his acquaintance and of his friendship for even a longer period than Mr. Adams. When I entered the Boston Latin School in 1842, I found him in the class above me, — a bright active boy, with a love of study, a quickness of intelligence, a remarkable memory, and an ambition to excel which soon gave him a very high rank in his class. I believe he knew the Latin and Greek grammars by heart; and when he graduated from the school with a Franklin Medal, he delivered an oration in Latin upon "Cicero as an Orator." Notwithstanding this thoroughness of classical training, he concluded to spend a year longer under private tuition, before entering Harvard College, with the class of 1847. His college career was a very creditable one, and his general scholarship excellent. That early fondness for the ancient classics was strengthened, and manifested itself in the choice of subjects for his Exhibition and Commencement performances, — the former, a Latin oration "De rebus navalibus antiquorum"; the latter, one in English upon the "Orations in the Ancient Historians." If it be true, as Mr. Ropes has told us, that he was inclined to form himself upon a model, it must at least be acknowledged that he always sought for the best models. I think that the lucidity, purity, and strength which marked his English style may be clearly traced to his early love and constant study of the ancient classics. But although he was a good scholar in college, he was by no means merely the scholar. He was the life and soul of our social gatherings, and his quick wit and ready speech made him always sought for, then and afterward, together with our associate here, Mr. Augustus T. Perkins, as the presiding officer of our class suppers and other meetings.

I will not linger upon Palfrey's subsequent life up to the time of the breaking out of the civil war, when his real character first shone forth. Among the "golden youth" who sprung to their country's defence, none had stronger attractions to a life of ease, or brighter prospects of success in his chosen profession. But with him, "Vincit amor patriæ, laudumque immensa cupido." For Palfrey was actuated alike by both sentiments; he loved his country, and he was ambitious of glory, — a noble, honorable ambition, which asked for only what he had deserved.

His arm was saved upon the battle-field of Antietam. I

think, Mr. President, his friends have been sometimes compelled to feel that it might have been better if it never had been saved; for all his after life was made one prolonged martyrdom to suffering. I remember meeting him upon the Common on a bright summer morning, and asking if the fine weather had not some effect in diminishing his neuralgic pains; and his reply, that he was always in pain, and it was only a question of more or less. The patience and cheerfulness with which this was borne has been a lesson to us all. Truly was he called upon to drain deep the bitter cup of affliction; but this had a most elevating and purifying influence upon his character, in preparing him for the better life to which we believe that he has passed; and we feel that he has, —

> "Though doomed to go in company with Pain
> And Fear and Bloodshed, miserable train,
> Turned his necessity to glorious gain."

Our late Corresponding Member, Prof. William Francis Allen (my college classmate also), came of a long line of scholars and teachers. In college his work was mainly in the classics, and after graduation he went to Europe in company with our associate, Prof. William W. Goodwin, to continue those studies at the universities of Heidelberg and Berlin. The two friends afterward travelled in Greece and Italy; investigated together the topography of ancient Athens and Rome, occupying an apartment which looked down upon the Roman Forum; and together visited many storied scenes, among them the battle-field of Lake Trasimenus. One of the first fruits of these foreign studies was a striking article, contributed to the "North American Review" by the two friends, upon the then recently published "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography," edited by Dr. William Smith. In this I recollect they took occasion to correct a fault to which English scholars are somewhat prone, of attributing to their own countrymen conclusions or discoveries which properly belong to learned men of other nationalities. There had been ascribed to Canon Wordsworth, in particular, whose beautiful work upon Greece was deservedly very popular, the identification of a certain locality in Athens which they showed had been made known to the world some years before by Forchhammer.

Professor Allen's life-work has been mainly that of a teacher of the ancient languages and of history; but during the war he cheerfully gave his services to the Sanitary Commission, both in South Carolina and at Helena, Arkansas. One of the results of the year spent by him on a plantation at Port Royal was the "Slave Songs of the United States," which his musical taste especially qualified him to appreciate, and which was mainly his work. Since 1867 he has been a hard-working and most successful professor at the University of Wisconsin, finding time to prepare several excellent text-books, both in the ancient languages and in history, as well as to be a constant and versatile contributor to the New York "Nation." I recollect also that he read at a meeting of the American Philological Association a learned essay upon the "Battle of the Mons Graupius," the seed whence sprung his admirable students' edition of the Agricola and Germania of Tacitus. His grammatical and other text-books, in Latin, prepared in conjunction with his brother, Mr. Joseph H. Allen, are so well known and approved as scarcely to require mention.

Too severe application, however, to his professional duties had somewhat impaired his health, so that he had it in contemplation, as his last letter informed me, to seek relaxation in a year of travel in Europe. But with his usual conscientious devotion to duty, he asked for suggestions and references for the study of the Prehistoric Times of Italy, in his judgment indispensable for the proper teaching of ancient history, in which he was engaged in preparing a text-book.

The PRESIDENT announced that, in accordance with the provisions of the new By-Law adopted at the October meeting, the Council had unanimously appointed Mr. Charles C. Smith "to be immediately responsible for the proper editing of all volumes, whether of Collections or Proceedings, the supervision of the Society's copyists, and the adequate preparation of all material intended for the press"; and that Mr. Smith entered on the discharge of his duties at the beginning of the present month.

Mr. Augustus T. Perkins was appointed to prepare a memoir of the late Thomas C. Amory; Mr. John C. Ropes, a memoir of Francis W. Palfrey; Mr. Justin Winsor, a me-

moir of Charles Deane; and Mr. Henry W. Torrey, a memoir of James Walker, in place of the Rev. Henry W. Foote, to whom the duty had been previously assigned, but who had died without completing the memoir.

Dr. Ellis then said: —

It may be remembered that at a meeting of this Society in January, 1881, while that voluminous work "The Memorial History of Boston" was about being completed, the editor of it, our associate, Mr. Winsor, brought to our notice the syllabus of another proposed work, of his own conception, similar in its general plan, but more extended and elaborate, to be called "Narrative and Critical History of America." He asked the appointment of a committee of this Society for consultation and co-operation with him; which was assented to. The eighth (the concluding) volume of the work has recently appeared from the press. So intelligently and discreetly was the scheme of it devised, that it has been followed till crowned with complete success. As is known, the plan required the assignment of historical subjects, to be treated in it as monographs, to assistant contributors, each of them to deal with his subject in a chapter composed of two parts, — one of them a digested historical narration; the other, a bibliographical summary, comprehensive and critical, of the sources, the authorities, from which the narrative was drawn, with comments upon them. Of course the eight solid volumes which compose the work, with abounding illustrative materials, — charts, maps, views, plans, portraits, fac-similes, autographs, etc., — could not deal fully, still less exhaustively, with each and every subject that would fitly enter into the history of America for four centuries. Only a selection of matters of more emphatic import was practicable. Whatever in the manuscripts of contributors — all free to express their own views and conclusions, in treating their respective themes — might involve reference to, or trespass upon, another's province, or any conflict of statements, or would leave *lacunæ* to be supplied, would require the trained skill of the editor, for adjustment, revision, and, if need were, for mediation. Thirty-nine contributors, besides the editor, have thus combined their work. As one of those contributors, I must be reserved and judicial in my comments, and will confine myself strictly to

the editor's part, which is in the main the most laborious, fullest, and best part in it. Besides that his own chapters are the most numerous and varied in their range, his hand, his judgment, his versatility and fulness of knowledge add much to the illustration and enrichment of all the other contents.

Though he is present, I must permit myself to say here — what I have said during the last nine years elsewhere, often, and to many competent persons, no one of whom dissented from my remark — that "Mr. Winsor is the only living man among us who could have done the work he has accomplished." Nor does it reduce that commendation to say that he has done his work so well because he was privileged to enter upon and master the fruits of the labors of others. Most instructively and with abounding reference and gratitude has he recognized his predecessors. That long succession of industrious and faithful pioneers in history, many of them of frugal means; and that select company of cultivated and generous individuals who have devoted their fortunes to the collection and preservation of rare and costly relics, — have together recorded and gathered every syllable of our historic lore. Those treasures well deserve their expressive title of "Americana." Mr. Winsor has a confidential intimacy with them. As the guardian for so many years of our two largest and richest libraries, he has also been privileged in acquiring his bibliographical skill and knowledge. For some of those years he has had as a neighbor, for daily intimacy, that wise, helpful, and most genial of all sympathizing spirits, — himself a library within a library, — our late lamented associate, Dr. Deane. As the inception of this work was noticed in our records, it is proper that mention should be made of its completion.

I have received from Mrs. Charles Deane a note accompanying a volume which, she writes, her late husband left to this Society, "wishing it to be kept by it forever." The volume is a thin quarto, richly bound, and contains a collection of cuttings of newspaper communications, dating from 1850, engraved portraits, manuscript letters, etc., relating to the exposure, by Dr. Deane, of a fraud by which an engraved portrait of Dr. Franklin, slightly tricked with, had been made to serve as a veritable portrait of Roger Williams, — a much desired, but as yet undiscovered treasure. An authentic engraving of Dr. Franklin, sometimes artistically decorated, for

an effigies of the famous Rhode Island worthy, had appeared in several publications, and had been exhibited in Providence as from an original portrait of him, — deceiving many intelligent persons, biographers and historians! The patience, thoroughness, and full demonstration which Dr. Deane brought to the exposure of the trick were highly characteristic of him. There is also a vein of fun and humor, not often indulged by him in his treatment of grave themes. We shall highly value the book for itself and for the giver.

Some of you may remember that about eight years ago Dr. Deane exposed here, by the actual tokens, a similar fraudulent substitute of an engraving by which a portrait of that rakish poet, Charles Churchill, by the skilful manipulation of Paul Revere, and the swinging of a powder-horn from the shoulder, had been made to do duty for our Indian fighter and Cæsarean recounter of his own exploits, Col. Benjamin Church.

But I have here a piece of honest work of Paul Revere, stamped by him with his own name. It is an ancient silver sugar-tongs. It was committed to me by the late Mrs. Ellen M. Gifford, of New Haven, to be deposited in our Cabinet.

Mr. Charles C. Smith stated that some years ago Mr. Deane had undertaken to prepare a communication on Cabot's Map of the World, now in the National Library in Paris, which he had not been able to complete, and that, in conformity with a request of Mr. Deane in his last illness, his notes had been sent to Mr. Smith to be completed and communicated to the Society at some future period.

Dr. William Everett then read a paper on

The Last Royal Veto.

The following paper does not pretend to bring forward any new facts or theories in history, but rather to comment on the singular way in which history is written, — one historian copying another in his omissions and mistakes, when dealing with the most interesting subjects.

The veto of a chief magistrate — the refusal of assent to a bill which has passed all the other stages of legislation — is always an interesting event in political history. The veto of

a President of the United States, or a Governor of one of them, invariably creates much interesting speculation. Sometimes, on these occasions, reference will be made to the fact that a bill is never vetoed by the Sovereign of England; and perhaps the exaggerated language of Mr. Bagehot may be resorted to,— that "Queen Victoria must sign her own death-warrant, if both houses present it for her signature."

Yet, beyond all doubt, our own ancestors adopted the veto provision first in their State Constitution, from which it was copied in that of 1787, because they believed that the English executive had such a power, and that indeed to an extent beyond what they were willing to trust their elective governors; for American vetoes are merely suspensive, — bills may be passed over them, — but a royal veto in England is final. In the "Defence of the American Constitutions," by John Adams, he finds fault with the Americans for not imitating the English Constitution in respect to the negative given to the executive power; but a suspensive veto certainly belonged to his own State Constitution before 1787.

And indeed, there is no difference of opinion among the earlier text-writers, like Blackstone and De Lolme, that the King does possess this absolute negative, as expressed in the terms "*Le roy s'avisera*" (The King will consider of it); they speak of it as an actual power. Later writers, however, invariably tell us that the power is entirely disused; and Bagehot goes the length I have stated, — that it must be considered as extinct. What has taken its place,— if, as some say, the sovereign cannot affect legislation at all, or if he can do so only by influence, or, finally, if there are established but indirect methods by the agency of the ministry, — I shall not at this moment discuss. My present purpose is to dwell on the most recent or least remote use of the sovereign's negative, as it has been recorded and treated, whether as belonging to the actual history or the theoretic Constitution of England.

In what reign was the sovereign's assent last refused to a bill passed by the Lords and the Commons? The answer is, in that of Queen Anne, on the 11–22 of March, 1707–8, when the Act for Settling the Militia of Scotland was met by "*La royne s'avisera.*" There is not the least mystery about this fact; it is recorded in the Journals of the House of Lords, which are easily accessible, and has been mentioned in several books which

are still handier; and yet I find, on consulting about thirty prominent historians and text-writers, *not a single one* who does not either omit all allusion to the fact or commit errors about it more or less serious; always excepting Lord Macaulay, who alludes to it correctly but very casually. Now, this seems to me a very remarkable comment on the way history is written. That the entire body of accessible historians and text-writers who have handled this period or this subject should either not know or omit or misstate the latest exercise of this very interesting power, is enough to make the most indifferent and lazy investigate for himself anything that strikes him in his historical or legal study.

Taking it first from the historians' point of view, — the chief chroniclers who handle the reign of Queen Anne have absolutely nothing to say about this event. They tell us that the Parliament of 1707–8 (the first so-called of Great Britain) was engaged in perfecting the union of England and Scotland; they tell us how, on the 11th of February, Harley and St. John were ousted from the government by the Whigs, supported by the Duchess of Marlborough; they tell us how intelligence was received that the Old Pretender, James Edward, set sail from France, in charge of Admiral Fourbin, on the 8th of March, and that Sir George Byng prepared to intercept his descent on Scotland; they tell us that the Queen came in person to the House of Lords on the 11th of March, announced that she had received news of this expedition, and asked for the assistance of Parliament, which was promptly voted; they do not tell us that, before making this announcement and appeal, she gave her assent to various acts, public and private, and then, for the last time, as it turned out, refused it to the one named. The historians who thus wholly omit or ignore the event are Luttrell the Diarist, Burnet (who was present), Tindal, Smollett, McPherson, Mortimer, Belsham, Hallam, Keightley, Lord Stanhope, King, Burton, Morris, Knight, Lecky, Green, and Wyon.

When we come to text-writers on the British Constitution, I find that Lord Brougham, Lord Russell, and Sir Edward Creasy say nothing whatever about the last exercise of the veto power. Neither does Blackstone; but in the note of his editor (Christian) we find the mistake of saying that it was last exercised by William III.; and this same error appears

in De Lolme (translated by Stephens), in Fischel (translated by Shee), in David Rowland, in Curtis on the United States Constitution, and in Justice Story.

Now let us see who have with somewhat greater accuracy alluded to the event. Macaulay, who has given such an interesting account of four of the vetoes of William III., says the words of refusal "have only once been heard since his reign." I can hardly doubt that if he had reached 1708 he would have told us the whole story and told it right. Hatsell, in his "Parliamentary Precedents" (second edition), records the event, and refers to the Lords' Journals; but he admits that he did not know of it when he published his first edition. He is followed by Fonblanque ("How we are Governed"), Sir Erskine May, Sir W. Anson, and Ewald. But every one of these writers says the event took place in March, 1707; ignoring the old style, which they never do in their account of other events which have a similar double dating. The date is 11–22 March, 1707–8, and however we may prefer to write the day of the month, 1708 we shall call the year in all accurate historical writing. The same inaccuracy occurs in an Australian writer, Mr. William Hearn, whose book on the British Constitution is yet the only one I have read that gives full recognition to the event and tries to analyze its cause. He points out that the sudden outbreak of Jacobite insurrection, supported from France and directed to Scotland, would naturally create a dread of establishing a militia in that part of the island, still chafing under the unpopular Act of Union, and with many of its Lords Lieutenants, who would be commanders of the militia, notoriously disaffected. But as the Act had passed both houses, the Queen's veto was the only way to arrest its perilous operation.

Mr. Hearn refers to Somerville, whose History alludes to the event, but in the most perversely incorrect way: "But while the Militia Bill was depending, the attempt of the Pretender to invade Scotland excited a general suspicion that it would be unsafe to trust the people with arms, and prevented the bill being presented for the royal assent." Just the reverse of the facts! In point of fact, the bill had been reported from Committee of the Whole on the Queen's speech on the 11th of December, 1707; went regularly through its readings without a division in the Commons, under the charge of King,

afterwards C. J. C. P. and Lord Chancellor; was reported to the Lords on the 11th of February, the day of the ministerial crisis; went through its stages, and passed on the 25th of February, also without a division or protest; and met the fate I have described.

I may add that I cannot find in Lord Campbell's "Lives of the Chancellors" of this reign a single allusion to the veto, even in that of Sir Peter King, the patron of the Militia Bill; while on the other hand, a Mr. P. F. Aikin, who wrote in 1842 a comparison of the United States and English Constitutions, says the King's veto power has not been exercised since the Revolution, that is, since 1688; whereas King William refused his assent to at least six bills in the course of the years 1692–1696. But such a blunder is exceptional indeed; every historian who has dealt with the reign of William III. has had something to say about his refusing his assent to several bills. Two only have discussed the matter with any attempt at penetration, — these are McPherson and Macaulay, the insidious enemy and the thoroughgoing friend.

Almost every writer of history copies the statements of his predecessor to an extent hardly to be imagined by those who have not compared a variety of authors. It is particularly noticeable that when a new historian has possessed himself of some freshly discovered correspondence or memoirs throwing new light on some special theme, while making the very most of his new material, he does not hesitate to copy what has been said a score of times, in the parts on which his new treasure throws no light, without suspecting that there also one should look deeper. I have little doubt, for instance, that if a new history of William III.'s reign were written, the author, finding some of the King's vetoes alluded to by all his predecessors, but only Macaulay and McPherson mentioning as many as four, and discussing these four with much acumen, would conclude that there were these four and no more. Yet the Lords' Journals show that the king vetoed at least two more, whose titles would indicate that they were private bills.

I have not found that the Stuarts refused their assent to any bills; but I have not searched the entire Lords' Journals of their eighty-five years. Charles II., not liking the last bill passed by his last Parliament, just before its dissolution con-

trived to have the Clerk of the Crown steal it, before the Clerk of the Parliaments had formally presented it to him. Sir Simonds D'Ewes is quoted as saying — I have not yet verified the quotation — that Queen Elizabeth at the end of one session rejected as many bills as she passed. Of the earlier Tudors I can say nothing; the earliest veto I have found mentioned is in a quotation from Tyrwhitt in Ellis's "Original Letters" (1st series, vol. i. p. 10), where he says King Edward IV. replied, "Le roy s'avisera" to a petition that the robbing of prayer-books and other church articles should be felony. And, as this entry shows, the Plantagenet monarchs were not likely to veto the measures of the two houses, because acts were then framed by some of the King's advisers, in compliance with petitions from the houses, and really emanated from the King; and to this day it is conceived in England that legislation, in the overwhelming majority of cases, should proceed from the ministry, who are in theory supposed to represent the crown, and not from the opposition, although now the ministry are in fact the spokesmen of a popular majority.

Since 1708 the veto has never been used. Queen Anne soon after got the majority of Parliament in accord with her personal predilections. The first two Georges were shrewd enough — for they were anything but the fools that it is fashionable to call them — to put themselves completely in the hands of a parliamentary majority. George III. and his two sons, though they frequently attempted and not seldom succeeded in influencing and even in reversing legislation, found easier ways of doing so than by refusing their assent to bills passed by both houses. But the sturdy Tories, with ex-Lord Chancellor Eldon at their head, really hoped George IV. might veto the Catholic Emancipation Bill of 1829; and he probably would have, if he had not stood in mortal terror of the Duke of Wellington.

Since then, — a period of sixty years, — scarcely any one has talked about the royal veto.[1] But there is not the least

[1] Our associate, Mr. Bugbee, has pointed out to me a valuable note in Bryce's "American Commonwealth," vol. i. p. 70, in which he quotes from a Canadian writer, Mr. Tod, on a threatened exercise of the veto by Queen Victoria in 1858. Mr. Bryce — or Mr. Tod — gives the usual date of Queen Anne's veto as 1707; but he ascribes to William III. *five* vetoes.

absurdity in supposing its use, and even its salutary use. The ordinary theory is that if the sovereign refused assent to a bill, the ministers would be in danger of impeachment by the Commons and condemnation by the Lords for having advised such action by their master; that they would at once resign, and that no other ministry could be found bold enough to take their places unless the crown withdrew its refusal. But this entirely overlooks the very possible case of a non-partisan measure, forced through both houses by some independent interest, which should divide both ministry and opposition, so to speak, across and not lengthwise. In this case a large minority might be backed by a very strong outside opinion, which the Commons had failed adequately to represent; and yet a ministry which on all party questions held a working majority, might greatly hesitate to dissolve the Parliament. In such a case the royal veto might very well cause a too confident majority to pause and see if they really were sustained by popular opinion. There is also the perfectly possible case analogous to Queen Anne's veto, — that between the passing and the signing of an act some striking occurrence should make it expedient to check its operation.

I have already remarked that the royal veto is final; there is nothing corresponding to the American practice of passing a bill over a President's or Governor's veto by increased majorities. Further, there is nothing analogous to our fixing a limit of time for the executive to make up his mind. Apparently, the king may take till the end of the session to decide whether to give or withhold his assent. King William did so with at least two of the bills he vetoed. In that case, if the Parliament were merely prorogued, apparently he might give his assent in the next session; if it were dissolved, the unsigned bill would seem to be waste paper.

It should be said in this connection that there is much misapprehension as to the actual power of the Executive Government in England. It is regarded too much as a mere committee of Parliament. The sovereign personally exercises but little power, though she may exercise much influence; but the ministry itself, in its work outside the parliamentary sphere, has powers not always apprehended. A very instructive instance occurred on the question of Purchase in the Army. The first idea of Mr. Gladstone's government was to

abolish purchase by Act of Parliament; his bill was lost, and shortly after he announced that Purchase in the Army only existed by virtue of a royal warrant, and that he had advised her Majesty to cancel that warrant, — which was accordingly done. There was much grumbling, but the law was correct. All Parliament could do was to vote some form of compensation to officers who had paid for their commissions and had lost the right to sell them.

It should also be noted that another institution, once considered the bulwark of English liberty against a despotic sovereign, has fallen into equal disuse, — the right of impeachment by the Commons before the Lords. At the time of Queen Anne's last veto, nothing was more popular. The Tories had impeached four Whigs in 1700; Sacheverell was impeached and convicted in 1709; the Whigs retaliated on Harley and his friends in 1715; Lord Chancellor Macclesfield was impeached and convicted of corruption in 1725. But in every one of these cases, except the last, there was obviously a mad party spirit at work; and the process was dropped for over sixty years, to be revived against Warren Hastings in 1788, and against Lord Melville in 1806. The first of these trials was protracted beyond all reason; the second was speedily ended by the admirable conduct, as presiding judge, of Lord Erskine. But in both cases the culprits were acquitted; and no later official, whoever his enemies, personal or political, has ever been impeached.

It may be freely granted that the royal veto of England is of little more than antiquarian interest even for subjects of that crown, and for Americans seems like a mere detail of history. Yet nothing can be more foolish than for us to neglect the constitutional experience of other nations; and I have thought it well worth noting how little account historians had taken of the actual decadence of so remarkable a prerogative.

Mr. William S. Appleton presented Part First of the Second Year of the "Annuaire de la Faculté des Lettres de Lyon," and spoke as follows: —

I have much pleasure in placing in the Library of the Society a copy of Fascicule I., or Part First, of the Second Year of the "Annuaire de la Faculté des Lettres de Lyon." It

contains an article, of ninety pages, with the title, "Nantucket, étude sur les diverses sortes de propriétés primitives." I will not undertake to criticise the matter, but only say that it was written with great care and numerous mention of authorities, including the third volume of the Collections of this Society. I wish, however, to say a few words concerning the author, the late M. Émile Belot. He "was a great lover of American things, and had, during more than five years, delivered lectures on the history of the United States. He had gathered a great number of documents, and was near publishing his studies, when death summoned him away. It would have been certainly a very valuable book." His biographer says: "Il est infiniment regrettable, que Belot n'ait pu même en ébaucher les grandes lignes. Nous possédons et nous espérons publier en partie les notes de cinq années de cours. Mais les pensées maîtresses disparaissent néanmoins quelque peu au milieu de ces recherches de détail. Ces fragments donneront cependant une idée de l'importance et de la profondeur de ce beau travail." The article on Nantucket seems to be a chapter from the work which M. Belot had in view. He was Professor of History in the University of Lyons, an officer of the Legion of Honor, Corresponding Member of the Institute, and a few months before his death was admitted to the Académie des Sciences, Belles-Lettres et Arts de Lyon, before which he delivered his "Discours de Réception," Dec. 22, 1885, taking as subject "Benjamin Franklin, Chef de la Démocratie Américaine." I have a copy of this interesting address, which I purpose to place among the Franklin-iana in the Boston Public Library. M. Belot naturally recalls the fact that Franklin himself was an Associate of the same Academy of Lyons.

I wish to add a few words on the great literary interest in this country felt in Europe and especially in France, — an interest which surprised me when there, but which may be more appreciated here than I have supposed. I certainly had no idea how many volumes have appeared of late years in France directly relating in some way to the United States. They range downward from such important works as that of M. Gourd on the "Colonial Charters and the Constitutions of the United States," and that of M. Doniol on the "History of the Participation of France in the Establishment of the

United States"; include of course a volume of travels by nearly every visiting Frenchman, studies of our politics or social life, — as "La Démocratie autoritaire aux États Unis. Le Général André Jackson," by Gigot, or "L'Aristocratie en Amérique," by Gaillardet, — novels with an American girl for heroine, — as "Nelly MacEdwards. Mœurs Américaines," by De Woelmont, — and end perhaps with such a ridiculous little work as "Histoires Américaines," by Jehan Soudan, an attempt at a sort of French Mark Twain, in which I at least could find nothing amusing. It may be that all or nearly all of each year's production in France is known in this country. I sincerely hope so; for the volumes ought to be in our libraries, if not for their matter, yet because of the subjects.

Mr. A. C. Goodell spoke briefly of the derivation of the veto power in the United States from the English precedents.

Prof. A. B. Hart said that Mr. E. C. Mason, one of the Instructors in Political Economy in Harvard University, had prepared a "History of the Veto Power in the United States," which was nearly ready for publication.

JANUARY MEETING, 1890.

THE stated meeting was held on the 9th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read by the Recording Secretary, and approved; and the Librarian read the list of accessions to the Library.

The Hon. Leverett Saltonstall was appointed to write the memoir of the late R. B. Forbes for the Proceedings.

The PRESIDENT then called attention to the approaching sale of the very valuable library which belonged to the late S. L. M. Barlow, of New York, and expressed a hope that some of the bibliographical treasures in it might be purchased for the Boston Public Library or for the State.

The Hon. MELLEN CHAMBERLAIN spoke briefly of the importance of securing for the State archives the contemporaneous copy of the earliest Records of the Massachusetts Colony which Colonel Aspinwall procured in London many years ago, and which was used by Dr. Shurtleff when printing the additional pages inserted in some of the copies of the Colony Records. He was followed by Mr. JUSTIN WINSOR and Dr. S. A. GREEN, Commissioners on the State Archives, who said they had arranged to give the matter immediate attention.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN then said: —

In a letter of our late associate, General Palfrey, written to me last summer, he quotes from Mr. Whitmore's article on the Names of Towns in Massachusetts, published in the Proceedings (vol. xii. pp. 393–419), and refers to the statement there made on page 405, that the name of Becket, as applied to the town in Berkshire County, "can hardly be traced." General Palfrey suggests that it came from Beckett, the name of the estate in English Berkshire, owned by the Lords Barrington. On mentioning the suggestion to Mr. R. C. Winthrop, Jr., he at once concurred in the opinion, and said, furthermore, that the name of the Barringtons was originally

Shute, and that one of the family was Colonel Samuel Shute, Governor of the Province of Massachusetts from the year 1716 to 1723. A niece of Colonel Shute was married to Sir Francis Bernard, Governor of the Province from the year 1760 to 1769; and accordingly, when, in 1765, Governor Bernard was called upon to name certain towns in the western part of the State, he seems to have called one of them after the family-seat of his wife's cousin, Lord Barrington.

Akin to this subject, there is another statement, in the same article on the Names of Towns in Massachusetts, which will bear modification. In a note at the bottom of page 407, Mr. Whitmore refers to the town of Winchester, formerly called Arlington, and says that it was in Hampshire County, but that he "cannot find its present representative." This town was in territory once claimed by Massachusetts, but which, by the running of the new provincial line in 1741, was brought within the limits of New Hampshire, and comes now in Cheshire County of that State.

Mr. Charles C. Smith communicated some excerpts from the journal of the Rev. Dr. John Pierce, and said: —

At a social meeting held some years ago, at the house of our lamented associate, Mr. Deane, I communicated from the manuscript journal of the late Rev. Dr. John Pierce, in the possession of this Society, an account of a journey which he made in 1795 to attend the Commencement exercises at Providence and New Haven.[1] That narrative has suggested the communication, which I wish now to make, of his notes on the Commencement exercises at Cambridge during a period of forty-six consecutive years, beginning with 1803. Few graduates can have been so assiduous in their attendance at Commencement as Dr. Pierce; and his record of impressions is probably unique. His peculiarities were well known to our older associates, and are sufficiently apparent in the extracts from his journal now communicated; but nothing more need be said of them here. It is proper, however, to add that he was a very zealous advocate of the total-abstinence cause, and that the excesses in drinking at Commencement, on which he

[1] See 2 Proceedings, vol. iii. pp. 40–52.

expresses himself very freely, no doubt seemed to him much greater than they really were. There are many repetitions in his notes, and many of the incidental remarks are of a very unimportant character; but as a whole they have considerable historical and biographical interest, and I have thought that their value would be diminished by any attempt at abridgment. I have, however, omitted several thousand names of persons whom Dr. Pierce saw at Commencement or at the anniversary of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, which he also regularly attended; and I have also omitted a few observations here and there which it did not seem proper to print. These omissions are indicated in the usual manner, and for the most part refer to persons still living or to matters of which Dr. Pierce could have had no personal knowledge. It has not seemed desirable to attempt any elaborate annotations, and with few exceptions the notes are confined to supplying the Christian names, and the Commencement parts, of the graduates mentioned by him, and to giving the places and dates of birth and death.

I have appended a curious summary which he has inserted in his journal, showing the college expenses of an uncle, who graduated in 1769, of himself in the next generation, and of his own son, who graduated in 1831.

Some Notes on the Commencements at Harvard University, 1803–1848.

[1803.]

31 Aug. At Commencement. The first publick performance was Dr. Watts' "Why do we mourn," &c., to the tune of old Windsor, by the students & audience in general. My XIXth Commencement.

The President then solemnly entreated the audience by the regard they had to decency and to the memory of the worthy Dr. T. that there might be no clapping as a token of applause. This request of the President had a surprising effect. A solemn stillness reigned throughout the assembly. All seemed to unite in a sympathetick grief for the loss of so good and so valuable a man as Dr. T.[1]

[1] Rev. David Tappan, D.D., Hollis Professor of Divinity, born in Manchester, April 21, 1753; died in Cambridge, August 27, 1803. The funeral services were two days before Commencement. The first stanza of the hymn sung at Commencement is as follows: —

"Why do we mourn departing Friends?
Or shake at Death's Alarms?
'T is but the Voice that Jesus sends
To call them to his Arms."

The Latin oration by Kirkland[1] was handsomely written, & spoken with emphasis and propriety. He paid an affectionate tribute to the memory of the very worthy Professor.

The sentiments of Farrar[2] in an English dissertation were well adapted to oppose the rage for novel-reading and plays which is so prevalent, especially in the capital.

The poem by Lincoln[3] was worthy a disciple of Voltaire, who in affection for the great whole forgets the parts.

The oration by Savage[4] contained many beautiful figures & sentiments ingeniously and forcibly expressed. It, however, lacked unity of design.

The oration by Rev. Mr. Bates,[5] on Skepticism, was such as well became the sacred profession in which he is engaged.

In the hall at dinner the greatest decorum prevailed. After singing the usual hymn, Dr. Holmes read a subscription paper for publishing a volume of the Dr.'s sermons.

Rev. Wm. Symmes, of Andover, D.D.

[1804.]

29 Aug. At Commencement. XX.

The salutatory oration, by Aspinwall II.,[6] of my parish, was well written and handsomely performed.

Sprague,[7] of Salem, in the part of a conference defending painting, was highly applauded.

Nichols & Cary[8] were very popular in a colloquy on the superiority of a publick to a private education.

[1] Samuel Kirkland, born in Whitestown, N. Y., Dec. 6, 1781; died in Boston, Nov. 23, 1805.

[2] John Farrar, afterward Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, born in Lincoln, July 1, 1779; died in Cambridge, May 8, 1853. His subject was "The Moral Tendency of Representations of Fictitious Distress."

[3] Daniel Waldo Lincoln, born in Worcester, March 2, 1784; died there, April 17, 1815. His poem was on "Benevolence."

[4] James Savage, born in Boston, July 13, 1784; died there, March 8, 1873. His subject was "The Patronage of Genius." A memoir of Mr. Savage, by George S. Hillard, is in Proceedings, vol. xvi. pp. 117–153.

[5] Rev. Joshua Bates, D.D. (of the class of 1800), afterward President of Middlebury College, born in Cohasset, March 20, 1776; died in Dudley, Jan. 14, 1854. He was ordained minister of the First Church in Dedham in March, 1803.

[6] Thomas Aspinwall, born in Brookline, May 23, 1786; died in Boston, August 11, 1876. The preparation of a memoir of him for the Proceedings was assigned to S. K. Lothrop, and afterward to Charles Deane; but owing to the loss of important materials, it had not been completed at the death of Mr. Deane.

[7] Joseph E. Sprague, born in Salem, Sept. 9, 1782; died there, Feb. 22, 1852.

[8] Benjamin R. Nichols (born in Portsmouth, N. H., May 18, 1786; died in Boston, April 30, 1848), and Rev. Samuel Cary (born in Newburyport, Nov. 24,

Thacher[1] did himself great honour in the concluding oration, "On Reverence of Antiquity."

Rev. [John Nelson] Abeel, N. York, D.D.; Rev. Eli Forbes, Gloucester, D.D.

[1805.]

28 Aug. At Commencement. XXI.

Professor Pearson presided. Dr. Lathrop prayed.

The salutatory oration in Latin, by Crafts,[2] was well written & delivered.

The forensick between Bodwell and Pettengill,[3] "Whether Utility be the Foundation of Moral Obligation?" evinced sound sense.

A Latin oration by Tappan,[4] son of the late Professor, was sensible & eloquent.

The English dialogue, on diversity of personal character, between Greenough and Beckford,[5] excited much diversion.

Chipman's[6] English oration was written and delivered in an eloquent manner.

But they were all far exceeded by Ritchie,[7] a candidate for the second degree, "On Ancient and Modern Eloquence & Poetry," as the stars are obscured by the presence of the bright luminary of day. In the hall Mr. Whitney of Shirley (1759) returned thanks.

[1806.]

XXII. 27 August, I attended Commencement. President Webber made his first publick appearance. His prayer was plain, serious, devout, and pertinent, without the least appearance of affectation or display. He presided with a good degree of dignity, without making, as far as I could perceive, a single mistake.

1785; died in Royston, England, Oct. 22, 1815). A notice of Mr. Nichols by Henry Wheatland is in Proceedings, vol. ii. p. 427.

[1] Rev. Samuel C. Thacher, born in Boston, Dec. 14, 1785; died in Moulins, France, Jan. 2, 1818.

[2] William Crafts, born in Charleston, S. C., Jan. 24, 1787; died at Ballston Springs, N. Y., Sept. 22, 1826.

[3] Rev. Abraham Bodwell (born in Methuen, May 6, 1778; died in Sanbornton, N. H., March 24, 1863), and Rev. Amos Pettengill (born in Salem, N. H., August 9, 1780; died in Salembridge, Conn., August 17, 1830).

[4] Rev. Benjamin Tappan, D.D., born in West Newbury, Nov. 7, 1788; died in Augusta, Me., Dec. 22, 1863.

[5] David S. Greenough (born in Roxbury, March 28, 1787; died there, August 6, 1830), and Ebenezer H. Beckford (born in Salem, July 1, 1786; died in Andover, March 10, 1869).

[6] Ward Chipman, born in St. John, N. B., July 10, 1787; died there, Nov. 26, 1851. His subject was "The Influence of Learning."

[7] Andrew Ritchie, of the class of 1802, born in Boston, July 18, 1782; died in Newport, R. I., August 7, 1862.

Several parts were performed to good acceptance. The concluding oration, by Everett, 2d,[1] was an admirable display of genius and fine writing. He was considered the best, although the youngest in his class. He was born, it is said, 19 March, 1790.

Savage[2] did himself great honour in his oration on commerce. He was candidate for the Master's degree.

Dr. Lathrop concluded with prayer. The theatrical musick with which the exercises was interspersed was highly disgusting to the more solid part of the audience.

After the exercises I dined in the hall. Pres. Webber blessing. Dr. Cumings (1760) thanks. We sung St. Martin's to the usual psalm, "Give ear, my people," &c.

Saw only two of my classmates, Hilliard I. and Whitney. Seven of the class have departed to the world of spirits. . . . .

This was the XXII. Commencement I have attended from 1784 inclusive, except 1791, when my mother, on Commencement day, P. M. was buried.

Rev. President Webber, Rev. Henry Ware, Rev. John Marsh, Weathersfield, Con., Rev. Henry Kollock, N. J., D.D.

[1807.]

XXIII. 26 August, attended my 23d Commencement at Cambridge. The day was fine. But the performances in general were ordinary. The most distinguished was an oration, by Smith,[3] on Literary Exertion. Bates[4] in a conference did well. The colloquy by Merrill & Parkman[5] was interesting. The poem failed by the sickness of Haven.[6] One part in a conference was also omitted, owing to the indisposition of Marston. The concluding oration, by Tufts,[7] was a manly performance.

[1] Alexander H. Everett, died in Canton, China, June 29, 1847. His oration was on "The Effects of a General Diffusion of Literature." A notice of him, by Charles Deane, is in Proceedings, vol. ii. p. 608, note.

[2] James Savage, of the class of 1803.

[3] William Smith, born in Boston, April 20, 1788; died there, Sept. 10, 1811.

[4] David Bates, born in Cohasset, Sept. 12, 1784; died in Westborough, Feb. 9, 1869. He had a part in a conference on "The Effects which the Cultivation of the Sciences, the Liberal and Mechanic Arts, produce on the Character of Society," with Rev. Phineas Fish (born in Sandwich, Jan. 30, 1785; died in Barnstable, June 16, 1854), and Nymphas Marston (born in Barnstable, Feb. 1, 1788; died there, May 2, 1864).

[5] Samuel Merrill (born in Plaistow, N. H., Nov. 3, 1786; died in Andover, Dec. 23, 1869), and Rev. Francis Parkman, D.D. (born in Boston, June 4, 1788; died there, Nov. 12, 1852).

[6] Nathaniel A. Haven, born in Portsmouth, N. H., Jan. 14, 1787; died there, June 3, 1826.

[7] Joseph Tufts, born in Charlestown, Oct. 5, 1783; died there, July 15, 1835. His oration was on "Agriculture."

For the Master's degree, Stickney[1] delivered an oration of 45 minutes in length on the truth of Christianity. He had many brilliant thoughts. But his strength of voice was not sufficient for any of the audience to hear him distinctly. In his management of the subject he appeared to me very obscure.

The valedictory in Latin, by Aspinwall 2d,[2] was a truly masterly performance. It was short, yet glanced upon every pertinent & interesting topick.

But 35 were admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Arts. The smallness of the number was owing to a rebellion which took place at the University last spring.

On 30 March the students had a college meeting to enter into some resolutions respecting commons, which, they pretended, were insufferably bad. The result of their meeting was, that they should leave the hall at noon, immediately after the blessing, which they accordingly did. They also resolved to go into the kitchen, the next morning, and take away all the provisions and strew them over the college yard. The sudden & unexpected cessation of commons prevented them from executing their rash and rebellious purpose.

On Saturday, 4 April, they were required by the Corporation to sign a paper expressive of regret for past misconduct & promising better behaviour in future. They were required to do this by 11 April or to leave college.

By every method of persuasion and of force which could be devised, but about 35 were, sooner or later, induced to sign. Of those who persisted in their obstinacy in the senior class, who would not sign, and therefore lost their degrees, were[3] . . .

——— was not required to sign. But he entered very readily into the rebellion, and even wrote the statement of the scholars respecting the badness of their food, &c., though he had not been in commons for more than 6 months. He accordingly left college to show his hearty concurrence with the class in their unreasonable rebellion.

I am credibly informed by the most disinterested persons who have frequented commons that they were never better. The government, it is true, have always made a point of economising as much as possible for the benefit of poor scholars; and it has ever been considered a merciful provision. So accommodating are they, however, that they have determined to make the living more expensive, that they may cut off all possible occasion of complaint.

[1] John Stickney, of the class of 1804, born in Newburyport, Feb. 24, 1784; died there, Dec. 14, 1833.

[2] Thomas Aspinwall, of the class of 1804.

[3] Here follow nine names.

This class originally consisted of 63; so that 28 have by various means been prevented from taking degrees.[1]

Very few of the students made entertainments. I never knew so few people in the house, nor so few on the Common.

Of my classmates I saw but one, Rev. Nicholas B. Whitney, of Hingham.

Since last Commencement, Charles Angier, the eighth who has died, departed this life.

The Pres. (Dr. Webber) made the introductory and concluding prayer. He also asked the blessing in the hall, and Dr. Cumings, of Billerica (1760), returned thanks.

[1808.]

31 August, attended my 24th Commencement.

The day was exceedingly dusty, as there had been but a small shower for 4 weeks.

The performances in the house, taken together, were inferiour to what they often are.

Groce[2] distinguished himself in a forensick.

Norton's[3] Latin dissertation was above mediocrity.

Alden[4] did well in an English conference.

Sanger's[5] concluding oration, on Candour, was well written and well delivered.

The valedictory for the Master's degree was unusually popular, by Wm. Crafts.[6]

This class originally consisted of 62. Of these the following were dismissed in the rebellion of 1807[7] . . .

[1] Of the nine members of the senior class named by Dr. Pierce as having been dropped on account of the rebellion, six afterward received the degree of Master of Arts, — the last in 1838. The names of the other three are not in the Quinquennial Catalogue.

[2] Nahum H. Groce, born in Sterling, Dec. 8, 1781; died in Westford, March 14, 1856. His theme was, "Whether Scientific Pursuits disqualify a Person in any Degree for the Ordinary Business of Life?" The other disputant was Samuel E. Smith, born in Hollis, N. H., March 12, 1788; died in Wiscasset, Me., March 3, 1860.

[3] Richard C. Norton, born in Weymouth, March 12, 1790; died in Alexandria, Va., Oct. 13, 1821. His subject was "History."

[4] Dr. Ebenezer Alden, born in Randolph, March 17, 1788; died there, Jan. 26, 1881. His part was on "The Influence of Reason, Natural Temperament, and Circumstances in determining the Opinions of Men."

[5] Rev. Ralph Sanger, D.D., born in Duxbury, June 22, 1786; died in Cambridge, May 6, 1860.

[6] Of the class of 1805.

[7] Of the nine students here named, one received his degree in 1866, and another in 1867; one graduated in the class of 1809 and took the degree of A.M. in course; one was not restored to the class list, but received the honorary degree of M.D. in 1850. The other five names are not in the Quinquennial Catalogue.

Dined in the hall. Saw but 3 classmates.

Sang St. Martin's in the usual psalm, "Give ear, my people," &c.

The oldest clergyman at Commencement was Dr. Cushing, of Waltham. He was graduated in 1748.

In the hall the Pres. asked the blessing, and Dr. Cumings returned thanks.

[1809.]

30 Aug. At my 25th Commencement.

The Latin oration by Parkman [1] was very well delivered.

The forensick by Hilliard & Perkins [2] was ably written.

The poem by Oliver [3] was very popular.

The oration by Bird [4] was worthy his distinguished talents.

Mr. Thomas delivered a quite interesting oration on "The Importance of Truth." [5] Candidate for A.M.

After this succeeded the valedictory oration in Latin, by Burroughs.[6]

The exercises in general were uncommonly good. Every performer but one had his part thoroughly committed to memory. No one spoke too low to be heard.

After the exercises, instead of dining in the hall as usual, I went with my wife to the house provided by Mr. Parkman, where, it was computed, there were 500 persons who dined in one large tent in the fields. The expense of the entertainment must have been at least $1,000.

Rev. Andrew Lee, Lisbon, Con., D.D. Rev. President Sanders, D.D.

The oldest clergyman at Com. was Rev. Francis Gardner (1755).

Oldest on Catalogue, Phips, *Waldo*, Roberts, 1741.

Alive before me 904 + after me 623 = 1528.

[1] Dr. George Parkman, born in Boston, Feb. 19, 1790; died there, Nov. 23, 1849.

[2] Rev. Timothy Hilliard (born in Kensington, N. H., Jan. 29, 1786; died in Nashville, N. H., March 13, 1847), and Benjamin Perkins (born in Lynnfield, Nov. 9, 1789; died there, Nov. 17, 1809, less than three months after he graduated). They discussed the question, "Whether the Power of Man be in Proportion to his Knowledge?"

[3] Nathaniel K. G. Oliver, born in Boston, Oct. 5, 1790; died in the Chinese Sea, May 22, 1832. His poem was entitled "The Storm."

[4] Samuel Bird, born in Stoughton, Jan. 27, 1786; died in Charleston, S. C., April 21, 1810. His oration was on "The Refinement of Modern Society compared with that of the Augustan Age."

[5] John B. Thomas, of the class of 1806, born in Plymouth, July 28, 1787; died there, Dec. 2, 1852.

[6] Rev. Charles Burroughs, D.D., of the class of 1806, born in Boston, Dec. 27, 1787; died in Portsmouth, N. H., March 5, 1868.

[1810.]

29 Aug. At my 26th Commencement.

Professor Ware presided, and with great propriety.

The performances, which were numerous, continued 4 hours, and were in general well received. Farley [1] distinguished himself in the concluding oration by his good sense and manly sentiments. King,[2] son of Hon. Rufus King, was very theatrical, and of course highly popular, in his poem.

The degree of D.D. was conferred on Rev. Chs. Stearns, of Lincoln, Rev. Aa. Bancroft, of Worcester, and Rev. Reuben Puffer, of Berlin.

I dined at Parkman's with an immense company, many of them from the Southward.

The Rev. Francis Gardner, of Leominster (grad. 1755), was the oldest clergyman present.

[1811.]

28 Aug. At my 27th Commencement.

Dr. Kirkland officiated, as President, for the first time.

The exercises were unusually acceptable to the literary part of the audience.

Cooper's [3] salutatory oration was remarkable for its pure Latinity.

The colloquy by Farnham & Dunkin [4] was well written & delivered.

The English oration by Frothingham [5] was written with purity & pronounced with elegance.

Allen [6] distinguished himself for good sense & sound composition in a philosophical disputation.

[1] Joseph S. Farley, born in Ipswich, Nov. 15, 1790; lost at sea, and starred in 1821. The subject of his oration was "The Character of Commerce."

[2] James G. King, born in New York, May 8, 1791; died at Highwood, N. J., Oct. 4, 1853. His poem was entitled "The Tyrant."

[3] John T. Cooper, born in Machias, Me., June 6, 1792; died in Boston, March —, 1812. "A gentleman of the most promising talents and virtues. His funeral will proceed from the house of the Hon. J. Phillips, in Beacon St., this day at 4 o'clock, P. M." See N. E. Palladium, March 24, 1812.

[4] John H. Farnham (born in Newburyport, July 22, 1791; died in Salem, Ind., July 10, 1833), and Benjamin F. Dunkin (born in Medford, Dec. 2, 1793; died in Charleston, S. C., Dec. 6, 1874). Their theme was "The Influence of the Multiplication of Books on the Interests of Literature and Science."

[5] Rev. N. L. Frothingham, D.D., born in Boston, July 23, 1793; died there, April 4, 1870. His oration was "On the Cultivation of the Taste and Imagination." A memoir of Dr. Frothingham, by Frederic H. Hedge, is in Proceedings, vol. xi. pp. 371–386.

[6] Rev. Joseph Allen, D.D., born in Medfield, August 15, 1790; died in Northborough, Feb. 23, 1873. He had part in a discussion on the question, "Whether the Climate of any Country have undergone any permanent Change?" with George Morey, born in Walpole, June 12, 1789; died in Boston, May 11, 1866.

Wm. P. Mason [1] was popular in a conference.

But the poem by Gilman [2] was the most universally popular of any performance. It delighted the people of taste. It gratified persons of plain sense. It captivated the multitude.

Everett's [3] concluding oration was a sensible, judicious, manly performance.

The oration by Sanger,[4] for the Master's degree, was too long & too dry after so many fine specimens of taste & judgment.

The new President acquitted himself with great dignity and propriety. His prayers were short. But for style and matter they exceeded all which we have been accustomed to hear on such occasions.

The oldest graduate whom I saw was the Hon. Robert T. Paine (1749).

The oldest clergyman was the Rev. Francis Gardner (1755).

The Rev. Jona. Newell, of Stow, returned thanks in the hall (1770).

A large portion of the company dined either at Mason & Otis's, Gray's, or Dabney's.

The Rev. James Freeman had the degree of D.D.

[1812.]

26 August, I attended my 28th Commencement at Cambridge.

The day was fine. It was intended to enter the meetinghouse at 10 A.M. The Corporation and Overseers arrived at 20 minutes past ten.

The prayer by the President was short, pertinent, and excellent.

S. W. Dexter [5] and Wainwright [6] distinguished themselves in conferences.

[1] Born in Boston, Dec. 9, 1791; died there, Dec. 4, 1867. The "conference" was on "The Present Character of the Inhabitants of New England, as resulting from Civil, Literary, and Religious Institutions of our Forefathers." John A. Shaw (born in Bridgewater, Oct. 8, 1792; died there, Oct. 4, 1873) and Moses Hunt (born in Milford, April 13, 1792; died in Roxbury, Oct. 12, 1814) also took part in it.

[2] Rev. Samuel Gilman, D.D., born in Gloucester, Feb. 16, 1791; died in Kingston, Feb. 8, 1858. The theme of his poem was "The Pleasures and Pains of the Student."

[3] Edward Everett, born in Dorchester, April 11, 1794; died in Boston, Jan. 15, 1865. His oration was on "Literary Evils."

[4] Ralph Sanger, of the class of 1808. His subject was "The Influence of Philosophy on Christianity."

[5] Born in Charlestown, Feb. 18, 1792; died in Dexter, Mich., Feb. 6, 1863. The subject of the conference in which he took part was "The Influence on Personal Happiness of Natural Temper, Cultivated Taste, External Condition, and Social Intercourse." The other members of the class to whom parts in it were assigned were Abraham Harrington (born in Weston, Nov. 16, 1790; died in Hopkinton, August —, 1828), Dr. John Homans (born in Boston, Sept. 17, 1793; died there, April 17, 1868), and William S. Andrews (born in Boston, Oct. 12, 1793; died there, May 1, 1872).

[6] Rev. J. M. Wainwright, D.D., born in Dorchester, Feb. 24, 1792; died in New

An English dissertation by Sprague [1] evinced a luxuriant genius.

Gibbes's [2] oration was manly.

The English poem, by Ware,[3] was received with repeated plaudits.

The valedictory, by Bingaman,[4] was most distinguished.

Oliver,[5] candidate for A.M., noticed in his poem the preservation of his classmate Biglow, who was present, from the violence of the Baltimore mob. This part of his exercise was received with reiterated applauses.

The oldest Harvard graduate who was at Commencement, of whom I heard, was the celebrated Dr. Holyoke of Salem (1746). Æt. 84.

The oldest clergyman in the hall, and who accordingly returned thanks, was the Rev. Joseph Willard, of Boxborough (1765).

I dined in the hall. The students did not wait, as formerly. The President called on me to set the tune (St. Martin's) 2^{d} time.

Catalogues were printed this year. For the last 3 years there have died, according to my computation, 80 sons of Harvard.

Rev. Paul Coffin, Buxton, & B'p Griswold, Bristol, R. I., D.D.

[1813.]

25 August, I attended my 29th Commencement.

The day was cool; but it was very dry and dusty.

The procession moved into the meetinghouse precisely at 10.

The salutatory oration was decent; but it contained this barbarism, "vos, qui adsunt." J. A. Haven.[6]

The French oration by Appleton [7] was in the true French style and manner.

York, Sept. 21, 1854. His associates were George Parker (born in Bradford, May 30, 1791; died in Baltimore, Md., Sept. 30, 1825), Dr. Amos Nourse (born in Bolton, Dec. 17, 1794; died in Bath, Me., April 7, 1877), and Dr. Ezekiel Thaxter (born in Abington, July 22, 1787; died there, Oct. 11, 1856). Their theme was "Novelty, Sublimity, Beauty, and Harmony, as Sources of Gratification."

[1] Hon. Peleg Sprague, born in Duxbury, April 28, 1793; died in Boston, Oct. 13, 1880. His part was "On the Causes of the Superiority of Character in Modern Europe."

[2] Rev. Allston Gibbes, born in Charleston, S. C., Feb. 14, 1793; died in Philadelphia, Penn., July 8, 1851. His topic was "The Influence of Criticism on Literature."

[3] Rev. Henry Ware, Jr., D.D., born in Hingham, April 21, 1794; died in Framingham, Sept. 22, 1843. His poem was on "The Pursuit of Fame." A memoir of Mr. Ware, by Charles C. Smith, is in Proceedings, vol. ii. pp. 278–282.

[4] Adam L. Bingaman, born in Natchez, Miss., Feb. 11, 1793; died in New Orleans, La., Sept. 6, 1869. His subject was "The Influence of the Arts and Sciences on Civil Liberty."

[5] N. K. G. Oliver, of the class of 1809. His part was an "Ode to Fancy."

[6] Born in Portsmouth, N. H., May 16, 1792; died in New York, Dec. 13, 1875.

[7] John J. Appleton, born in Calais, France, Sept. 22, 1792; died in Rennes, France, March 4, 1864. His oration was "Sur le Génie de Molière."

Savage [1] spoke well in a Latin oration.

Spooner [2] was highly popular in a deliberative discussion.

Warren,[3] son of Dr. Warren, did well.

The part in a conference by Holley [4] was well received.

Brazer [5] distinguished himself, as was expected, in the concluding oration.

I dined at Parkman's with, I suppose, 350.

In the hall the Rev. Dr. Parsons, 1771, of Amherst, returned thanks.

Rev. John Allyn, D.D. Rev. Thaddeus M. Harris, D.D.

[1814.]

I was, on 31 August, at my 30th Commencement at Harvard University.

The day was fine. The exercises began at $10\frac{1}{4}$ & concluded at $3\frac{1}{4}$.

The salutatory oration, by Quash,[6] did him honour.

Bigelow [7] did well in a forensick, as did Dalton [8] in a colloquy,

[1] Rev. Thomas Savage, born in Boston, Sept. 2, 1793; died in Bedford, N. H., May 8, 1866.

[2] William J. Spooner, born in Boston, April 15, 1794; died there, Oct. 17, 1824. The proposition assigned to him for discussion was "That the Tendency of Federal Governments is rather to Anarchy among the Members than Tyranny in the Head." In this discussion Charles Folsom (born in Exeter, N. H., Dec. 24, 1794; died in Cambridge, Nov. 8, 1872) had a part. A memoir of Mr. Spooner is in 3 Collections, vol. i. pp. 265–271; and a memoir of Mr. Folsom, by Theophilus Parsons, is in Proceedings, vol. xiii. pp. 26–42.

[3] Henry Warren, born in Boston, May 13, 1795; died in New York, July 6, 1869. His part was a dissertation "On the Probable Progress of the Physical Sciences."

[4] Orville L. Holley, born in Salisbury, Conn., May 19, 1791; died in Albany, N. Y., March 25, 1861. The conference was on "Patronage, Personal Necessity, Desire of Fame, and Love of the Pursuit, as Incentives to Literary Exertion." The other members of the class who took part in it were Rev. Rufus Hurlbut (born in Southampton, April 21, 1787; died in Sudbury, Feb. 26, 1839), Dr. Winslow Warren (born in Plymouth, Jan. 14, 1795; died there, June 10, 1870), and Dr. Benjamin Huger (born in Charleston, S. C., March 20, 1793; died there, August 27, 1874).

[5] Rev. John Brazer, D.D., born in Worcester, Sept. 21, 1789; died in Charleston, S. C., Feb. 26, 1846. His subject was "The Influence of Fiction."

[6] Francis D. Quash, born in Charleston, S. C., Dec. 19, 1793; died there, Feb. 17, 1857.

[7] Rev. Andrew Bigelow, D.D., born in Groton, May 7, 1795; died in Boston, April 1, 1877. John Walsh (born in Newburyport, July 23, 1794; died in St. Louis, Mo., Dec. 14, 1845) took part with him in a forensic disputation on the question "Whether the Choice of a Representative should be restricted to the Inhabitants of the Town or District represented?"

[8] Dr. John C. Dalton, born in Boston, May 30, 1795; died there, Jan. 8, 1864. The colloquy was "On the Comparative Value of Cotemporary and Posthumous

Flint[1] in a disputation, Derby[2] in a colloquy, S. Dexter Bradford[3] in a discussion, & Prescott[4] in a Latin poem "Ad Spem."

The palm of excellence seemed generally to be allowed to Lamson[5] in a dissertation.

Everett,[6] for the Master's degree, answered all reasonable expectations. Frothingham[7] was chaste & acceptable.

We dined in the new hall for the first time. I set St. Martin's, 3d time. Rev. Daniel Fuller, 1764, returned thanks. Rev. Joseph Sumner, Rev. Jacob Burnap, Rev. Nath. Porter, Rev. Henry Frederick Quitman, D.D.

N. B. Oldest minister, Rev. Peter Whitney. (1762.)

Oldest man at Commencement Henry Hill (1756). Saw classmates Adams, Hilliard I., Jackson, Whitney, & Wigglesworth.

[1815.]

30 August, I attended my 31st Commencement at Cambridge.

The day was clear, but unusually hot.

Watson[8] wrote and spoke well in a conference, as did Briggs.[9]

Fame." Francis A. Blake (born in Worcester, April 4, 1796; died in New York, March 22, 1824) took part in it.

[1] Waldo Flint, born in Leicester, Sept. 4, 1794; died in Boston, March 6, 1879. The subject under discussion was "The Causes of the Variety of Complexion and Figure in the Human Species." The other disputant was John Allyn, born in Duxbury, June 24, 1794; died there, March 7, 1824.

[2] George Derby, born in Salem, August 16, 1794; died at sea, August 26, 1818. He had part in a colloquy on "The Evils of Anarchy and Arbitrary Government," with Isaac E. Cobb, born in Plymouth, Jan. 19, 1791; died on a voyage from Charleston, S. C., to Boston, in January, 1821. See N. E. Palladium, Feb. 2, 1821.

[3] Born in West Roxbury, Nov. 6, 1795; died there, Dec. 18, 1865. Edmund Kimball (born in Newburyport, Dec. 3, 1793; died in Wenham, Nov. 7, 1873) took part with him in a discussion "On the Policy of Encouraging Manufacturing Establishments in the United States."

[4] William H. Prescott, born in Boston, May 4, 1796; died there, Jan. 28, 1859. See Proceedings, vol. iv. pp. 167–196; vol. vii. p. 298.

[5] Rev. Alvan Lamson, D.D., born in Weston, Nov. 18, 1792; died in Dedham, July 18, 1864. His theme was "Imagination and Sensibility as affected by the Age of the Individual." A memoir of Dr. Lamson, by Andrew P. Peabody, is in Proceedings, vol. xi. pp. 258–262.

[6] Edward Everett, of the class of 1811. His part was an oration "On the Restoration of Greece."

[7] Rev. N. L. Frothingham, D.D., of the class of 1811. He had the valedictory in Latin.

[8] Rev. John L. Watson, D.D., born in Boston, August 27, 1797; died in Orange, N. J., August 12, 1884. The subject of the conference was "The Power of the Oriental, Gothic, and Classical Superstitions to affect the Imagination and Feelings." The others who took part in it were Rev. Stevens Everett (born in Dorchester, Dec. 14, 1797; died there, Feb. 20, 1833) and Pelham W. Warren (born in Plymouth, Jan. 14, 1797; died in Boston, Oct. 6, 1848).

[9] Rev. Charles Briggs, born in Halifax, Jan. 17, 1791; died in Roxbury, Dec.

Pickman's [1] intermediate Latin oration was good.

Howe [2] did well in a forensick.

Eliot's [3] Latin poem, "Ad Pacem," was well received.

Fuller [4] excited loud applauses from the notice he took of the deposed imperial despot of France.

Palfrey [5] delivered a neat and well-spoken oration.

Francis's [6] dissertation was respectable.

But Warner,[7] in the concluding oration, was the most acceptable to the discerning part of the audience.

Sprague,[8] in an oration for the second degree, defended war by arguments sophistical and horrible.

There was less wit than usual in the exercises of the day. But in point of good composition, good sense, and pleasing elocution, they will sustain an honourable comparison with the performances on similar occasions.

The oldest alumnus at Com. of whom I heard was Mr. Henry Hill (1756); oldest minister, Peter Whitney (1762).

The President asked the blessing, and Rev. Geo. Morey (1776), of Walpole, gave thanks.

The degree of D.D. was conferred on the Rev. William Shaw, of Marshfield, Rev. John Foster, of Brighton, and the Rev. John S. Popkin, of Newbury.

Of my classmates I saw only Hilliard I., Lowell, & Whitney.

17, 1873. He had a part in a conference on "Pastoral, Epic, and Dramatic Poetry," with Dr. Thaddeus W. Harris (born in Dorchester, Nov. 12, 1795; died in Cambridge, Jan. 16, 1856) and Joseph H. Mackay (born in Boston, Jan. 15, 1797; died there, Jan. 11, 1820).

[1] H. D. Pickman, born in Salem, March 11, 1796; died in Boston, Oct. 22, 1815. His subject was "De Civium Officiis in Republica."

[2] Dr. Appleton Howe, born in Hopkinton, Nov. 26, 1792; died in South Weymouth, Oct. 10, 1870. He had a part in a discussion on "The Materiality of Light," with Dr. Samuel Webber, born in Cambridge, Sept. 15, 1797; died in Charlestown, N. H., Dec. 5, 1880.

[3] William H. Eliot, born in Boston, Dec. 12, 1796; died there, Dec. 6, 1821.

[4] Elisha Fuller, born in Princeton, Oct. 28, 1794; died in Worcester, March 18, 1855. He took part in a deliberative discussion of the question, "Is the Preservation of the Balance of Power a Justifiable Cause of War?" with Rev. George Otis, born in Newburyport, July 14, 1797; died in Cambridge, Feb. 25, 1828.

[5] John Gorham Palfrey, born in Boston, May 2, 1796; died in Cambridge, April 26, 1881. His theme was "Republican Institutions as affecting Private Character."

[6] Rev. Convers Francis, D.D., born in West Cambridge, Nov. 9, 1795; died in Cambridge, April 7, 1863. His subject was "Simplicity and Ornament in Writing." A memoir of Dr. Francis, by William Newell, is in Proceedings, vol. viii. pp. 233–253.

[7] William A. Warner, born in Hardwick, May 26, 1795; died in Boston, Dec. 22, 1830. His subject was "Imagination as affecting Individual Happiness."

[8] Peleg Sprague, of the class of 1812.

I dined in a tent prepared for the company of Samuel Eliot, Esq., where, I suppose, were 500 guests.[1] It was by far the most splendid dinner I have ever witnessed on a similar occasion.

Rev. Joshua Bates set the tune in the hall.

Since last Catalogue 118 sons of Harvard, according to my computation, have died.

Oldest man on the Catalogue, Joseph Waldo (1741).

At the printing of the Catalogue there were alive before me 753 + after me 910 = 1564 alive.

[1816.]

28 Aug. Attended my XXXII[d] Commencement. The day was cloudy and cool, the coldest occasion of the kind which I have ever attended. Some wore great coats & cloaks.

Salutatory oration, by Perry,[2] was finely written & delivered. Clark[3] & Tyng's[4] forensick was well managed, especially by the latter.

Pearson's[5] dissertation was ingenious, well delivered, & generally acceptable.

Proctor's[6] philosophical inquiry was a happy specimen of philosophical investigation.

But the concluding oration, by Gardiner,[7] *supereminuit omnes.* It was a manly and ingenious defence of classical literature finely delivered.

Brazer,[8] in the oration for the Master's degree, would have appeared better were he not, through the whole of the delivery, in an agony of recollection. This was occasioned by his committing his oration imperfectly to memory; and it imparted a portion of his sufferings to the audience, who could not but sympathize with him.

[1] At an expense, it is said by Rev. Dr. Parkman, of $2,500. — *Note by Dr. Pierce.*

[2] Samuel Perry, born in New Bedford, April 26, 1795; died in Havana, May 7, 1821.

[3] John Clark, born in Waltham, March 16, 1796; died in Salem, Jan. 28, 1851. He had a part with Dudley A. Tyng in discussing the question "Whether the Prevalence of Despotism in Asia be occasioned principally by Physical Causes?"

[4] Oldest son of Dudley Atkins Tyng, LL.D. In 1817 he was allowed to take the name of Dudley Atkins. He was born in Newburyport, became a physician, and died in Brooklyn, N. Y., April 7, 1845, æt. 47.

[5] Henry B. Pearson, born in Cambridge, March 29, 1795; died in Boston, June 29, 1867. He compared and contrasted Milton and Homer.

[6] John W. Proctor, born in Danvers, July 30, 1791; died in Peabody, Nov. 26, 1874. His subject of inquiry was "The Probable Disposition and Mutual Relation of the Fixed Stars."

[7] William H. Gardiner, born in Boston, Oct. 29, 1796; died there, Feb. 16, 1882. His subject was "The Comparative Importance of Classical and Scientific Attainments."

[8] Rev. John Brazer, D.D., of the class of 1813. His theme was "The Durability of our Political Institutions."

The oldest person whom I saw at Commencement who was a graduate of Cambridge was Henry Hill, Esq. (1756). The oldest clergyman was Rev. Daniel Fuller. Rev. R. R. Eliot, of Watertown, returned thanks in the hall. I set the tune, St. Martin's, 4th time. At this Com^{t} I sat on the stage for the first time as Overseer. Saw 2 classmates only, Adams & Whitney. It was the coldest Com^{t} I ever attended. There were but 24 clergymen, sons of Harvard, whom I saw, older than myself.

D.D., Benjamin Wadsworth, 1769; Ezra Ripley, 1776.

N. B. Of graduates at Cambridge 720 are alive before me, 957 after me.

[1817.]

27 Aug. Attended my XXXIII^{d} Commencement at Cambridge.

The day was fine.

The exercises commenced precisely at 10 A. M.

Thompson [1] was highly popular in a conference on agriculture.

Warren [2] was acceptable in a literary discussion on the alleged improvement in composition since Queen Anne.

Jones [3] delivered a good intermediate Latin oration.

Child [4] and Woods [5] gave a fine forensick on the question, "Whether the Power of Eloquence be diminished by the Progress of Literature and Science?"

Bancroft's [6] oration on the philosophy of the human mind did him great honour.

Cummings,[7] on the expediency of a national university, was sensible and chaste.

[1] Thomas Thompson, born in Boston, August 27, 1798; died in New York, March 28, 1869. The conference was on "The Beneficial Effects of Mechanicks, Chemistry, Astronomy, and Agriculture." The other members of the class who took part in it were Penuel Corbett (born in Milford, March 8, 1789; died in Jerseyville, Ill., May 1, 1878), Dr. John D. Wells (born in Boston, March 6, 1799; died there, July 25, 1830), and Jonathan H. Cobb (born in Sharon, July 8, 1799; died in Dedham, March 12, 1882).

[2] Charles H. Warren, born in Plymouth, Sept. 29, 1798; died there, June 29, 1874. The other disputant was Samuel E. Sewall, born in Boston, Nov. 9, 1799; died in Boston, Dec. 20, 1888. A memoir of Judge Warren, by Winslow Warren, is in Proceedings, vol. xix. pp. 424–428.

[3] Rev. Joseph H. Jones, D.D., born in Coventry, Conn., August 24, 1797; died in Philadelphia, Penn., Dec. 22, 1868.

[4] David Lee Child, born in West Boylston, July 8, 1794; died in Wayland, Sept. 18, 1874.

[5] Rev. Alva Woods, D.D., born in Shoreham, Vt., August 13, 1794; died in Providence, R. I., Sept. 6, 1887.

[6] George Bancroft.

[7] Rev. Asa Cummings, D.D., born in Andover, Sept. 29, 1790; died at sea, June 5, 1856.

The concluding oration of the Bachelors, by Winthrop,[1] was well written, but delivered so feebly as to be heard by a small part of the audience only.

Porter,[2] in his Master's oration, manifested a sound understanding, good composition, & respectable oratory.

Quash [3] made perhaps the best appearance, in his valedictory oration, of any one this day. But in his pronunciation he twice blundered in prosody in the word which he called "retinĕre."

Large entertainments were given by Winthrop, Coolidge, & Salisbury. The latter invited my family. I dined in the hall. Rev. Isaac Smith (1767) returned thanks. He was the oldest clergyman whom I saw at Commenc^{t} The oldest Cambridge graduate was Dr. E. A. Holyoke, of Salem (1746), the third in the Catalogue now alive. Æt. 89.

Saw 51 clergymen who were alumni; of these but 21 were before me at college.

Of Cambridge graduates there are, according to my computation, alive before me 670 + after me 1062 + 1 = 1733 remaining alive.

I heard of but 2 classmates at Com^{t}, Whitney & Wigglesworth. I set the tune (St. Martin's) 5th time, in the hall.

Rev. Dan^{l} Chaplin & Nath. Thayer, D.D.

[1818.]

26 Aug., 1818, at my XXXIVth Commencement at Cambridge.

There having been only small showers for 5 weeks, it was exceedingly dusty.

The exercises commenced at 10¼. This tardiness was owing to the number of strangers who attended.

The salutatory, by Jenkins,[4] was respectable.

Ezekiel H. Derby [5] was acceptable as a speaker.

[1] Francis William Winthrop, born in Boston, May 31, 1799; died in Savannah, Ga., March 7, 1819. His theme was "The Aspect of Revolutions on the Advancement of the Mind."

[2] Jonathan Porter, of the class of 1814, born in Medford, May 27, 1791; died there, June 11, 1859. His subject was "The Decline of Poetry."

[3] Francis D. Quash, of the class of 1814.

[4] John F. Jenkins, born in Gloucester, Feb. 6, 1796; died in White Plains, N. Y., Sept. 12, 1862.

[5] Born in Salem, July 30, 1799; died in Boston, Nov. 14, 1839. He had a part in a conference on "The Associations excited by Visiting Italy, Greece, Egypt, and Palestine considered with reference to their Ancient History." The others who took part in it were John Hooker Ashmun (born in Blandford, July 3, 1800; died in Cambridge, April 1, 1833), Henry A. Peters (born in Andover, August 5, 1800; died there, August 8, 1827), and Robert B. G. Williams (born in Boston, Oct. 25, 1797; died there, Nov. 6, 1829).

There was a Spanish oration by Osborn,[1] the first part of the kind ever delivered.

Wilkins's [2] dissertation was judicious.

Bennett [3] spoke with great force and propriety.

Warren Goddard [4] was very well received in his discussion.

Everett,[5] on the character of *Byron*, outshone the whole class.

Reed's [6] dissertation was a manly exercise, although poorly delivered.

The oration by Fessenden,[7] on the progress of refinement, was very indifferent. It was given to him as the best reciting scholar.

The Master's oration, by Warner,[8] afforded universal satisfaction.

The valedictory, by Rev. G. Palfrey,[9] was a specimen of classical and elegant Latinity, and the best spoken of any exercise throughout the day. The performances concluded at $3\frac{1}{4}$.

Though the class consisted of 80, yet fewer entertainments were given than common. There was less disorder, as there were fewer tents on the Common than I ever knew on such an occasion.

I was invited to Warren Goddard's chamber with a number of my

[1] George Osborne, M.D., born in Salem, Dec. 23, 1798; died in Peabody, Sept. 21, 1882. His oration was on "An Acquaintance with the Spanish Language and Literature." This was after Mr. Ticknor's appointment to a professorship at Cambridge, but before he had entered on the discharge of its duties.

[2] John H. Wilkins, born in Amherst, N. H., Dec. 10, 1794; died in Boston, Dec. 5, 1861. His part was "A Comparison of the Domestic Life of the Ancient Greeks and Romans and that of our own Countrymen."

[3] Rev. Joseph Bennett, born in Framingham, May 13, 1798; died in Woburn, Nov. 19, 1847. He took part in a conference "Upon Architecture, Painting, Poetry, and Music, as tending to produce and perpetuate Religious Impressions." The other members of the class who took part in it were John Barrett (born in Cambridge, June 16, 1799; died there, Nov. 29, 1820), William Emerson (born in Boston, July 31, 1801; died in New York, Sept. 13, 1868), and Thomas Gadsden (born in Philadelphia, May 10, 1796; died in Charleston, S. C., Oct. —, 1871).

[4] Rev. Warren Goddard, born in Portsmouth, N. H., Sept. 12, 1800; died in Brockton, Oct. 29, 1889. He had a discussion with George Chase (born in Portland, Me., Sept. 20, 1800; died there, Nov. 11, 1819) on "The Use of Heathen Mythology in Modern Poetry."

[5] John Everett, born in Dorchester, Feb. 22, 1801; died in Boston, Feb. 12, 1826.

[6] Sampson Reed, born in West Bridgewater, June 10, 1800; died in Boston, July 8, 1880. He had a dissertation "On the Influence of Christianity in producing the Moral and Intellectual Revival of Europe after the Dark Ages."

[7] Rev. John Fessenden, born in Lexington, March 13, 1794; died in Dedham, May 11, 1871.

[8] William A. Warner, of the class of 1815. His oration was on "The Condition and Prospects of the American People."

[9] John Gorham Palfrey, of the class of 1815. He was ordained pastor of the Brattle Street Church, Boston, about two months before the Commencement of 1818.

parishioners. I dined, however, in the hall. The Rev. Dr. Ripley (1776) returned thanks. I set St. Martin's the 6th time.

The oldest clergymen I saw at Commencement were Rev. John Emerson (1764) & Isaac Smith (1767). The oldest graduate, Dr. Jeffries (1763).

I saw 49 clergymen, alumni, of whom 20 were before me at college.

Of Cambridge graduates there are alive before me 660, after me 1046.

Saw 192 Cambridge graduates whom I can recollect. Of the 7 classes with which I was contemporary at college, consisting of 246, saw but 34 members. Four classmates, Adams, Jackson, Whitney, Wigglesworth. I set St. Martin's in the hall, 6th time.

Rev. Wm. Wells, Rev. Noah Worcester, Rev. Hez. Packard, D.D.

[1819.]

25 Aug., 1819, attended my XXXVth Commencement at Cambridge. A fine day. We arrived at the meetinghouse 20 minutes past 10.

A dissertation by Phillips,[1] of Salem, on Literary Reviews was popular.

Snelling[2] in a conference did well.

Bullard[3] in a colloquial discussion was thought by some good judges the best speaker of the day.

But the oration by Lee,[4] of Virginia, on American feeling excited more lively sensations of sympathy & applause than I ever recollect on a similar occasion. He began in a moderate & unpretending manner. He kept gradually rising in interest, till in fine he had possession of the feelings and interest of the whole audience. Some parts of his oration were highly impassioned, especially when he alluded to the battle of Bunker Hill.

Law's[5] dissertation was manly.

Steell[6] did well in the concluding oration.

[1] Stephen C. Phillips, born in Salem, Nov. 4, 1801; died on the St. Lawrence River, June 26, 1857, by the burning of a steamer.

[2] George H. Snelling.

[3] Charles A. Bullard, born in Pepperell, Jan. 24, 1800; died in Natchitoches, La., Nov. 19, 1872. The subject of discussion was "The Comparative Prevalence and Strength of the Principles of Loyalty and Independence in Man."

[4] Charles C. Lee, born in Williams County, Va., April 2, 1797; died in Windsor, Va., March 21, 1871.

[5] Edward E. Law, born in New London, Conn., March 11, 1801; died in Philadelphia, Penn., Jan. 1, 1889. His theme was "The Necessity of Public and Private Patronage to the Advancement of Literature in our Country."

[6] John F. Steell, born in Baltimore, Md., March 2, 1798; died in New York, Oct. —, 1826. His topic was "National Eloquence."

Gardiner,[1] in his Master's oration, would have been better received had he not so closely succeeded Law.

Brooks's [2] valedictory in Latin was amusing. The salutatory & valedictory orators were the only graduates in either class who wore spectacles.

The performances concluded at $3\frac{1}{2}$, so that we were precisely 5 hours in the house.

No large entertainment was given.

I dined in the hall. The Rev. Huntington Porter (1777), of Rye, N. H., returned thanks.

The oldest graduate & clergyman at Commencement was the Rev. Dr. Marsh, Weathersfield, Con. (1761). He probably wore the last full-bottomed wig which has been seen at Commencement.

I saw the following Cambridge graduates whom I can recollect [3] . . .

I saw 64 clergymen, alumni, of whom 27 were before me. Of the 7 classes with whom I was contemporary, consisting of 246, I saw 32. Saw but one classmate, Whitney.

I set St. Martin's in the hall, the 7th time, to the usual hymn, "Give ear, my people," &c., sung from time immemorial after dinner.

D.D., Rev. Robert Hall, Leicester, England; Rev. Wm. Bentley, Salem; Rev. James Murdock, Theological Seminary, Andover.

Of Cambridge graduates there are alive before me 645 + after me 1120 + 1 = 1766.

In italicks before me, 158 alive + after me 129 + 1 = 288.

I saw 65 predecessors at Commencement.

I have kept an account of 26 Cambridge graduates who have died since last Commencement [4] . . .

[1820.]

30 Aug. Attended my XXXVIth Commencement at Cambridge.

The day was fine.

We arrived at the meetinghouse 3 minutes past X.

The salutatory oration in Latin, by Young,[5] was well written & spoken.

Wm. K. Hedge's [6] part in a conference was one of the best compositions of the day.

[1] William H. Gardiner, of the class of 1816. His subject was "The Influence of Commerce upon Letters."

[2] Charles Brooks, of the class of 1816.

[3] Dr. Pierce here records 197 names, "65 my seniors."

[4] Dr. Pierce here gives their names, — "In italicks, 6."

[5] Rev. Alexander Young, D.D., born in Boston, Sept. 22, 1800; died there, March 16, 1854. A memoir of Dr. Young, by Chandler Robbins, is in 4 Collections, vol. ii. pp. 241–245.

[6] Born in Cambridge, Oct. 11, 1801; died there, Feb. 26, 1833.

Carter,[1] in opposing the right of legislative bodies to provide by law for the support of religion, was supposed to evince greater intellect than any performer on the occasion.

The Master's oration, by Cushing,[2] was sensible & delivered *ore rotundo.*

The President was 4 minutes in his first prayer & $2\frac{1}{2}$ in his last.

We left the house 3 minutes past III, so that we were in the house precisely 5 hours.

The assembly was large as usual, though no large entertainments were given.

I dined in the hall. The Rev. Dr. Bancroft, of Worcester (1778), returned thanks.

I was desired by the President to set St. Martin's, the 8th time, to the usual psalm.

The oldest Cambridge graduates whom I saw at Commencement were Hon. Timo. Pickering (1763), Jona. L. Austin (1766), Dr. Samuel Curtis (1766), of Amherst, N. H., Joshua Fisher, M.D. (1766), Wm. Gamage (1767). The oldest clergyman, Rev. Isaac Smith (1767), Boston.

I saw the following Cambridge graduates whom I can recollect[3] . . .

Of 246, composing the classes with which I was contemporary, I saw 27.

I saw 58 clergymen, alumni of the College, of whom 16 were before me.

Saw 3 classmates, Jackson, *Whitney*, & Wigglesworth.

D.D., Rev. Asa Messer, Pres., R. I.; Rev. Asa. Eaton; Rev. Wm. E. Channing.

As far as I can ascertain there are alive before me 617+ after me 1168 + 1 = 1786.

In italicks alive before me 153 + after me 131 + 1 = 285.

Officiating settled clergymen before me 96 + after me 112 + 1 = 209.

Saw at Com^{t} clergymen, alumni, older than myself 20 + younger 46 = 66.

Saw 56 Congregational ministers mentioned in the Register as present incumbents.

Saw 62 of my predecessors.

Since the last Commencement, died Peter Frye, of 1744, viz. Feb., 1820, in London, the day which completed his 97th year.

[1] James G. Carter, born in Leominster, Sept. 7, 1795; died in Chicago, Ill., July 22, 1849.

[2] Caleb Cushing, of the class of 1817, born in Salisbury, Jan. 17, 1800; died in Newburyport, Jan. 2, 1879. His oration was on "The Durability of the Federal Union."

[3] Here follow 205 names.

Also Rev. Nehemiah Porter, of Ashfield, born 2 April, O. S., 1720, died 29 Feb., 1820, lacking 44 days of 100 years.

[1821.]

29 Aug., at my XXXVIIth Commencement, Cambridge.

A. M., cloudy. P. M., clear.

We arrived at the meetinghouse at X.

George Washington Adams,[1] son of J. Q. A., spoke well in a conference on natural scenery.

A literary discussion between Burton[2] & Quincy,[3] on the elegant literature of England & France, was very acceptable.

A dissertation on the effects of tragedy, by Withington,[4] was sensibly written; but though he is one of the best scholars in the class, his exercise was dull.

Upham's[5] oration on sacred eloquence was far the most popular performance, though his part was the second in point of honour.

Barnwell's[6] concluding oration, on the importance of a national literature, &c., was animated & popular.

Reed's[7] oration on genius, for the Master's degree, was ingenious, but so miserably delivered that it was tedious.

Ten performers failed, mostly, as it is supposed, on account of dissatisfaction with their parts.

The President was $2\frac{1}{2}$ minutes in his first prayer & 2 in the last.

We left the house at II.

No publick entertainment was given.

I dined in the hall. Dr. Porter, 1777, of Roxbury, returned thanks. For the 9th time I set St. Martin's to the usual psalm.

The oldest Cambridge graduate was Hon. Timothy Pickering, 1763.[8] The 2^{d} oldest clergyman, Rev. Isaac Smith, 1767.

Saw also[9] . . .

[1] Born in Berlin, Germany, April 12, 1801; died near New York, April 30, 1829.

[2] Rev. Warren Burton, born in Wilton, N. H., Nov. 23, 1800; died in Salem June 6, 1866.

[3] Josiah Quincy, born in Boston, Jan. 17, 1802; died in Quincy, Nov. 2, 1882.

[4] Rev. William Withington.

[5] Charles W. Upham, born in St. John, N. B., May 4, 1802; died in Salem, June 15, 1875. A memoir of Mr. Upham by George E. Ellis is in Proceedings, vol. xv. pp. 182–221.

[6] Robert W. Barnwell, born in Beaufort, S. C., August 10, 1801; died in Columbia, S. C., Nov. 25, 1882.

[7] Sampson Reed, of the class of 1818.

[8] I have since heard that Henry Hill, 1756, was present. — *Note by Dr. Pierce.*

[9] Here follow 242 names, of which the first is Rev. Thomas Lancaster, 1764.

Of the 246 composing the 7 classes with which I was cotemporary, 78 are dead. Of the surviving, saw 27.

I saw 71 clergymen, alumni, of whom 29 are before me.

I saw 2 classmates, Gardner & Whitney.

Saw 71 alumni before me.

D. D., Rev. Abiel Abbot, Beverly; Pres. Allen, Bowd. Col.

According to my computation there are alive before me 569 + after me 1201 + 1 = 1771.

In italicks alive before me 147 + after me 145 + 1 = 293.

Officiating settled clergymen before me 94 + after me 132 + 1 = 227.

Saw at Commencement clergymen, alumni, before me 29, after me 42.

Saw 62 clergymen mentioned in the Register as present incumbents of Congregational churches.

For the first time since the University was founded no theses were published, no theses collectors having been appointed.

[1822.]

28 Aug., at my XXXVIIIth Com^{t} Cloudy & dusty; but no rain.

We arrived at the meetinghouse 10¼ A. M.

Charles G. Atherton,[1] in a literary discussion on "The Characteristicks of English Poetry in the Reigns of Elizabeth & Anne," bore away the palm for fine writing.

Wm. Lincoln's [2] poem, "The Land of the Pilgrims," was good.

Geo. A. Goddard,[3] in a philosophical disputation, "The Effect of Physical Causes on National Character," was popular.

Sam. M. Worcester's [4] oration on enthusiasm was acceptable.

Bent's [5] dissertation on moral obligation evinced sound thought.

Wigglesworth's [6] concluding oration had merit; but it was less popular than some other parts.

The President was 3½ minutes in his first prayer & 2 in his last.

I dined in the hall. President Holley returned thanks. I assisted in setting the tune the 10th time.

The oldest Cambridge graduate present was Henry Hill (1756). The oldest minister, Rev. Daniel Fuller (1764).

[1] Born in Amherst, N. H., July 4, 1804; died in Manchester, N. H., Nov. 15, 1853.

[2] Born in Worcester, Sept. 26, 1801; died there, Oct. 5, 1843. A memoir, by Joseph Willard, is in 3 Collections, vol. x. pp. 225–235.

[3] Born in Boston, Nov. 15, 1802; died there, May 15, 1845.

[4] Born in Fitchburg, Sept. 4, 1801; died in Salem, August 16, 1866.

[5] Rev. Josiah Bent, born in Milton; died in Amherst, Nov. 19, 1839, aged 42.

[6] Edward Wigglesworth, born in Boston, Jan. 14, 1804; died there, Oct. 15, 1876.

Saw 194 alumni.

Of the 246 composing the 7 classes with which I was cotemporary, 80 are dead. Saw 27 of the survivors.

Of clergymen, alumni, saw [1] . . .

I saw 5 classmates, Coffin,[2] Gardner, Jackson, Whitney, Wigglesworth.

D.D., John Cushing; John Pierce; Edward Copleston, Pres. Oriel College, Oxford. "The only writer." (say y^e^ Edinburgh Reviewers, No. 71, Oct. 1821, p. 254) "of our time who has equally distinguished himself in paths so distant from each other as classical literature, political economy, & metaphysical philosophy."

Alumni alive before me, 561; after me, 1240.

In italicks before me, 137; after me, 150.

Officiating settled clergymen alive before me, 94; after me, 130.

Saw 67, mentioned in the Register, as present incumbents of Congregational churches.

[1823.]

27 August, at my XXXIX^th^ Commencement, Cambridge.

We arrived at the meetinghouse $10\frac{1}{4}$.

Stearns's [3] salutatory oration was well written & delivered.

Gray's [4] discussion, "On the Influence of Imagination," &c., was well written, but poorly delivered.

Kendall [5] did well in a forensick, "Whether Great Inequalities of Private Fortune be favourable to the Accumulation of National Wealth?"

Lunt [6] in a forensick, "Whether, in point of Morality, the Truth be a Justification of an Alleged Libel on Private Character?" bore the palm in speaking.

Ripley's [7] concluding oration was fine.

Read,[8] in his Master's oration, "On the Praises of Plain Eloquence," produced considerable sensation.

[1] Here follow 72 names, "before me 24, after me 48."

[2] First time for eighteen years.— *Note by Dr. Pierce.*

[3] Rev. Samuel H. Stearns, born in Bedford, Mass., Sept. 12, 1801; died in Paris, France, July 15, 1837.

[4] Dr. Thomas Gray, born in Roxbury, Feb. —, 1803; died in Boston, March 6, 1849.

[5] Rev. James A. Kendall, born in Plymouth, Nov. 1, 1803; died in Framingham, May 16, 1884.

[6] Rev. William P. Lunt, D.D., born in Newburyport, April 21, 1805; died in Akabàh, March 21, 1857. A memoir of Dr. Lunt, by Nathaniel L. Frothingham, is in Proceedings, vol. iii. pp. 207–213.

[7] George Ripley, born in Greenfield, Oct. 3, 1802; died in New York, July 4, 1880. His subject was "Genius as affected by Moral Feeling."

[8] William G. Read, of the class of 1820, born in Charleston, S. C., Sept. 8, 1800; died in Baltimore, Md., April 3, 1846.

The valedictory, by Young,[1] was amusing.

The President was 4 minutes in his introductory prayer & 2½ in the concluding.

I dined in the hall. The President, as usual, asked the blessing. Dr. Ripley (1776) returned thanks.

I set the tune, St. Martin's, to the LXXVIII^th Psalm, "Hear, O my children, to my law," the 11^th time.

The oldest Cambridge graduate present was Henry Hill (1756). The oldest clergyman, Rev. Isaac Smith (1747).

Of the 246 composing the 7 classes with which I was cotemporary at college, 81 are dead. I saw of the survivors[2] . . .

Of my predecessors at college saw[3] . . . Of these 21 in italicks. Of these 17 officiating clergymen.

Officiating clergymen after me[4] . . . 37 + 17 = 54 officiating clergymen.

Saw 56 present incumbents of Congregational Chhs in this Commonwealth.[5]

Saw 3 classmates, Gardner, Whitney, Wigglesworth.

D.D., Rev. Charles Lowell, Boston; Rev. Moses Stuart, Andover.

Alumni alive before me, 545; after me, 1271; alive, 1817.

In italicks alive before me, 136; after me, 156; total, 293.

Officiating clergymen, alumni, alive before me, 86; after me, 126; total, 213.

[1824.]

On 25 August, 1824, I attended my XLth Commencement at Cambridge.

We were detained from entering the meetinghouse from X to XI.40, by the tardiness of the Governour. At length the cavalcade arrived at University Hall with General La Fayette, who was cordially welcomed by President Kirkland in a neat and peculiarly appropriate address, delivered in the portico in the hearing of a large and mixed multitude. A procession was then formed, which proceeded to the meeting-house amid continual shouts of assembled throngs.

As soon as order was restored, the President made a prayer of 3 minutes.

The salutatory, by Derby,[6] was good.

[1] Rev. Alexander Young, D.D., of the class of 1820.

[2] Here follow 28 names.

[3] Here follow 59 names.

[4] The names are given.

[5] Dr. Pierce recorded their names in a note.

[6] Elias Hasket Derby, born in Salem, Sept. 24, 1803; died in Boston, March 31, 1880.

The dialogue between Park[1] and Torrey[2] was amusing.

Whitney[3] excited loud plaudits in a deliberative discussion.

The II. oration by Newell,[4] on early prejudices, was finely written and delivered.

Emerson,[5] the concluding orator of the Bachelors, did himself great honour; though his speaking was somewhat impeded by an oppressive cold.

Upham,[6] in an English oration for the II^{d} degree, was acceptable.

Quincy's[7] Latin valedictory was appropriate and judicious.

A large portion of the speakers made personal allusions to our distinguished guest. In every instance such allusions were followed by loud shouts, huzzas, and the clapping of hands.

The day was fine. The degree of D.D. was conferred on the Rev. Bezaleel Howard, Rev. John Andrews, and Rev. Joseph Tuckerman.

At nearly V. we left the meetinghouse for the hall, where I dined in company of La Fayette and suite. It was difficult to get accommodations.

The President asked the blessing; and Ezra Ripley, D.D. (Concord), returned thanks, for the 3^{d} time.

For the 12th time I set St. Martin's to the usual psalm.

The oldest graduate whom I saw was Timothy Pickering (1763); the oldest clergyman, Rev. Daniel Fuller (1764).

Of the 246, composing the 7 classes with which I was cotemporary at college, 86 have died, 5 since the last Catalogue, in 3 years. Of survivors saw 33[8] . . .

Withers I had not seen since July, 1790, when he was graduated.

Of my predecessors at college, saw, besides the 19 mentioned in 1790, 1791, 1792[9] . . .

[1] John C. Park, born in Boston, June 10, 1804; died in Newton, April 21, 1889.

[2] Dr. Augustus Torrey, born in Salem, May 12, 1805; died in Beverly, Nov. 1, 1880. Park and Torrey had a dialogue, in English, on "Modern Inventions and Discoveries."

[3] Rev. George Whitney, born in Quincy, July 2, 1804; died in Jamaica Plain, April 2, 1842. The discussion was with Rev. David H. Barlow, on "The Comparative Advantages of Western Africa and Hayti for Colonizing Free Blacks."

[4] Rev. William Newell, D.D, born in Littleton, Feb. 25, 1804; died in Cambridge, Oct. 28, 1881. A memoir of Dr. Newell, by James Freeman Clarke, is in 2 Proceedings, vol. i. pp. 72–74; but his birthplace is there given incorrectly.

[5] Edward B Emerson, born in Boston, April 27, 1805; died in Porto Rico, West Indies, Oct. 1, 1834. His subject was "The Advancement of the Age."

[6] C. W. Upham, of the class of 1821. His subject was "The Progress of Human Nature."

[7] Josiah Quincy, of the class of 1821.

[8] Their names are given.

[9] Here follow 82 names.

Of these officiating Congregational ministers, 62.

Of present incumbents of Cong. Chhs. accord. to Register,[1] . . .

Alive in Catalogue before me, 509; in italicks, alive before me, 127; of these officiating clergymen, 72; in italicks, alive after me, 159; of these officiating clergymen, 142; whole number in italicks alive, 287; of these officiating clergymen, 215.

[1825.]

On Wednesday, 31 August, I attended my XLI^st^ Commencement at Cambridge.

The day was clear, but exceedingly dusty, as it had not rained for more than a week.

We entered the house at X.3.

The President made an appropriate prayer of about 5 minutes.

The salutatory, by Brigham,[2] was in an unusually fine style of composition and elocution.

The poem by Hedge,[3] on "Ruins of the East," was received with reiterated applauses.

The dissertation by Dwight,[4] of Springfield, was uncommonly fine.

The oration by Chapman[5] was well received.

The oration by Wilder[6] was well written, but poorly delivered.

The valedictory of the Bachelors, by Cunningham,[7] proved him worthy of the distinction.

The English oration for the Master's degree, by Wigglesworth,[8] "On the Fine Arts," was an able performance.

The exercises, on the whole, were better than common. There was little or no prompting; and they almost universally spake in an audible

[1] Here follow 68 names.

[2] Benjamin Brigham, born in Boston; died in Westboro, Sept. 21, 1831, æt. 27.

[3] Rev. F. H. Hedge, D.D.

[4] William Dwight, born in Springfield, April 5, 1805; died in Brookline, Sept. 20, 1880. His dissertation was on "The Efforts now making to perpetuate the Remembrance of Events and Characters in our Revolutionary History."

[5] Jonathan Chapman, born in Boston, Jan. 23, 1807; died there, May 25, 1848. His theme was "The Patronage expected by Literary Men from the Present Age."

[6] Frederic Wilder, born in Lancaster; died there, Feb. 5, 1826, æt. 22. "His last illness, it is supposed, was occasioned by leaving a ballroom in a state of perspiration, & walking home, about ¾ of a mile, in his thin dancing shoes, with wet feet, w^c^ bro't on a sudden & violent cold." (Note by Dr. Pierce, in his copy of the Catalogue of Harvard University, 1824.) The subject of Wilder's oration was "American Scholarship."

[7] Rev. Francis Cunningham, born in Boston, March 9, 1804; died in Meudon, France, Sept. 7, 1867.

[8] Edward Wigglesworth, of the class of 1822.

voice. There was less company than is common in the house and elsewhere. The exercises closed at III½.

In the hall the President asked the blessing; and Dr. Holmes (1783, Yale) returned thanks.

For the 13th time I set St. Martin's to the usual psalm.

The degree of D.D. was conferred on James Kendall, Plymouth, Cam., 1796, and on James Flint, Salem, Cam., 1802.

Of those before me, educated at Cambridge, I saw the following[1] . . .

Of 7 classes with me at col., 246; of these have died, 92; since last Commencem^{t} 6.

Saw of my contemp^{s} at col.			21
Before me			45
In italicks before me		14	
Of these officiating clergy	11		
After me, in italicks		38	
		—	52
Of these officiating clergy	30		
	—		41

Marrett I had not seen since July, 1790, when he was graduated.

Of classmates saw 5.

Alive before me, 497; alive in italicks before me, 123; out of office, 42; have colleagues, 12; officiating alone, 69.

[1826.]

On Wednesday, 30 August, I attended my XLII^{d} Commencement at Cambridge.

The day was uncommonly fine. For the last 20 days it had rained in every one but 3; so that the dust in that sandy soil was completely laid. We entered the house so that the exercises began precisely at X.

The President's prayer was about 3 minutes long, comprehensive and well adapted.

Adams,[2] in a colloquial discussion on intellectual education, interested the audience by his humour. Of Southworth,[3] who defended physical education, it was reported that he was the strongest person in college, having lifted 820 lbs.

Palfrey's[4] oration on "Moral Sublimity" was considered the best exercise of the Bachelors.

[1] Here follow their names.

[2] Rev. Nehemiah Adams, D.D., born in Salem, Feb. 19, 1806; died in Roxbury, Oct. 6, 1878.

[3] Edward Southworth, born in Pelham, July 3, 1804; died in West Springfield, Dec. 11, 1869.

[4] Rev. Cazneau Palfrey, D.D., born in Boston, August 11, 1805; died in Cambridge, March 12, 1888.

Putnam,[1] on the ingratitude of Republicks, was ingenious and acceptable.

Leib,[2] in his dissertation on knowledge, was ingenious in his composition, though ranting in manner.

The concluding oration, by Walker,[3] was well written and delivered.

The palm of the day was assigned to Ripley,[4] English orator of the Masters, on "The Claims of the Age on the Young Men of America." He was 27 minutes long, but highly interesting.

The valedictory, by Stearns,[5] was well received.

Of classmates saw but four, Jackson, Gardner, Whitney, Wigglesworth.

In the hall, at dinner, the President, as usual, asked the blessing. Rev. Jonathan Homer, 1777, returned thanks. I set St. Martin's to the usual psalm, the 14th time.

D.D. conferred on Rev. Thomas Gray, 1790; Rev. Henry Edes, 1799; Rev. Samuel Willard, 1803.

Of Cantabrigians before me I saw the following[6] . . .

Of those at Com. before me		47
In italicks before me		20
Officiate	14	
In ital. after me		60
Officiate	53	
	67	80

Of 7 classes with me, 246; starred, 92; none since last Com.; saw of Co^{s}, 27; saw pred^{s}, 47.

Other clergymen at Com. not educated at Cam. and mentioned in Mass. Register[7] . . .

Officiating clergymen at Commencement, 87.

Alive before me, Com., 1826, 473; of these clergymen officiating alone, 60 + having colleagues, 12 + out of office, 46 = alive before me total in italicks, 118; alive after me in italicks, 169 + 1 = whole number in italicks, alive, 288; whole number who officiate alone, 203; who have colleagues, 13; who officiate, 216; whole number, dismissed, who are yet alive, 71.

[1] Rev. George Putnam, D.D., born in Sterling, August 16, 1807; died in Roxbury, April 11, 1878.

[2] James R. Leib, born Jan. 9, 1806; died in Detroit, Mich., June —, 1843.

[3] Timothy Walker, born in Wilmington, Dec. 1, 1802; died near Cincinnati, Ohio, Jan. 15, 1856. The subject of his oration was "The Permanency of Literary Fame."

[4] George Ripley, of the class of 1823.

[5] Rev. Samuel H. Stearns, of the class of 1823.

[6] Here follow their names, and also a list of "Others in Italicks."

[7] Here follow the names of 16 "Congregationalists" and 4 "Others."

[1827.]

On Wednesday, 29 August, I attended my XLIII[d] Commencement at Cambridge.

It having rained through the day on the Monday before, the dust was well laid. The wind was N. W., and the day was delightfully pleasant.

The President, Kirkland, not having recovered from a shock of paralysis, was absent; and Dr. Ware, Professor of Divinity, officiated in his stead.

We entered the meetinghouse at X.20.

Dr. Ware made a pertinent prayer of 6 minutes.

Stearns [1] gave a fine oration, audibly delivered, "On Living in Times of Great Intellectual Excitement."

A deliberative discussion, "On the Comparative Advantages of Politicks & Literature, as Professions in this Country," by Brooks [2] & Felton,[3] was well maintained, particularly by the latter.

But the commemorative oration of the Founders & Benefactors of the University, by Davis,[4] of Boston, was in a style of excellence, both in composition & delivery, but rarely equalled in this country. It was 25 minutes in length, & received with enthusiastick applause.

The English oration for the Masters, by Emerson,[5] was a fine specimen of composition & elocution, at the uncommon length of 36 minutes. It was to its disadvantage that it immediately succeeded Davis's, so that it required some time to get the audience sufficiently composed to listen with attention. The result was that it was received with a good degree of *éclat.*

The valedictory in Latin, by Derby,[6] was an uncommon specimen of pure Latinity. In allusion to the President's engagement to be married, the orator uttered the wish that "Hymen roseas spargat." The oration was 10 minutes long.

[1] Rev. William A. Stearns, D.D., born in Bedford, March 17, 1805; died in Amherst, June 8, 1876.

[2] William H. Brooks, born in Salem, Jan. 5, 1805; died in Cambridge, March 7, 1877.

[3] Cornelius C. Felton, born in West Newbury, Nov. 6, 1807; died in Chester, Penn., Feb. 26, 1862. A memoir of President Felton, by George S. Hillard, is in Proceedings, vol. x. pp. 352–368.

[4] T. K. Davis, born in Boston, June 20, 1808; died in Somerville, Oct. 13, 1853. "Thomas K. Davis graduated at Harvard College in 1827, first scholar of his class, and was also class orator. He had fine scholarship and brilliant powers, but long before his death was withdrawn by disease from the pursuits of active life." See memoir of Isaac P. Davis, by George T. Davis, in Proceedings, vol. xi. p. 96.

[5] Edward B. Emerson, of the class of 1824. His oration was on "The Importance of Efforts and Institutions for the Diffusion of Knowledge."

[6] E. H. Derby, of the class of 1824.

It was about III.30 when the procession moved to the hall.

Dr. Ware asked the blessing; & Dr. Fiske, of West Cambridge (1785), returned thanks.

I set St. Martin's, the 15th time, to the usual psalm.

No D.D. was conferred. The degree of LL.D. was given to Bushrod Washington and Horace Binney.

There was great order preserved in the hall. Indeed, in this respect, there is a manifest improvement in modern times. I saw no appearance of excess in a single instance through the day.

Of Cantabrigians saw the following [1] . . .

At Commencement before me in Cat.			48
do. in italicks before me, offic.	13	total	17
do. after me, do.	36	do.	45
	49		62
Of 7 classes my contemporaries			246
do. starred			93
do. since last Catalogue . . .			7
Of these 7 classes saw			29
Alive before me, Com. 1827			454
Of these officiating clergymen	83		
do. out of office	28		111
Officiating clergymen after me	161		
Clergymen after me, out of office	17		178
			1
Total in italicks . . .			290
Total officiating . . .			244
Total *ex officio* . . .			45

[1828.]

On Wednesday, 27 August, my XLIVth Commencement, at Cambridge.

The day was cool, and it would have been very dusty, but for the watering of the streets by subscription of the inhabitants of Cambridge.

After transacting the usual business in the Library, a procession moved to the meetinghouse precisely at X o'clock.

Dr. Ware, Hollis Professor of Divinity, presiding officer of the day, began the exercises with a prayer of 3 minutes.

Patrick Grant was popular in a colloquial discussion on "The Enthusiast & Matter-of-fact Man."

[1] Here follow several lists of names divided into classes, and with various headings.

McKean[1] did well in a historical dissertation.

The third oration in English, by Winthrop,[2] was thought by good judges to be the best exercise of the day.[3] It was on "Liberal Principles, as affecting the Strength of Government." It is not a little remarkable that this is the 7th son to whom Lieut.-Gov. Thomas L. Winthrop has given a collegiate education; 5 at Harvard University, 1 at Bowdoin College, & 1 at Columbia College. Francis was graduated at Cambridge in 1817, with the first honours of the class, and began the study of Divinity, but died young.

Emerson's[4] II. English oration on "Publick Opinion" was very acceptable. 20 min.

The concluding oration by Hillard[5] was fine. 28 min.

For the Master's degree, Chapman,[6] on "The Spirit which should accompany our Publick Institutions," did well in an oration of 32 minutes.

Whitman's[7] valedictory of 5 minutes was humorous, though it contained solemn reflections on the death of 3 classmates, Livermore, Sheafe, & Wilder.

Dr. Ware then gave the degrees. No honorary degrees had been voted. After a short prayer by Dr. Ware we proceeded to the hall for dinner, where Dr. Ware asked the blessing, and Dr. Allyn (1785) returned thanks.

I set St. Martin's, the 16th time, to the LXXVIII. Psalm.

The meetinghouse was less crowded than usual. For the first time for many years no tents were allowed on the Common. The wind was east, which gave an agreeable coolness to the weather. The 3 preceding days had been exceedingly sultry.

After dinner I called at Grant's & Winthrop's chambers, both of whom, particularly the latter, had large parties.

After this I went to Dr. Ware's, and took tea with the large company assembled there.

[1] Henry S. McKean, born in Boston, Feb. 9, 1810; died there, May 17, 1857. His dissertation was on "The Importance of a Popular History, in which the Actions of Men shall be represented according to the Principles of the Christian Religion."

[2] Robert C. Winthrop.

[3] 27 min. — *Note by Dr. Pierce.*

[4] Charles C. Emerson, born in Boston, Nov. 27, 1808; died in New York, May 9, 1836.

[5] George S. Hillard, born in Machias, Me., Sept. 22, 1808; died in Brookline, Jan. 21, 1879. A memoir of Mr. Hillard, by Francis W. Palfrey, is in Proceedings, vol. xix. pp. 339–348.

[6] Jonathan Chapman, of the class of 1825.

[7] Rev. Jason Whitman, of the class of 1825, born in East Bridgewater, April 30, 1799; died in Portland, Me., Jan. 25, 1848.

In addition to the Governour and Suite, the Lieut. Gov., Council & Senate, the President of the United States honoured the day with his presence, the first time for several Commencements [1] . . .

Of Cantabrigians I saw the following [2] . . .

Besides the aforementioned I saw the following Cantabrigians whose names are in italicks [3] . . .

Besides the above, saw of present incumbents of churches mentioned in the Massachusetts Register [4] . . .

13 Orthodox clergymen present.

Of Cantabrigians I saw at Com. predecessors				46	
Of these in italicks	offic. 10	not of.	5 = 15		
Before me do.	do. 35	do.	10 = 45		
	45		15	60	
Of my cotemporary 7 classes there were			246		
do. starred			95		
Since last Commencement do.			2		

Of these 7 classes I saw at Com. 24; viz. 7 clergymen, 17 laymen = 24.

By computation there are alive before me, 434

Of these officiating clergymen	60	
do. out of office	47	107
Officiating clergymen after me	159	
do. out of office	29	188
		1
Total of., 219; out of office, 76 + 1		296

Saw at Com. but 4 classmates, *Fletcher*,[5] Gardner, Jackson, Whitney.

Of strangers of distinction not before mentioned, there were present Mr. Stevenson, of Virginia, Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States; Mr. Carter, member of Cong. from S. C.; Mr. Kittera, from Phil.; Mr. Tucker, Principal of Virginia University; Mr. McVickar, Prof. Columbia College, N. Y.; & Mr. Gibbs, Professor at Yale.

[1] President Adams was formally invited to attend the Commencement exercises in 1826, but he declined on the ground that he should also decline to attend the Commencements at Bowdoin College and at Princeton College, to both of which he had already been invited. However, "next year or at some other time," he hoped "to accept the proffered kindness of the Corporation." See Memoirs of J. Q. Adams, vol. vii. p. 145.

[2] Dr. Pierce records their names, under the headings "Predecessors," "Contemporaries."

[3] Forty-two names, beginning with 1797 and ending with 1822, are given.

[4] Nine names are given.

[5] The first time for 28 years. — *Note by Dr. Pierce.*

[1829.]

On Wednesday, 26 August, I attended my XLVth Commencement; namely, every one beginning with 1784, excepting 1791, on which day my mother was buried. Pres. Quincy officiated I time.

The day was delightfully cool and pleasant, there having been copious showers on the previous Monday.

Owing to the lateness of the Governour's arrival we did not arrive at the meetinghouse till X.30.

The Rev. Dr. Porter, of the Corporation, began with a prayer of 10 minutes.

Channing[1] was acceptable in a colloquy on "An Active Profession as injuring or assisting the Efforts of Literary Men."

Phillips[2] did well in an essay on "Incorporating Historical Truth with Fiction."

Brigham[3] defended well his part in a philosophical discussion on Lord Bacon's writings.

Holmes[4] gave much delight in a poem without a subject.

The forensick between Giles[5] and Robbins[6] was ably handled by both parties. The latter was the best speaker who exhibited in his class.

Devereux,[7] on "Originality of Thought, supposed to be necessarily lessened as the World grows Older," a dissertation, was ingenious and striking.

The concluding oration, by Storrow,[8] was decently written, but, as he is an indifferent speaker, the length of 29 minutes appeared tedious.

Walker's[9] English oration for the Master's degree, on "Literary Justice," was truly a masterly oration, just in sentiment, chaste in composition, and in elocution transcendent.

[1] Rev. William H. Channing, born in Boston, May 25, 1810; died in London, England, Dec. 23, 1884.

[2] George W. Phillips, born in Boston, Jan. 3, 1810; died in Saugus, July 30, 1880.

[3] William Brigham, born in Grafton, Sept. 6, 1806; died in Boston, July 9, 1869. A memoir of Mr. Brigham, by Chandler Robbins, is in Proceedings, vol. xiii. pp. 280, 281.

[4] Dr. O. W. Holmes.

[5] Joel Giles, born in Townsend, May 6, 1804; died there, Jan. 12, 1882. The forensic in which Giles and Robbins took part was on the question, "Whether the Inequalities of Genius in different Countries be owing to Moral Causes?"

[6] Rev. Chandler Robbins, D.D., born in Lynn, Feb. 14, 1810; died in Boston, Sept. 11, 1882. A memoir of Dr. Robbins, by Charles C. Smith, is in Proceedings, vol. xx. pp. 403–417.

[7] George H. Devereux, born in Salem, Dec. 1, 1809; died there, Oct. 24, 1878.

[8] Charles S. Storrow. His oration was on "The Diversities of Character."

[9] Timothy Walker, of the class of 1826.

The valedictory, by Page,[1] was beautifully written, but spoken too low; and as he began it at $3\frac{1}{2}$, 12 minutes seemed too long.

Dr. Porter closed with a prayer of 5 minutes.

The degree of D.D. was given to President Wayland; of LL.D. to Judge Cranch; of A.M. to Charles Sprague & Daniel Treadwell.

No seats, as usual, were reserved for the clergy, which rendered the situation of those who were not admitted upon the stage precarious and uncomfortable.

There were also no seats reserved for the graduates of the day. This produced some confusion.

The house was full as common on such occasions.

In the hall the Rev. Dr. Porter, as Chaplain of the day, asked the blessing; and the Rev. Dr. Prince, of Salem (1776,) the oldest clergyman present, returned thanks.

I set the tune, St. Martin's, the 17th time, to the LXXVIII. Psalm. Tho I set it without an instrument, yet it was exactly in tune with the instruments which assisted us.

I asked the President how much of the psalm we should sing? Judge Story replied, Sing it all. We accordingly, contrary to custom, sang it through, without omitting a single stanza.

It was remarked that the singing was never better. But as the company are in 4 different rooms, it will be desirable on future occasions to station a person in each room to receive and communicate the time, so that we may all sing together, or keep time, as musicians express it.

After dinner I visited the company of Robbins, in Porter's tavern; of Devereux and Phillips, in Holworthy.

My classmate Fletcher returned with me, and spent the night, with his daughter.

Of seniors and cotemporaries at college I saw the following[2] . . .

Others in italicks in our Catalogue[3] . . .

Saw of clergymen, before me	10 of.	7 not of.	= 17
Saw of clergymen, after me	44 of.	8 not of.	= 52
	54 of.	15 not of.	

Tot. clerg. at Com. 69; others, 19; clergy present, 88.

10 Orthodox clergymen present.

Of the clergy present from all colleges, 20 my seniors, 68 my juniors.

[1] John H. W. Page, of the class of 1826, born in Gilmanton, N. H., Oct. 4, 1804; died in Boston, June 14, 1865.

[2] Their names are given in two lists.

[3] Here follow two more lists.

Of Cantabrigians I saw at Commencement 46 predecessors; of these 17 in italicks, 10 of. 7 not officiating.

In my contemporary 7 classes, 246; starred, 97.

Two, *Chandler*, 1790, Bradstreet, 1795, last year.

Of the 7 classes, I saw 27 at Com., viz. 8 in italicks, 19 not in italicks.

By computation alive before me			407
Of these officiating clergymen		34	
do. out of office		41	
do. doubtful		21	96
Have colleagues	5		
Officiating clergymen after me		147	
out of office		41	
doubtful		4	192
Have colleagues	1	1	1
Total	6	193	289
Total of. 182, out 82, doubtful 25			289

Saw at Com. 4 classmates, *Fletcher*, Gardner, *Muzzy*, *Whitney*.

[1830.]

On Wednesday, 25 August, I attended my XLVI. Commencement.

The day was cool and comfortable, the wind blowing from the north and north east; and though it was cloudy so that the sun was not seen throughout the day, yet there was no rain.

Of the Corporation, consisting of 7, 2 were absent, viz., Dr. Porter, who was indisposed, and Hon. Francis C. Gray, who is in Europe.

The Board of Overseers, when full, consists of 83 members. There are now 80, of whom 40 are Cambridge scholars. There were 34 present, of whom were the Governour, Levi Lincoln, the Lieutenant Governor, Thomas L. Winthrop, and 8 of the 9 Councillors. Of the 34, 25 were Cambridge scholars, and 12 clergymen.

The exercises commenced in the meetinghouse at 16 minutes past X, with a prayer by Dr. Ware, of 4 minutes, in which, as Dr. Codman remarked, there was no allusion to the Saviour, or his religion.

The salutatory oration, in Latin, by Andrews,[1] of 8 minutes, was well written and spoken.

Jewett[2] and Kerr[3] were most distinguished in the conferences.

[1] Benjamin H. Andrews, born in Boston, 1811; died in Philadelphia, Sept. 24, 1847.

[2] Isaac A. Jewett, born in Burlington, Vt., 1809; died in Keene, N. H., Jan. 14, 1853.

[3] John B. Kerr, born in Easton, Md., March 5, 1805; died Jan. 27, 1878. Jewett and Kerr took part in a conference with John Bryant and Charles Sumner

An English oration, III^{d} in honour, on "The Character and Prospects of the State of New York," 29 minutes in length, was the most popular performance of the day. Charlemagne Tower,[1] the orator, is the son of a Mr. Tower, native of Rutland, in this State. The young man was born in Paris, Oneida County, N. Y. His mother was a *Pearce*, from a family in Little Compton, R. I.

Stearns,[2] son of the Rev. Samuel S., of Bedford, had the II^{d} oration It was on "Mutation of Taste," & was a respectable performance. This is the 3^{d} son of Mr. S. educated at Cambridge, and each one has been among the first 3 of his class.

The Ist & concluding oration, by Hopkinson,[3] failed by his sudden indisposition. As it often happens, he and Stearns, the two first scholars, were beneficiaries.

The oration in English for the Master's degree was by Davis,[4] 40 minutes in length, on "Every Man a Debtor to his Profession." It contained many striking thoughts, some of them quaintly written, and delivered in a manner wholly unique.

The valedictory, by Dixwell,[5] of 10 minutes was respectable.

Dr. Ware closed with a short prayer, in the name of Christ!

In fine, the exercises, as a whole, gave more satisfaction than was anticipated. The parts were well committed, and, for the most part, audibly spoken. There were fewer inequalities than common. None were contemptible; and none electrified the audience, as is sometimes the case. We walked in procession to the hall, at about 20 minutes after IV.

The President at first startled me by calling on me to ask the blessing, as Dr. Ware did not dine in the hall. I told him that Dr. Holmes was present. He was accordingly invited to the upper table, and performed that service y^{e} 2^{d} time.

Dr. Gray, 1790, was the oldest settled clergyman whom I could find in the hall. He returned thanks.

The oldest man in italicks whom I saw in the hall was Dr. Sanders, 1788.

The oldest clergyman at Commencement was Dr. Ripley, 1776.

The oldest graduate was Perez Morton, 1771, State's Attorney.

on "The Roman Ceremonies, the System of the Druids, the Religion of the Hindoos, and the Superstition of the American Indians."

[1] Born April 18, 1809; died in Waterville, N. Y., July 24, 1889.

[2] Rev. Jonathan F. Stearns, D.D., born in Bedford, Sept. 4. 1808; died in New Brunswick, N. J., Nov. 11, 1889.

[3] Thomas Hopkinson, born in New Sharon, Me., August 25, 1804; died in Cambridge, Nov. 17, 1856.

[4] Thomas Kemper Davis, of the class of 1827.

[5] E. S. Dixwell, of the class of 1827.

In singing the usual psalm, LXXVIII., "Give ear, my people," &c., I had taken pains to station a chorister at the head table in each hall, so that we could communicate the time to each other. The singing accordingly was unusually good.

This was the 18th time that I have set the usual tune, St. Martin's.

Degrees of A.B. were conferred on 48; and of A.M. on 23.

No honorary degrees were given. The house was thinner than usual, as there were no large parties.

After dinner I called at Penniman's chamber; but most of his friends had gone.

Of classmates I saw 5, *Fletcher*, Gardner, Jackson, *Muzzy*, and *Whitney*[1] . . .

Alive in italicks after me, 214.

Of these now in office, 159; do. out of office, 50; doubtful, 5 = 214.

In italicks before me, 91 + 1 = 306.

	Before me		Of these after me	
Liberal Congregats.	54	+	121	= 175
Orthodox do.	33	+	68	= 101
Episcopalians	3	+	19	= 22
Doubtful	1			= 1
Baptists			5	= 5
Swedenborgean			1	= 1
Universalist			1	= 1
Total				306

Officiating before me	39, self 1,	after me	159	= 199
Not officiating do.	41	do.	50	= 91
Doubtful do.	11	do.	5	= 16
				306

The Catalogue was printed this year. Pres. Quincy wished me to take the responsibleness for its accuracy. But I declined, telling him that I would do as much as if I were the editor. He afterwards appointed Charles Folsom, of 1813. Accordingly, the sheets were uniformly sent to me, except from 1823.

The oldest graduate, this year remaining alive, in the Catalogue, is Paine Wingate, born at Amesbury, 15 May, O. S., 1739; grad. 1759; ordained at Hampton Falls, N. H., 14 Dec., 1763; dism. 18 March,

[1] Dr. Pierce's classified lists of other graduates whom he saw fill nearly four and a half pages.

1776. Since, he has been Senator to Congress, and Judge of the Supreme Court. He now lives in Stratham, N. H.

For some account of him, and a curious letter written by him, see the Centinel of 25 August, this year, Commencement day.[1]

[1831.]

On Wednesday, 31 August, I attended my XLVII[th] Commencement at Cambridge, viz., every one beginning with 1784, excepting 1791, on which day my mother was buried.

The day was cool and comfortable. Though the morning was cloudy there was no rain.

The procession started from the Library, in Harvard Hall, precisely at X.

The salutatory oration, which was assigned to McKean,[2] was not performed.

[1] The letters referred to by Dr. Pierce are as follows: —

To the Editors of the Centinel: —

The following letter, addressed to a gentleman in this city by the venerable graduate, who at the great age of ninety-two now stands first on our University Catalogue (class of 1759), will be interesting to the sons of Harvard on their present anniversary. The original, which we have seen, is in a handwriting that has a steadiness and regularity corresponding with the great firmness of constitution and health of the aged author, whom we have personally known for several years. To the public he has been long known as one of the intelligent and efficient members of Congress for a long period immediately after the adoption of the Constitution, and subsequently as a Judge of the Supreme Court of New Hampshire. To readers who are not familiar with college usages, it may be necessary to remark, that before the Revolution the students, upon their first admission, were ranged alphabetically; but in the course of the first year they were *placed* according to the rank which their parents held in society, — as the sons of the Governor of Massachusetts, magistrates, ministers, &c.

G.

Stratham, Aug. 15, 1830.

Dear Sir, — Believing that you have the curiosity to notice incidents that are unusual, although they may appear to be trivial, I am induced to communicate to you the following note, which you will make use of as you shall see fit.

Paine Wingate, of Stratham, N. H., was born in 1739, May 14, Julian Style. He entered Cambridge College at Commencement, 1755, in the freshman class, when he stood the last or lowest in the class, placed alphabetically as the custom then was; of course he was junior in grade to every member of the College until the class was *placed* in the preceding part of the year. In the year 1830, when the Catalogue of that University was published, he was the senior or first in the Catalogue then living, having in the course of seventy-five years passed through the various grades from the lowest to the highest of all the members of that University, — a circumstance which I conclude has not happened to any one other since the origin of the College, and probably will not occur again in many centuries. If Mr. B. should think it an incident worth calculating, I think he may find data in the Catalogue and other sources to form a tolerably correct calculation when a similar event may happen again. The facts above stated may be relied upon as correct from the hand of Paine Wingate, Ætatis 92.

From your very affectionate, Paine Wingate.

For an interesting account of a visit to Mr. Wingate, six years later, by the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, secretary of the committee of arrangements for the celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of the College, see 2 Proceedings, vol. iv. pp. 303–305.

[2] J. G. McKean, born in Cambridge, Dec. 1, 1811; died there, Jan. 31, 1851.

Wright,[1] Read,[2] Farley,[3] & Furber,[4] who had parts in conferences, did not perform.

Worcester,[5] in an essay, Abbot[6] & Motley,[7] in a colloquial discussion, Austin,[8] in a dissertation, did not perform, making 8 of the 35 to whom parts were assigned.

Dr. Ware made an introductory prayer of 3½ minutes, & a concluding one of 3.

Simmons[9] was distinguished as a speaker. Indeed, I consider him the most finished orator whom I have ever heard at the University.

Hillard[10] was much admired in his oration for the Master's degree.

Of the Corporation, Dr. Porter, of Roxbury, was absent from indisposition. Judge Jackson did not attend the exercises in the house.[11]

The Overseers now consist of 79, 40 of whom are Cambridge scholars. The following only of that body were present[12] . . .

[1] Frederic Wright, born in Northampton, July 6, 1811; died in Manhattan, Ohio, April 10, 1846.

[2] George W. Read. His name is not in the Quinquennial Catalogue.

[3] Massillon Farley.

[4] Frederick Furber, born in Boston, Jan. 22, 1811; died in South Boston, July 1, 1853.

[5] Frederick A. Worcester, born in Hollis, N. H., Jan. 28, 1807; died in Townsend, March 3, 1888.

[6] Caleb F. Abbott, born in Chelmsford, Sept. 8, 1811; died in Toledo, Ohio, April 24, 1855.

[7] J. Lothrop Motley, born in Dorchester, April 15, 1814; died in London, England, May 29, 1877. He had part with Abbott in a discussion "On the Influence of the Multiplication of Books upon Literature." A memoir of Mr. Motley, by O. W. Holmes, is in Proceedings, vol. xvi. pp. 404-473.

[8] William Austin, born in Charlestown, Sept. 15, 1811; died in Groton, Jan. 8, 1835.

[9] William H. Simmons, born in Boston, May 11, 1812; died there, August 10, 1841. The subject of his oration was "Radicalism."

[10] George S. Hillard, of the class of 1828. His oration was on "The Dangers to which the Minds of Young Men in our Country are exposed."

[11] It may be interesting to compare with Dr. Pierce's record the impressions which the exercises made on John Quincy Adams. On the same day Mr. Adams wrote in his diary: "The merit of the performances was beyond the usual average. Of the undergraduate performances, the two orations of Eames and Simmons were most remarked, with one part of a conference by Wendell Phillips, the youngest son of my old friend and associate, John Phillips. I thought, however, that there had been rather too great a transition from tameness to overvehemence in the delivery, and that there was a corresponding change discernible in the composition, now somewhat exceptionable for exaggerated sentiments and startling paradoxes. I made the remark to Judge Davis, at whose side I sat; but he said he thought paradox was the usual defect of Commencement compositions. The English oration for the Master's degree, by Hillard, affected me beyond expression. I thought it the most beautiful and pathetic effusion that I had ever heard. The Latin valedictory, by Chapman, was short, and with touches of pleasantry, which closed the performances of the day with much good humor." — *Memoirs of J. Q. Adams*, vol. viii. pp. 405, 406.

[12] Dr. Pierce records their names.

37 in the whole present, 30 Cambridge scholars, viz.

The Governour and Lieut. Governour, 2; the whole Council, 9; of the Senate, 7; elective members (lay 8, clerical 11), 19 = 37.

We arrived at the hall about 20 minutes before IV.

President Bates, not from age, but from station, being President of Middlebury College, Vt., asked the blessing, in a very appropriate manner. He was a graduate of Cambridge, in 1800.

Dr. Packard, of North Chelmsford, of 1787, returned thanks. He performed this service in an audible voice, and with much propriety, so as to give ample satisfaction to the company.

I set St. Martin's, the 19th time, to the usual psalm. It was pitched a little too high.

The oldest graduate present was Perez Morton, of 1771, the 3d year in which he has been the oldest graduate present.

The oldest clergyman was Dr. Homer, of 1777.

Saw the following, who are before me in the Catalogue[1] . . .

32 before me, of whom 8 in italicks; of whom 5 in the ministry.

20 in my 7 cotem. classes, in which there were 246. Of these 20, 6 in italicks, 4 in office, 2 out of office.

	Alive.	Dead.	Total.
1790	25	17	42
1791	11	16	27
1792	21	16	37
1793	22	16	38
1794	17	12	29
1795	26	14	40
1796	22	11	33
	144	102	246

Two died since last Com., 1791, Turner; 1796, Davis[2] . .

At Commencement, 89 clergymen. Of these, 81 in office, 8 out of office. My seniors, 9; juniors, 80; Liberal, 68; Orthodox, 7; Episcopal, 7; Universalist, 1; Baptist, 1; not officiating, 5; Cambridge scholars, 73. In italicks alumni[3] . . .

There were 64 graduated this year.

There are dead after me on Catalogue, 416.

By my computation there are *living, on the Catalogue*, —

333 before me;
1538 after me;
1 myself.

1872 alive in Catalogue.

[1] The names are recorded.

[2] Other lists of persons whom he saw are given

[3] Dr. Pierce records the names of those whom he saw.

In italicks.	Before me, 86	In office, 40	Out of office, 46
	After me, 222	165	57
	Myself, 1	1	
	309	206	103

Alive before me,	23	Have colleagues,	18
after me,	153		11
	1		
Officiate alone,	177	Total colleagues,	29

Of the class of 1802 there were 19 who dined together. This class has been remarkable for continuing their class meetings, without interruption, to the present time. They had a room, according to custom, the S. E. corner of Holworthy, lowest room, where they had coffee & refreshments. I called upon them. While I was there, the Governour who was of this class, came & joined them. As he entered, they all arose.

[1832.]

On Wednesday, 29 August, I attended my XLVIII^th^ Commencement at Cambridge.

The day was pleasant. Business was transacted so that we arrived at the meetinghouse but a few minutes after ten.

The Rev. Dr. Ware made an appropriate prayer of 4 minutes.

The salutatory oration, by Simmons,[1] was finely written & spoken.

J. W. Eaton[2] did well in a conference. He is a Baptist, supposed to be intended for the ministry.

A poem, by True,[3] "The Missionary," was well written & spoken. He is a Methodist, & designed for a Methodist minister.

A philosophical disquisition, by Chapman,[4] was ingenious & acceptable.

The part in a literary discussion by Mason,[5] son of the eminent lawyer, was an excellent performance.

[1] Rev. George F. Simmons, born in Boston, March 24, 1814; died in Concord, Sept. 5, 1855.

[2] Born in Boston, July 20, 1811; died in Cambridgeport, Nov. 30, 1869. The conference was with Josiah G. Abbott and Albert H. Nelson, on "The Comparative Influence of Natural Scenery, the Institutions of Society, and Individual Genius on Taste."

[3] Rev. Charles K. True, D.D., born in Portland, Me., August 14, 1809; died in Brooklyn, N. Y., June 20, 1878.

[4] Richard M. Chapman, born in Boston, Jan. 3, 1813; died in Biddeford, Me., July 14, 1879. His theme was "The Causes of Ill Health in Literary Men."

[5] Rev. Charles Mason, D.D., born in Portsmouth, N. H., July 25, 1812; died in Boston, March 23, 1862. The discussion was with John S. Dwight, on "English Biography and French Memoirs." A memoir of Dr. Mason, by Andrew P. Peabody, is in Proceedings, vol. vii. pp. 104–114.

The II^d oration, by Brooks,[1] was good.

The I^st oration, by Dorr,[2] fully sustained his standing in the class.

Fay [3] was well approved in an English oration for the Master's degree, "On Radicalism."

The valedictory, by Cunningham,[4] was well received.

There were 67 graduates.

Dr. Ware prayed 2 minutes.

Of the Corporation, Dr. Porter was absent from indisposition. Judge Jackson attended but part of the exercises. The Overseers now consist of 80, of whom 37 C. scholars. Present 32, of whom C. scholars 21 [5] . . .

We arrived at the hall at a little past IV P. M. Professor Chase, of the Baptist Institution, Newton, asked the blessing. The Rev. Mr. Taylor, Methodist minister in Boston, returned thanks.

I set St. Martin's, the 20^th time, to the usual psalm, LXXVIII^th in Belknap's version. I had taken pains to get one in each hall to beat time. We thus succeeded in singing more in unison than has been common.

The oldest graduate I saw at Commencement was Laban Wheaton, of 1774.[6] The oldest clergyman was Professor Dr. Ware. I recognized the following only as my seniors at college.[7] . . . So that there were but 18 who stand before me on the Catalogue. Of these, 7 in italicks, viz. 4 in office, 3 out of office. In my 7 contemporary classes there were 19 present. Of these, 8 in italicks, viz. 5 in office, 3 out of office.[8] . . .

There were accordingly present of those in italicks, 88. Of these, 69 were Cambridge scholars. Of these, 9 out of office, 61 in office. My seniors, 7; my juniors, 62. Of the 88 in italicks at Commencement, Liberal, 68; Orthodox, 7; Baptists, 8; Episcopalians, 3; Methodists, 2 = 88.

By my computation there are 313 alive before me in the Catalogue, & 1592 after me, + 1 = alive in Catalogue, 1906.

[1] Rev. Charles T. Brooks, born in Salem, June 20, 1813; died in Newport, R. I., June 14, 1883. His oration was on "The Love of Truth — a Practical Principle."

[2] James A. Dorr, born in Boston, June 8, 1812; died there, Feb. 18, 1869. His theme was "The Progress of Man."

[3] Rev. Charles Fay, of the class of 1829, born in Cambridge, July 21, 1808; died in New York, Nov. 6, 1888. His subject was "Radicalism."

[4] Dr. Edward L. Cunningham, of the class of 1829.

[5] The names of those present are given.

[6] *Paine Wingate* has been the first alive in the Catalogue for the four last Commencements, viz., 1829, 1830, 1831, 1832, since the decease of Nath. Lothrop, M.D., Plymouth, Oct., 1828, Æt. 91. — *Note by Dr. Pierce.*

[7] Here follow 28 names, including 10 "cotemporaries."

[8] Here follow more statistics of his "contemporary classes," and two more lists of names.

There are 432 dead after me, Com. 1832.
416 last year.

16 died the last year.

Before me, 84	In office, 39	Out of office, 45
After me, 230	In office, 167	Out of office, 63
1	1	
315	207	108

Before me, 23 alone. 16 have colleagues = 39
After me, 159 alone. 8 have colleagues = 167
182 alone. 24 have colleagues.
1
207

There were present 21 of the class of 1802, the most famous for class meetings of any class which has been graduated.

Of those in italicks before me,[1] . . . 39 have a pastoral charge with & without colleagues.

Of those who officiate alone, 11 O. Cong^{ts}; 11 L. do.; 1 E. Of those who have colleagues, 9 O. Cong^{ts}; 7 L. do. Of those without past. charges, 9 O. Cong^{ts}; 10 L. do. Of those who have left p'g, 8 O. Cong^{ts}; 17 L. do.; 1 E. = 84.

Of those who still preach, without or with colleagues, 29 O.; 28 L. Have parishes, do., 20 O.; 18 L.; 1 E.

Summary of those italicized in the Catalogue.

In the Catalogue, 29 Aug. 1832, in italicks alive, 315. Of these, 207 in office; 108 out of office = 315.

Of the 207 in office, there are 68 Orthodox Cong^{s}; 118 Liberal do.; 16 Episcopalians; 3 Baptists; 1 Swedenborgian; 1 Universalist = 207.

Of the 207, 183 are alone + 24 have colleagues = 207.

Of the 108 out of office, 34 have left preaching + 74 preach = 108. Of the 34 who have left preaching, 23 L. + 9 O. + 1 B. + 1 E. = 34.

Of the 74 who preach without a pastoral charge, 33 are Liberal Congregationalists, 33 Orthodox, 6 Episcopalians, 2 Baptists = 74.

[1833.]

On Wednesday, 28 August, I attended my XLIXth Commencement at Harvard University.

The day was cold, dry, and exceedingly dusty, as it had rained but moderately for 3 weeks.

The previous business was transacted in the Library, so that the procession started from Harvard Hall as the clock struck X.

[1] Here follow their names.

On entering the house the band of musick which had preceded the procession played a lively air.

When order was observed, Prof. Ware, Sen^r, made an appropriate prayer of 4 minutes.

The exercises of the graduating class, taken as a whole, might be considered as sustaining the rank of mediocrity.

The II^d English oration was thought to evince most talent. It was by Torrey.[1]

The III^d oration, by Whiting,[2] on enthusiasm, was probably the most eloquent.

Some, however, assigned the palm to Welch,[3] in a literary discussion on "The Poet of a Civilized Age."

Webster,[4] son of the celebrated Daniel Webster, performed a part in the lowest conference to good acceptance.

Fisher Ames Harding[5] gave a sound disquisition, "On what does the Security of our Institutions depend?"

The concluding oration of the Bachelors, by Bowen,[6] was a sober, chaste performance. The manner of his bidding adieu to the old meetinghouse, as this was to be the last Commencement observed in it, was peculiarly touching to those whose associations with it were the strongest.

The English oration of the Masters, by Hopkinson,[7] was ingenious, but poorly committed. He took a feeling notice of Penniman, who had died while studying divinity.

The valedictory, by Andrews,[8] was a mixture of the serious, the jocose, and the ludicrous, well written and delivered.

Concluding prayer by Dr. Ware, 2 min.

At a few minutes past III the procession moved to Commons Hall. Dr. Homer asked the blessing; & Dr. Wainwright, as a clergyman of distinction, from New York, returned thanks. He is an Episcopal clergyman.

I set the LXXVIII^th Psalm, the 21^st time, to St. Martin's. There

[1] Henry W. Torrey. His oration was entitled "De Mortuis nil nisi Bonum."

[2] William Whiting, born in Concord, March 3, 1813; died in Roxbury, June 29, 1873.

[3] Charles A. Welch.

[4] Fletcher Webster, born in Boston, July 23, 1813; died at Bull Run, Va., August 29, 1862. He had part in a conference with George I. Crafts and David S. Greenough, on "Common Sense, Genius, and Learning; their Characteristics, Comparative Value, and Success."

[5] Born in Dover, Jan. 23, 1811; died in Detroit, August 4, 1846.

[6] Francis Bowen, born in Charlestown, Sept. 8, 1811; died in Cambridge, Jan. 21, 1890. His topic was "The Spirit of Reform."

[7] Thomas Hopkinson, of the class of 1830. His theme was "The Spirit of Ancient and Modern Education."

[8] Benjamin H. Andrews, of the class of 1830, born in Boston in 1811; died in Philadelphia, Penn., Sept. 21, 1847.

was a general complaint that it was pitched too high, though by beating time in the 4 halls we sang very nearly in unison.

The oldest graduate whom I saw at Commencement was Laban Wheaton, 1774. He was the oldest last year.

The oldest clergyman, Jonathan Homer, D.D., of Newton, 1777. He was the oldest, 1831.

The Hon. Paine Wingate has been the oldest alive in the Catalogue for the five last Commencements, viz. since Oct., 1828.

The Board of Overseers now consists of 81 members. The following only I recognized as present[1] . . . *Ex of.* members, 15; elected members, 20 = 35. Of these, 25 were alumni.

No strangers of high distinction were present. There were fewer in the meetinghouse, fewer in the hall, fewer on the Common, than I have ever seen before on such an occasion. But few parties were given. It was peculiarly orderly and quiet.

The Catalogue was printed this year, but with such haste that it is feared many inaccuracies will be detected.

On the 2 days I saw the following seniors & contemporaries.[2] Of these, 12 in italicks, 8 in office, 4 out of office. Of my contemporaries, 4 in office, 2 out of office = 6.

Others in italicks whom I saw[3] . . . Others in Register[4] . . . Also, Prof. Goodrich, Y. C.; Prof. Wolsey, do.; Prof. Chase, Newton; Prof. Mulligan, N. Y.

There were accordingly present 77 alumni in italicks, viz.: Liberal, 61; Episcopalians, 5; Orthodox, 11 = 77. Others in Register, Liberal, 7; Episcopalians, 2; Orthodox, 1; Baptists, 2 = 12. Total in minr 89 + 1 = 90.

No honorary degrees conferred this year.

Of 21 before me who officiate alone,	10 L. + 10 O. + 1 E. = 21	37
Of 16 colleagues before me,	7 L. + 9 O. = 16	
Of 15 out of office who occasionally preach,	8 L. + 7 O. = 15	
Of 26 who have left preaching,	17 L. + 9 O. = 26	
Of the 52 who preach,	25 L. + 26 O. + 1 E. = 52	
Of the 36 who have a pastoral charge,	17 L. + 18 O. + 1 E. = 36	

Accordingly of the 90 whom I saw at Commencement this year, including myself, who preach or have preached, 69 were Liberal Cong., 12 Orthodox do., 7 Episcopa., 2 Baptists = 90.[5] . . .

[1] Here follow their names.

[2] Here follow 39 names.

[3] Seventy-seven names.

[4] Twelve names.

[5] Here follow four classified lists of the 78 names "Of those in italicks before me."

[1834.]

On Wednesday, 27 August, 1834, I attended my fiftieth Commencement at Harvard University, the first in the new meetinghouse,[1] L^th^ Commencement.

There were but 68 Commencements in the old meetinghouse, which has been recently demolished, the first being in 1758. There was no Commencement in 1764, on account of the small-pox; none from 1773 to 1781, 7 years, on account of the Revolutionary War; leaving 68 years in which there were Commencements. 49 I attended in said house, leaving 19 only which I did not attend.

The day was cool, and the dust would have been uncomfortable had not the precaution been used of wetting the streets near the University.

Business was transacted so seasonably that we were enabled to form the procession at X, the time appointed.

Of 80 present members of the Board of Overseers, 35 only were present to do business. Of these, 22 were sons of Harvard.

A commodious stage was erected in front, and by the sides of the pulpit, to which all who formed the procession rushed, without distinction of claims. A Brookline schoolmaster, who is still an undergraduate, I recognised among the number.

The house is so much larger and more convenient than was the former that all who desired were accommodated.

Dr. Ware opened the meeting with an appropriate prayer.

The first exercise in the house by an undergraduate was the salutatory oration, in Latin, by Thaddeus Clap,[2] of Dorchester, III^d^ cousin to my children. It was a happy specimen of Latinity well delivered.

Harrington,[3] of Roxbury, in an essay on "Varieties of Genius," was perhaps as acceptable to the audience in general as any of his class.

The general fault was, many of the speakers spoke too low, and many required too much prompting. The most prevalent cause doubtless was that the class had been in such agitation as to leave it doubtful whether there would be a Commencement till it was too late to prepare themselves suitably.

This class had been as regular as classes in general till a rebellion occurring in the lower classes they needlessly and imprudently interfered and issued a circular implicating the government and vindicating the rebels. After patient examination of facts, the Faculty voted to

[1] New church, 86 feet long and 70 feet wide. Old church, 70 feet long and 50 feet wide. — *Note by Dr. Pierce.*

[2] Born in Dorchester, May 11, 1811; died there, July 10, 1861.

[3] Rev. Henry F. Harrington, born in Roxbury, August 15, 1814; died in Keene, N. H., Sept. 19, 1887.

deprive 7 of their degrees. The class consisted last October of 53. For various reasons the following did not receive degrees this day [1] . . .

At a meeting of the Overseers, just before Commencement, President Quincy made a report in full of the disorders among the students & of the remedies applied by the Faculty. This document was committed to a com^tee, of which J. Q. Adams was chairman, who made a report which was unanimously accepted, & is now in the press, which, it is said, will exhibit the mischiefs of the rebellion & the judicious measures adopted in a striking but just point of view.

Eames,[2] who had prepared the English oration for the second degree, failed by indisposition, being seized on his arrival at Boston with a violent fit of asthma, which required medical prescription.

Simmons [3] delivered a Latin valedictory of 15 minutes, which, I agree with those who maintain, was the happiest specimen of elocution ever exhibited on our boards, within the memory of the present generation.

Of the class of 66, 5 of whom have died, 25 took the degree of A.M. in course.

The procession moved to the hall at about III. Dr. Holmes, 1783, Yale, the 3^d time asked the blessing, & Dr. Gray, 1790, the 2^d time gave thanks.

I set the LXXVIIIth Psalm the 22^d time to St. Martin's, having the assistance of the band of instrumental musick.

Strangers of distinction present, Gov. Tyler, Senator of Virginia; Mr. Mangum, Senator of North Carolina; & Mr. Ewing, Senator of Ohio.

The oldest graduate whom I saw was Dr. Spooner, of 1778; the oldest clergyman in office, Dr. Ware, 1785. Dr. Holmes, out of office, was of 1783, at Yale.

Paine Wingate, 1759, has been the oldest alive on our Catalogue for the 6 last Commencements.

On the two days I saw the following seniors & contemporaries who have received degrees at Harvard University [4] . . .

Present, alumni in italicks, 77. In office, 56; out of office, 21 = 77; others in office, 14. Have been clergymen, 91.

Accordingly of the 70 officiating clergymen at Commencement this year, 59 Liberal + 5 Orthodox + 4 Epis. + 1 Bap. + 1 Chris. = 70.

[1] Dr. Pierce gives the names and places of residence of 16 members of the class, of whom all but two subsequently received their degrees or were restored to the class list.

[2] Charles Eames, of the class of 1831, born in New Braintree, March 20, 1812; died in Washington, D. C., March 16, 1867.

[3] William H. Simmons, of the class of 1831.

[4] Here follow the usual classified lists of names.

D.D. this year. Rev. Francis Parkman, Boston; Rev. Henry Ware, Jr., Rev. John G. Palfrey, Professors in the Divinity School, Cam.

[1835.]

On Wednesday, 26 August, I attended my LI^st^ Commencement at Cambridge.

At about X in the morning, when the procession had arrived at the meetinghouse, it began to rain, with the wind S.W., and rained, so that the streets became very muddy, principally throughout the day.

Of the 51 Commencements I remember none on which there was rain but in 1796 & 1798. If this be the case, there has not been a rainy Commencement for 37 years.

The salutatory oration, by Blake,[1] was very imperfectly committed. The orator required far more prompting than I ever remember. This made his oration appear to great disadvantage.

An English poem, by Winslow,[2] "A Vision of Ambition," was well received.

Geo. Cabot,[3] grandson of a distinguished statesman of the same name, in a literary discussion on "The Resources & Encouragements of Elegant Literature in the Old & New World," was far the best speaker of the day.

The III English oration by Hoar,[4] on "The Christian Philosophy — its Political Application," evinced sound thought.

The concluding oration, by Shackford,[5] of 20 minutes, was good; but not so preëminent as is commonly expected from the concluding orator. I should place it as a mental effort below the oration of Hoar.

The Master's English oration, by Brooks,[6] was sensible, but being 38 minutes long, & begun after III, it was tedious to most of the hearers.

The valedictory, by Simmons,[7] of 14 minutes, was finely written & spoken.

The degree of D.D. was conferred on the Rev. Jona. Mayhew Wainwright, of Boston, & on Rev. James Walker, of Charlestown.

The degree of LL.D. was conferred on Hon. John Pickering &

[1] H. G. O. Blake.

[2] Rev. Benjamin D. Winslow, born in Boston, Feb. 13, 1815; died in Burlington, N. J., Nov. 21, 1839.

[3] Born in Boston, Feb. 10, 1817; died there, July 17, 1850.

[4] E. R. Hoar.

[5] Rev. Charles C. Shackford. His theme was "Popularity."

[6] Charles T. Brooks, of the class of 1832. His subject was "Decision of Character as demanded in our Day and Country."

[7] George F. Simmons, of the class of 1832.

Hon. Edward Everett, sons of Harvard, & on Hon. Smith Thompson, Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States.

The degree of A.B. was conferred on 54 in course; & of A.M. on 24 in course; and of M.D. on 19; and of LL.B. on 3.

As we entered the house such a general rushing was there upon the stage, and so many young men took their stations upon it, who had no manner of right, that in order to secure seats for Doctors Cox & Hoby, 2 distinguished representatives of the Baptist denomination from England, I was obliged to take my seat below, in the first pew, before the pews assigned to the Bachelors.

We left the church for dinner at a little past IV. I procured a seat for Dr. Cox at the upper table, near Pres. Quincy & next to President Day.

By my suggestion to the President Dr. Cox asked the blessing.

By my suggestion also, as thanks are commonly returned after dinner when there is great hilarity, and it is difficult to restore order, the usual psalm, LXXVIII, was substituted. By my care to procure a suitable person at the head table in each of the 4 halls to beat the time, St. Martin's, which I set the 23d time, went well.

Of 80 present members of the Board of Overseers, I ascertained but 26 to be present, 18 of whom were sons of Harvard.

Dr. Ware opened & closed the meeting with prayer.

The oldest graduate & clergyman I saw, was Rev. Jonathan Homer, D.D., of Newton; that is, he was the first on the Catalogue present. His classmate, Rev. H. Porter, of Rye, N. H., who also was present, was 80 last March. Dr. Homer was 76, 15 April.

Hon. Paine Wingate, 1759, born 14 May, 1739, has been the first alive on the Catalogue for the last 7 Commencements.

But one classmate, Rev. N. B. Whitney,[1] present [2] . . .

Summary of those supposed to be alive, italicized in the Catalogue, Com., 1835.

The whole number in italics alive is 314. Of these 199 in office, 115 out of office = 314.

Of the 199 in office, 176 are alone, 23 have colleagues.

Of the 199 in office, 104 are Liberal Congregationalists; 65 Orthodox do.; 24 Episcopalians; 4 Baptists; 1 Swedenborgian; 1 Universalist = 199.

[1] I had been informed that he was present; but I have since learned that he came to Boston for the purpose of attending Commencement, but that illness confined him to the city; so that this is the first Commencement since we were graduated at which no classmate was present. — *Note by Dr. Pierce.*

[2] This record is immediately followed by a list of the speakers for the Boylston prizes, and an account of the anniversary exercises before the Phi Beta Kappa Society. The lists of persons whom he saw on the two days are given afterward, with the usual analyses.

Of the 115 out of office, 76 preach, 39 not = 115.

Of the 76 out of office who preach, 46 Liberal; 23 Orthodox; 5 Episcopalians; 2 Baptists = 76.

Of the 39 who have left preaching, 26 L.; 11 O.; 1 E.; 1 B. = 39.

Alive before me on Commencement, 1835 . . .	251
	1
do. after me	1647
Alive at this Com. . . .	1899
Deaths after me	520

[1836.]

On Wednesday, 31 August, I attended my LII[d] Commencement at Cambridge.

The weather was cold, thermometer at sunrise standing at 49°.[1] It was also exceedingly dry, as it had rained but moderately for the last 23 days. It would have been very dusty, had not the precaution been used to sprinkle the streets near the University buildings throughout the day.

The procession moved from the library to the meetinghouse, and arrived in such season that the exercises began at X¼.

After a voluntary by the band, Dr. Ware offered a short and devout prayer.

There were but 16 performers of the candidates for the first degree, and 2 for the second.

The exercises as a whole were below mediocrity. The speaking was for the most part tame and monotonous.

A dissertation by Minot,[2] grandson of that fine scholar, Geo. R. Minot, was decidedly the best exercise throughout the day.

The concluding oration of the Masters, by Lovering,[3] appeared to be ingeniously written, but it was spoken in too low a tone to be heard by the audience in general.

It was but a little after II. P. M. when the performances closed; prayer by Dr. Ware.

Three Presidents of Colleges were present, besides the President of the day; viz., President Duer, of Columbia College, N. Y.; Pres. Humphrey, of Amherst; and President Wayland, of Brown University. There were but few other strangers of distinction.

[1] The Com[t], 28 Aug., 1816, was colder. See mem. — *Note by Dr. Pierce.*

[2] William Minot. His theme was "The Interest attached to Places where distinguished Persons have dwelt, or which Poets have commemorated."

[3] Joseph Lovering, of the class of 1833.

President Humphrey asked the blessing. The singing of the usual psalm was substituted for the benediction, as it was last year for the first time. I had taken pains to employ a person at the head table in each hall to beat the time, so that St. Martin's, which in Tate and Brady's version of the LXXVIII^th^ Psalm was sung, went well. I set the tune for the 24th time.

Of the 81 Overseers, I ascertained but 26 to be present. Of these, 16 were sons of Harvard.

There were 39 admitted to the degree of A.B.; 18 to A.M. in course; 5 out of course; 17 to the degree of LL.B.; 20 to the degree of M.D.

Ward Chipman, Chief Justice of New Brunswick; Lewis Cass, Esq., Secretary at War; & Charles Joseph Anthony Mittermair, Privy Councillor of the Duke of Baden, LL.D.

Rev. Nathaniel Langdon Frothingham, of Boston, & Rev. John Brazer, of Salem, D.D.

The oldest graduate present was Laban Wheaton, of 1774. He has been the oldest twice before, in 1832 & 1833. The oldest clergyman was Dr. Ripley, 1776, of Concord, who drove himself in a sulky from home that morning, though he was 85 on 1 May last. He was the oldest clergyman once before, viz. in 1830.

Hon. Paine Wingate, of Stratham, N. H., 97 last May, has been the first on the Catalogue alive for the last 8 Commencements.

Be it noted, that this is the first Commencement which I ever attended in Cambridge, in which I saw not a single person drunk in the hall or out of it. There were the fewest present I ever remember, doubtless on account of the bis-centennial celebration to be observed next week[1] . . .

After me in italics. Alone, 168; colleagues, 13 = 181 in the ministry; occasionally preach, 59 = 240 who preach.

Of the 168 alone, 93 L. + 46 O. + 22 E. + 5 B. + 1 S. + 1 U. = 168.

Of the 13 colleagues, 8 L. + 4 O. + 1 B. = 13.

Of the 59 occ^y^ preach, 29 L. + 18 O. + 10 E. + 2 B. = 59.

Of the 16 left preach^g^ 11 L. + 5 O. = 16.

By my computation there are alive on the Catalogue of this year, before me 240, after me 1664, myself 1 = 1905 alive on the Catalogue.

There are 548 dead after me.

There stand on the Catalogue after me, 2213. There stand on the Catalogue before me, 3172. Number of alumni, 5385.

[1] Here follow several pages containing the names of the competitors for the prizes, accounts of the meeting of the alumni and of the anniversary of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, and the usual lists of names of persons present on the two days.

Summary of those italicised in the Catalogue of 1836.

The whole number alive italicised is 317. Of these 206 are in office, and 111 out of office. Of the 206 in office, 113 Liberal Congregationalists; 62 Orthodox do.; 23 Episcopalians; 6 Baptists; 1 Swedenborgian; 1 Universalist. Of the 206 in office, 179 are alone, 27 have colleagues. Of the 111 out of office, 73 occasionally preach, 38 have left preaching. Of the 73 occasional preachers, 36 L. + 25 O. + 10 E. + 2 B. = 73. Of the 38 left preaching 25 L. + 13 O. = 38. Of the 27 colleagues, 14 L. + 12 O. + 1 B. = 27.

[1837.]

On Wednesday, 30 August, I attended my LIII^{d} Commencement at Harvard University.

After midnight previous it rained in showers. It rained as the meetinghouse was opened. It slacked when the procession moved, at X o'clock. But it rained with great violence while we were dining in the halls, and continued the rest of the afternoon. This makes but 4 rainy days which I remember of the 53 Commencements I have attended, viz., in 1796, 1798, 1835, & 1837.

The procession arrived at the church about X.

After a voluntary on the organ, Dr. Ware, Sen^{r}, opened the exercises with a short & solemn prayer.

The salutatory oration, by Russell,[1] was well written and delivered. . . .

A dissertation by Richard H. Dana,[2] son of R. H. Dana and grandson of the former Judge Francis Dana, was on the unique topic, "Heaven lies about us in our Infancy." He is a handsome youth, and spoke well. But his composition was of that Swedenborgian, Coleridgian, and dreamy cast which it requires a peculiar structure of mind to understand, much more to relish.

Hayward,[3] who wrote a drama which was performed last winter at the Tremont Theatre, in a philosophical discussion "On the Expediency of making Authorship a Profession," distinguished himself equally as a writer and a speaker.

The III^{d} English oration of Dall[4] was popularly written and spoken "On Public Recreations." . . .

The II^{d} English oration, on "Empiricism," was overstrained. If the orator had not tried to do so well, he would have done better. Wheeler.[5]

[1] Charles T. Russell.

[2] Born in Cambridge, August 7, 1815; died in Rome, Italy, Jan. 6, 1882.

[3] Charles Hayward, born in Boston, Sept. 8, 1817; died there, Nov. 5, 1838.

[4] Rev. C. H. A. Dall, born in Baltimore, Feb. 12, 1816; died in Calcutta, India, July 18, 1886.

[5] Charles S. Wheeler, born in Lincoln, Dec. 19, 1816; died in Leipsic, Germany, June 13, 1843.

The part in a deliberative discussion, on "Whether Patriotism was inculcated to Excess in the Ancient Republics?" was considered by good judges the best written and spoken exercise of the day. HILDRETH[1] & Morison.[2]

The concluding oration of the Bachelors, by Eustis,[3] on "The Literary Profession," evinced good plain common sense, and was well received.

The Master's English oration, on "Moral Effort," by Thomas Cushing,[4] was a respectable performance.

The Latin valedictory, by Felton,[5] of 10 minutes, was well adapted to the occasion.

This Commencement I should rank above mediocrity. The parts in general were well sustained. The speakers were mostly heard. None had a prompter. For the first time they carried their parts rolled up in their left hands. Two or three only were obliged to unrol them to refresh their memories. The concluding oration for the first time within my memory contained not only no names, but even no mention, of benefactors.

There were but 4 failures in performance, two in the first conference, one in the second conference, and one dissertation.

There were 18 performers in the class of Bachelors, and 2 in that of the Masters, = 20. The degree of A.B. was given to 46; A.M. in course to 12; out of course to 2; LL.B. to 10; M.D. to 16; LL.D. to James Lewis Petigru, Charleston, S. C., & D. A. White, Salem; D.D., to Rev. Samuel Gilman, Rev. Alvan Lamson, Rev. Convers Francis.

The oldest graduate present was Dr. Cheever, M.D., of 1779, viz. 58 years out of college. The oldest clergyman, Dr. Ware, of 1785, 52 years from college. He has been the oldest clergyman once before, viz. in 1832.

Hon. Paine Wingate, of Stratham, N. H., born 26 May, N. S., 1739, and a graduate of 1759, has been for 9 Commencements the oldest surviving graduate.

This year there are 82 Overseers of H. U. I ascertained but 29 of these to be present, of whom 19 are sons of Harvard.

At about $11\frac{1}{2}$ the procession moved to the hall. Of strangers of distinction there were present Judge Daggett, 1783, Yale, of New

[1] Samuel T. Hildreth, born in Exeter, N. H., Nov. 17, 1817; died in Somerville, Feb. 11, 1839.

[2] Horace Morison, born in Peterborough, N. H., Sept. 13, 1810; died there, August 5, 1870.

[3] Dr. John F. Eustis, born in Norfolk, Va., Nov. 3, 1817; died in Philadelphia, Penn., Sept. 30, 1844.

[4] Thomas Cushing, of the class of 1834.

[5] Samuel M. Felton, of the class of 1834, born in West Newbury, July 17, 1809; died in Philadelphia, Penn., Jan. 24, 1889.

Haven; 3 Presidents of Colleges, viz., President Bates, H. U. 1800, of Middlebury, Vt., President Jasper Adams, B. U. 1815, of Charleston, S. C., & President Mark Hopkins, W. C. 1824, of Williams College, Williamstown. The latter as the greatest stranger asked the blessing. Instead of thanks, as in former times, we sang the LXXVIII. Psalm, I setting the tune the 25th time. This was the 3d anniversary in which this psalm has been the substitute for thanks according to former custom. By the precaution to employ a person in each hall to beat the time for his hall, we kept pretty good time.[1]

Wine was furnished at dinner, as well as cider. As honey or molasses attracts flies and other insects, so these inebriating liquors allure graduates addicted to such drinks, particularly the intemperate, to come and drink their fill.

There was pretty good order till the President and suite had retired. Afterwards "certain lewd fellows of the baser sort" congregated in the North Hall, and choosing a drunken moderator, they continued for a long time to exhaust the remaining bottles which had not been emptied by the regular company. They sang songs, clapped hands, and shouted, so as to expose themselves, and the credit of our University, to the notice of some strangers of distinction who were within hearing of such disorders.

Nor can such disorders surprise any one who considers that there are still remains of former intemperate excesses among the sons of Harvard, even in these temperance times. I am credibly informed that considerable numbers[2] spent the whole night of the last valedictory of the seniors, viz., 18 July last, in drinking, carousing, and shouting within the College yard, to the great annoyance of the inhabitants even at a considerable distance, and were dispersed only by the light of the day. For "they that be drunken are drunken in the night." The Rev. Samuel Ripley informed me that one class supped in Waltham, just before Commencement, and were so irregular as to keep his family and others awake most of the night.

Nor can this be strange when our youth are early indoctrinated in the love of wine by the Fathers of the City of Boston. On the very week before Commencement the boys most distinguished in the Boston schools were invited to dine in public with the Governor, Mayor, School Comtee, and other dignitaries, and were furnished with an abun-

[1] On a subsequent page Dr. Pierce makes this entry: "At Commencement dinner Pres. Quincy gave, 'His Excellency the Governor. The ornament of the College is the head of the State.' By the Governor, 'The Civil Republic & the Republic of Letters. A liberal support by the State of places of education, & a just support of the State by educated men.'"

[2] One of the class assured me that $79 were expended in drink. — *Note by Dr. Pierce.*

dant supply of champagne wine. It is even said that one of the boys wrote an ode for the occasion, *more Horatiano*, in praise of wine. ——— of Dorchester, formerly a resident in Boston, declares that a son who became intemperate first got drunk in thus dining with the Fathers of the City.

I am assured that every University in New England but that at Cambridge discards wine from public occasions. Could this improvement be introduced at Harvard University, its sober friends would not be subjected to the mortification of seeing one of its most precious anniversaries desecrated by such disgraceful orgies as are now too often witnessed.[1] . . .

Summary of those alive who are italicised, Commencement, 1837. The whole number alive italicised is 318. Of these 203 are in office, and 115 out of office. Of the 203 in office, 112 are Liberal Congregationalists; 51 Orthodox do.; 7 Baptists; 2 Presbyterians; 2 Universalists; 1 Swedenborgian. Of the 203 in office, 173 are alone, 30 have colleagues. Of the 115 out of office, 82 occasionally preach, 33 have left p'g.

Of the 82 occasional preachers, 42 L. + 29 O. + 10 E. + 1 B. = 82.

Of the 33 left preaching, 24 L. + 9 O. = 33.

Of the 30 colleagues, 16 L. + 8 O. + 3 E. + 3 B. = 30.

By my computation there were on the Catalogue alive before me 216, after me 1777 + 1 = 1994 alive on the Catalogue.

562 dead after me.

On the Catalogue before me 3172, after me 2259 + 1 = total on Catalogue, 5432.

[1838.]

On Wednesday, 29 August, 1838, I attended my LIV. Commencement at Cambridge.

The day was delightfully cool, and the roads were free from dust, as it had rained on the previous Monday evening.

A long procession was formed in the Library in such season that we arrived at the meetinghouse at five minutes past X.

After a voluntary on the organ Dr. Ware offered an appropriate prayer of about 5 minutes.

1. The Latin salutatory oration, by Atkins,[2] was a respectable exercise. 9 min.

2. A conference, "Architecture, Music, & Poetry, as Expressions of National Character."

[1] Here follow the names of the competitors for the prizes for declamation, an account of the anniversary of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, and the usual classified lists of persons whom he saw.

[2] Benjamin F. Atkins, born in Boston, Oct. 10, 1817; died in London, England, June 9, 1885.

William Aspinwall, Brookline, 5.
Darius Richmond Brewer, Dorchester, 5.[1]
Charles Devens, Cambridge, 5.

Aspinwall is the only son of Col. Thomas Aspinwall, Consul at London. The father was the 3d scholar in the class of 1804. . . .

6. The sixth part was a poem by Story,[2] son of the Judge, 16 minutes long. It appeared to have no definite subject, but seemed to interest the audience. The notice which he took of the Cherokee Indians, just expelled by the cupidity of Georgia, sanctioned by our Government, from their homes, the land of their fathers, was touching.

12. A dissertation, "The Neglect of Physical Education," by Wm. Parsons Atkinson, born in Brookline, was a lovely exercise both in composition and elocution.

13. A political discussion, "Whether Sumptuary Laws are consistent with a Comprehensive and Enlightened Policy?" by Coolidge[3] and Ware, 2d.,[4] was well sustained, particularly by the former, who maintained the affirmative, and who had been the valedictory orator of the class when the vacation commenced.

16. The IIId. English oration, "Aids to the Pursuits of Literature," by Lippitt,[5] evinced sound sense & respectable elocution.

17. A forensic disputation, "Whether Conscientious Scruples, in all Cases, should be held paramount to the Law of the Land?" James Robinson Peirce,[6] James Lloyd Wellington. The former in point of intellect and sound argument had not his superior in the class. His father was a mason, John Peirce, who married the daughter of Major James Robinson. The latter, who also did well, is son of the Rev. Charles Wellington, of Templeton.

18. The second oration, by Eustis,[7] "Intolerance towards the Infirmities of Genius," appeared well. He is son of Gen. Abraham Eustis, class of 1804. Three of the sons had degrees this day, Horatio Sprague Eustis, 1830, out of course, A.M., and Frederic Augustus Eustis,[8] A.M., in course. The latter performed the Latin valedictory of his class at this time, making two of the family who performed this day.

[1] Born in Dorchester, June 23, 1819; died in Westerly, R. I., March 18, 1881.
[2] William W. Story.
[3] Rev. J. I. T. Coolidge, D.D.
[4] George F. Ware, born in Cambridge, Feb. 14, 1820; died in San Francisco, Cal., Sept. 28, 1849.
[5] Rev. George W. Lippitt.
[6] Born in Dorchester, Feb. 13, 1818; died there, July 25, 1842.
[7] Henry L. Eustis, born in Boston, Feb. 1, 1819; died in Cambridge, Jan. 11, 1885.
[8] Of the class of 1835. Born in Newport, R. I., June 12, 1816; died in Beaufort, S. C., June 29, 1871.

20. The I^st^ yet concluding oration of the Bachelors, "Life in the Chivalrous Ages & in our own Time," by Rufus Ellis,[1] gave lucid proof that this young man deserved the distinction conferred upon him.

The oration for the Master's degree was entitled "Democracy's Banner," by Chs. Chauncy Shackford,[2] Portsmouth, N. H. The drift seemed to be that Christianity levels all distinctions. This young man has been to the Southward since taking his first degree, and, it is said, has become Orthodox. When he left college it was his purpose to have entered the Divinity College, at Cambridge. His course will now be different. His oration was 28 minutes long.

The Latin valedictory, by Eustis, was 12 minutes long, humorous, but not spoken loud enough.

The assignments to the Bachelors were 32, 2 only of whom, viz., Worthen in the 2^d^ conference, & Rotch in the first forensic, failed.

The 2 performances for the Masters made 32, in the whole, who performed. This was the 5^th^ Commencement in the new church, which was more crowded than at any former Commencement. The performances as a whole were highly respectable, none very greatly distinguished, & none mean. The parts were well committed & well spoken.

Leaving the church at III½, after a session of 5½ hours, we repaired to the hall. I procured seats at the head table for the Rev. Jonathan Homer & Rev. Huntington Porter, both of 1777. The Rev. Dr. Homer asked the blessing. Instead of thanks, as in former times, for the 4th anniversary, we sang the LXXVIII^th^ Psalm, I setting the tune the 26^th^ time. By appointing a person to beat time, at the head table in each of the IV halls, the tune went admirably well.

President Quincy having prepared a History of Harvard University in two vols. 8vo, & presented it to the Corporation for the benefit of the University, and the publishers agreeing to publish the work at first cost for the aid of indigent scholars, Judge Story desired me to provide that 4 persons should be selected to distribute subscription papers in each hall, to give every one an opportunity of subscribing for the work, and thus aiding the University. The four thus selected, who were to nominate 4 subagents for the 4 tables in each hall, were J. Pierce, Hon. L. Saltonstall, Dr. Bowditch, & Dr. Walker. We thus obtained subscriptions for more than 200 copies.

President Bates was at Commencement. This was the 2^d^ year in which no mention was required to be made of benefactors by the concluding orator of the Bachelors.

Hon. Paine Wingate, of Stratham, N. H., who was the oldest living graduate for 9 Commencements, having died 7 March last, lacking 79

[1] Rev. Rufus Ellis, D.D., born in Boston, Sept. 14, 1819; died in Liverpool, England, Sept. 23, 1885.

[2] Of the class of 1835.

days of 99 years, Samson Salter Blowers, of Halifax, born 22 March, 1742, is now the oldest, and a graduate of 1763.

The degree of A.B. was given to 65; A.M., in course, 24; A.M., out of course, 2; LL.B., 19; M.D., 26; LL.D., Hon. James T. Austin, Samuel Hoar, Leverett Saltonstall, 3; D.D., Rev. Abiel Abbot, Rev. Thomas Robbins, 2; A.M., Hon. Frederic Howes, William Coffin Harris, 2.

The first on the Catalogue, at Commencement, was Rev. Dr. Homer, of Newton, 1777, a graduate of 61 years. This is the 2d time of his being the first graduate present, the 4th time of his being the first clergyman, and the third time in which he has asked the blessing. He was born 15 April, 1759. Nevertheless his classmate Huntington Porter, who stands after him on the Catalogue, was born 27 March, 1755, and is accordingly 83 years, 5 months, and 2 days old. He was present at Commencement, and the day after.

This year there are 81 Overseers of Harvard University, of whom 39 are Cambridge graduates. Of these 39 only were at Commencement, of whom 29 were Cambridge graduates.

Notwithstanding the efforts of the friends of temperance, wine was furnished at dinner. There was nevertheless pretty good order in the hall, the most notorious drunkard, on such occasions, not being present. Though some drank freely of the wine, as considerable numbers of total abstinents were present, yet it is evident that the temperance reformation exerts a salutary control even over those who spurn at it as ultraism.

There was a meeting in the Chapel after dinner, & it was resolved, though with some opposition, to have an annual meeting of alumni. The circumstantials were referred to a comtee [1] . . .

In italics on the Catalogue. Present incumbents, 62 alone + 14 colleagues = 76.

Of all the attendants in italics, Liberal 66, Orthodox 15, Baptists 4, Episcopalians 2, Universalists 2, Christian 1 = 90.

Before me in italics alive, 4 alone, 11 colleagues = 15 in the ministry; 20 occasionally preach = 35 who preach; 15 have left preaching = 50 alive before me.

Before me, alone,	3 L. +	1 E.	= 4
colleagues,	5 L. +	6 O.	= 11
occ^{y} preach,	9 L. +	11 O.	= 20
left preaching,	10 L. +	5 O.	= 15
			50

Total alive before me, 204. Whole number alive in italics, 318.

[1] Dr. Pierce records the names of the ministers whom he saw at Commencement; but he omits the summary of deceased and living graduates.

[1839.]

On Wednesday, 28 August, 1839, I attended my LV. Commencement at Cambridge.

A slight shower the previous evening had somewhat laid the dust and cooled the air, which the day before had been excessively hot.

We arrived in the meetinghouse so as to commence the exercises at X¼.

Rev. Dr. Walker, of the Corporation, for the first time, introduced the solemnities with a peculiarly appropriate prayer; Dr. Codman said, the best he had ever heard on the occasion. Dr. Ware, who has for several years been the chaplain on this occasion, has been disabled by almost total blindness from officiating in public since the Commencement of 1838.

The salutatory oration was by Hurd,[1] son of the Rev. Isaac Hurd, of Exeter, who had the same part when he was graduated, in 1806.

William E. Townsend,[2] of Boston, in a conference on "Missionary Enterprises," was highly approved. 9 minutes.

Thomas Dawes, in a poem of 17 minutes, was popular. He was the best orator who officiated this day.

Pliny Earle Chase,[3] of Worcester, in a colloquy on establishing a University in the country rather than in a city. This Chase is from a family of Friends or Quakers, the first, it is believed, ever educated at our University.

The 10th exercise was "A Critical Dissertation. Greek & Roman Comedy." John Kebler.[4]

This young man was brought forward & patronized by the Rev. George Putnam, of Roxbury, under peculiar circumstances. He was the son of indigent parents, who, with numbers of their countrymen, had left Germany for America, & settled in Roxbury. Mr. Putnam attending the funeral of a German child, he was desired by an old German woman to see one whom she considered an extraordinary boy. When he was brought to Mr. Putnam, they were at a loss for a language by which they could interchange thoughts, as Mr. Putnam could not speak German, nor the boy English. At length the boy wrote to Mr. Putnam in Latin, which he at once answered; & before they parted an agreement was made that the boy should live in Mr. Putnam's family. Accordingly he was employed as a house servant. In

[1] Dr. Francis P. Hurd, born in Exeter, N. H., Feb. 2, 1820; died in Boston, Oct. 2, 1884.

[2] Born in Boston, August 20, 1820; died there, Nov. 17, 1866.

[3] Born in Worcester, August 18, 1820; died in Haverford, Penn., Dec. 17, 1886.

[4] Born in Subz am Neckar, Würtemberg, Feb. 1, 1819; died in Cincinnati, Ohio, April 4, 1885.

process of time the boy evinced such a taste for study, and made such rapid proficiency that Mr. Putnam resolved to give him the benefit of a public education. The first year he paid his expenses. After this, as I understand it, Eben. Francis, Esq., took him under his patronage and discharged the rest of his bills. He is a fine scholar, and promises to be a useful man.

The third oration, by Morison,[1] on "A Modern Canon of Criticism," was sound and judicious.

The second oration, by Edward Everett Hale, on the "Supposed Degeneracy of the Age," was well written & spoken. The young man is nephew of Gov. Everett.

The last & most honorable oration, "The Old Age of the Scholar," was by Eliot,[2] son of the late Wm. H. Eliot, of 1815, & grandson of Alden Bradford, Esq. He was born 22 Dec., 1821, and is unquestionably a remarkable youth. Yet, notwithstanding his scholarship, I understand he is immediately to enter the counting-room of Robert G. Shaw, and become a merchant.

For the Master's degree, Robert Bartlett[3] gave an oration of 36 minutes on "No good that is possible, but shall one day be real." This I suppose to be the Transcendentalism which is captivating to a few irregular genius's. But to me it was "like the tale of an idiot, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing."

The valedictory, in Latin, was by Samuel Breck Cruft,[4] 13 minutes, in the humorous strain common to this sort of oration.

The degree of A.B. was conferred on 61; A.M. in course 10; A.M. out of course, 5; LL.B., 34; M.D., 19; LL.D., John McLean & James Grahame, Esq.; D.D., Rev. F. W. P. Greenwood, Rev. Orville Dewey, Rev. G. R. Noyes.

In the hall Rev. Roswell Shurtleff, past Professor at Dartmouth College, asked the blessing. I set the tune the 27th time. By employing a person at each of the head tables to beat time, St. Martin's, in 5 stanzas of the LXXVIII. Psalm, went well, 5th anniv? substitute for thanks.

There were 33 assignments for the first & second degrees, of which 5 failed, being excused.

We left the hall at a little after III, Dr. Walker closing with a short and pertinent prayer.

The exercises, as a whole, were thought to have exceeded mediocrity.

There are now 81 Overseers. Of these 30 were present, of whom 23 were Cambridge graduates.

[1] N. H. Morison.

[2] Samuel Eliot.

[3] Of the class of 1836. Born in Plymouth, Oct. 8, 1818; died there, Sept. 25, 1843.

[4] Of the class of 1836.

The oldest graduate present was Hon. Elijah Paine, 1781; the oldest clergyman, Dr. Ware, 1785; I was the oldest who has the sole care of his parish, for the first time. Dr. Ware, the oldest clergyman, the 4th time. Dr. Shurtleff, who returned thanks, had been from Dartmouth College 42 years.

Wine was furnished at dinner. The result was, that several young men shared freely of the wine which remained after dinner, and were boisterous in their mirth.

After dinner the alumni met in the Chapel, and a comtee of 5 were chosen to prepare a plan for an annual meeting of the alumni, and submit it the next year. It was painful to see how small a number appeared to take interest in this project, the meeting, while I was there, amounting no one time to 50.

In the evening Mrs. Quincy had a splendid levee.[1] . . .

Present incumbents, 46 alone + 2 colleagues = 48.

Of the whole who preach, Liberal, 76; Orthodox, 9; Baptists, 6; Episcopalians, 2; Freewill Baptist, 1; Universalist, 1 = total at Commencement, 95.

Before me in italics alive, 4 alone, 7 colleagues = 11 in the ministry; 17 occasionally preach = 28 who preach; 20 have left preaching = 48 alive before me.

Before me alone, 3 L. + 1 E. = 4; colleagues, 3 L. + 4 O. = 7; occasy preach, 5 L. + 12 O. = 17; left preaching, 14 L. + 6 O. = 20 = 48.

Total alive before me, in Catalogue, 191. Total alive in italics, 319.

Summary of those alive who are italicised in the Catalogue of 1839.

The whole number alive italicised is 321. Of these 197 are in office + 124 out of office. Of the 197 in office, 109 Liberal Congregationals, 47 Orthodox = 156 C.; 28 Episcopalians; 7 Baptists; 2 Presbyterians; 2 Universalists; 1 Swedenborgian; 1 Methodist. Of the 197 in office, 176 are alone + 21 are colleagues = 197.

Of the 124 out of office, 89 occasionally preach + 35 left preaching = 124.

Of 89 occasional preachers, 37 L. + 35 O. + 16 E. + 1 B. = 89.

Of the 35 left preaching, 24 L. + 11 O. = 35.

Of the 21 colleagues, 11 L. + 7 O. + 2 B. + 1 E. = 21.

By my computation alive before me on the Catalogue, 191 + 1, after me, 1772 = alive, 1964.

620 dead after me.

On the Catalogue before me, 3186 + 1 = after me, 2392. Total, 5579.

[1] Here follow accounts of the annual declamations and of the meeting of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, and the usual classified lists of names.

[1840.]

On Wednesday, 26 August, I walked to and from Cambridge to attend my LVI. Commencement at Harvard University, having attended every Commencement in that institution, beginning with 1784, except in 1791, the day on which my mother was buried.

The day was delightful, there having been copious rains on the previous Lord's day evening, and Tuesday afternoon and evening, so that the streets were rather muddy than dusty.

The temperature of the air was also such as could be desired.

This is the first Commencement which I have known when no man was allowed to wait upon ladies into the meetinghouse for fear he should remain. We were in the meetinghouse at X.

The exercises commenced with music. Dr. Walker, 2d anniversary, then offered a short and appropriate prayer.

The salutatory oration, by Faulkner,[1] failed, I know not for what reason. N. B. He was sick & soon died.

2. Bond,[2] in a conference, "The Historical Novel and the Ancient Epic," wrote and spoke well in defence of the former.

3. Welch[3] did well in "An Essay, Simplicity of Style as necessary to the Permanence of Literary Fame."

6. "An Essay on Poetical Inspiration," by Heath,[4] partook of the extravagance and obscurity of Coleridge.

10. Davis[5] was applauded in a forensic, on the affirmative side, "Is the Course which the Chinese have taken in relation to the Opium Trade justifiable?"

13. But White,[6] of Salem, in a dissertation on "The Irish Character," was by far the most interesting writer and speaker of the day, though he was considered perhaps no higher than the 5th or 6th scholar.

18. The II. English oration, by Sanger,[7] on "Periodical Literature," was well written and spoken.

19. The concluding oration, by Henk,[8] on "Ultraism," evinced a good degree of originality and sensible writing; but he is rather ordinary as a speaker. . . . He is said, however, to be highly distinguished, for a man of his age, in the abstruse branches. He will

[1] William E. Faulkner, born in Cambridgeport, Nov. 26, 1817; died there, April 18, 1841.

[2] Rev Henry F. Bond.

[3] Rev. Edward H. Welch.

[4] John F. Heath, born in Petersburg, Va. Nov. 15, 1819; died in Wilmington, N. C., Sept. —, 1862.

[5] Charles G. Davis.

[6] Rev. William O. White.

[7] George P. Sanger.

[8] John B. Henck.

probably become a teacher by profession, for which his talents admirably fit him.

The English oration, for the Master's degree, was a plain, unambitious, and sensible discourse on "The Tyranny of Association," by Eustis.[1] 17 min.

The valedictory in Latin, by Russell,[2] of 18 minutes, evinced too great effort to be witty. In this respect it was tedious.

The concluding prayer, by Dr. Walker, was such as could be desired.

In the procession to the dining hall I walked with Dr. Codman.

Dr. Homer, as the oldest clergyman, asked the blessing. I set St. Martin's to the LXXVIII. Psalm, the 28th time. As there is so little visible communication between the 4 halls, a person sitting at the head table in each was employed to beat time. This was the 6th anniversary on which the psalm was the substitute for thanks. We had wine!

There are now 81 Overseers, of whom 41 are Cambridge scholars.

Present 35, of whom 26 were Cambridge schol. Governor Morton was present, and was treated with a respect due to his station.

In the afternoon at IV, there was a meeting in the Chapel; and the Report of the Comtee appointed the last year, recommending to form a Society of Alumni, to meet on the day before Commencement, dine together, and have appropriate exercises, was accepted; and John Quincy Adams was chosen President.

I then went to the Chapel of the Divinity School, and heard a very interesting address on music, before the Pierian Sodality, by Henry R. Cleveland. There was a small, but select audience. Had more notice of it been given, and a larger place assigned for its delivery, there would doubtless have been a larger audience. He considered the duties of amateurs in relation to music, described in mellifluous language its charms, and hoped a Professor of Music would ere long be appointed in the University. Fifty years ago there were no pianos manufactured in New England. Now thousands are, every year, made and circulated throughout our extensive community.

In the evening I attended the splendid levee of Mrs. Quincy, and walked home a little before IX.

The graduates of this year are 43. A.M., 25; LL.B., 24; M.D., 22; Gov. Morton, Edward Hitchcock, Chs. Augustus Dewey, 3, LL.D.; Rev. John Codman, D.D., & Rev. Joseph Field, 2, D.D.

The Bachelors who had assignments were 27; of these, 3 only failed, viz., the salutatory oration, a literary disquisition, & a part in one of the forensics.

The oldest graduate, the oldest clergyman, and the clergyman who

[1] Dr. John F. Eustis, of the class of 1837.

[2] Charles T. Russell, of the class of 1837.

asked the blessing at dinner, were united in one man, Rev. Jonathan Homer, of Newton, born in Boston, 15 April, 1759; grad. 1777. This was the 3d anniversary in which he has been the oldest graduate, the 5th the oldest clergyman, & the 5th on which he has asked the blessing at dinner.

For the 2d time I was the oldest clergyman present who has the sole care of his parish. Gentlemen of distinction present both days, Col. Maxwell, of the 36th British Regiment, a Scotchman; Mr. Grattan, Consul from England, an Irishman; Dr. Cox, Dr. Skinner, of N. Y., &c., &c., &c.[1] . . .

Alive in the Catalogue, in italics, 318.

Alive *before* me on the Catalogue, 176 + alive *after* me on the Catalogue, 1792 + 1 = alive, 1969.

Dead after me, 642 + 1969 = 2611.

On the Catalogue before me, 3186 + 1 + on the Catalogue after me 2435 = 5622.[2] . . .

Accordingly there were present alumni in italics, 78; pastors, not alumni, of Congregational chhs., Mass., 6; pastors of Orthodox chhs. & professors, 10; pastors of Baptist chhs., 5; = 99.

The oldest graduate living, on the Catalogue, for the last 3 Commencements is Samson Salter Blowers, of Halifax, born 22 March, 1742, of the class of 1763. N. B. He has been the oldest survivor since the death of Paine Wingate, 7 March, 1838.

Before me, in italics, alive.

2 alone + 8 colleagues = 10 in the ministry; 17 occasionally preach = 27 who preach; 18 have left preaching = 45 alive before me.

Before me, alone, 1 E. + 1 L. = 2; colleagues, 4 L. + 4 O. = 8; occy preach, 5 L. + 12 O. = 17; left preaching, 13 L. + 5 O. = 18.

[1841.]

On Wednesday, 25 August, 1841, I attended my LVII. Commencement at Harvard University, every occasion of the kind, beginning with 1784, except 1791, on which day my mother was buried; so that I have now attended fifty Commencements in uninterrupted succession.

The day was clear and comfortable, with the exception that it was very dusty.

The Overseers met for the first time in the Gore Library, a large

[1] Here follow notices of the prize declamations and of the anniversary of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, and some tabular statements relating to Dr. Pierce's seniors and contemporaries.

[2] Here follow other classified lists of names of persons who were present at Commencement.

and elegant stone building, built at an expense of about $70,000, from funds left by the Hon. Christopher Gore, H. U. 1776.

The Overseers held their meeting to transact their preparatory business in a convenient room adjoining the Library.

The Governor (John Davis) & suite having arrived in good season, escorted by an elegant company of Lancers from Boston, the procession moved into the meetinghouse so as to commence the exercises at a little past ten.

Dr. Walker, of the Corporation, opened the meeting with a highly appropriate prayer.

The salutatory oration, in Latin, by E. A. W. Harlow, was but 4 minutes long, well written and spoken.

4. An essay, "Guesses at Truth leading to Discoveries," by Eben Sperry Stearns.[1] This was ingeniously composed and delivered. This is the fourth son of the Rev. Samuel Stearns, of 1794, late of Bedford, educated at Harvard University, all of whom have been respectable scholars.

First, Rev. Samuel H. Stearns, 1823, settled for a little time in the Old South Church. Died early of consumption.

Second, Rev. Wm. Augustus Stearns, now Orthodox minister, Cambridgeport, 1827.

Third, Rev. Jonathan French Stearns, Presbyterian minister in Newburyport, 1830. Their mother was daughter of the Rev. Jonathan French, of Andover.

7. Christopher Gore Ripley[2] did well in a literary discussion with Franklin Hall[3] on Shakspeare.

9. An ethical disquisition by Robert Henry Harlow, on "The Morals of Legislation," was thought by good judges to be among the very first exercises on this occasion.

10. A deliberative discussion, "The Political Influence of the Roman Catholic Church in Republics," by Pray[4] & Smith,[5] contained too many severe reflections on the Catholics, considering there were several of our guests of that denomination.

The two Harlows and Pray are from Baptist families.

Indeed, it is remarkable how this denomination has increased in numbers, respectability, and literature, in this country, since the Revolutionary War.

12. A dissertation, "William Penn," by William Gustavus Babcock, was finely written and spoken.

[1] Born in Bedford, Dec. 23, 1819; died in Nashville, Tenn., April 11, 1887.

[2] Born in Waltham, Sept. 6, 1822; died in Concord, Oct. 15, 1881.

[3] Born in East Cambridge, August 8, 1817; died in Dorchester, August 6, 1868.

[4] Rev. Edward W. Pray, born in Boston, June 25, 1822; died in Rochester, N. Y., Feb. 10, 1888

[5] T. C. H. Smith.

14. The third English oration, on "Political Ambition," by Hoffman,[1] son of Judge Hoffman, of N. Y., was a manly performance. 10 m.

15. The second English oration, "Poetry in an Unpoetical Age," was by Thomas W. Higginson. 12 m.

16. The last oration, by Francis Edward Parker,[2] only child of the late Dr. Nathan Parker, of Portsmouth, N. H., was such as to evince that the honor was not unworthily conferred. 13 min.

The oration for the Master's degree, by Rufus Ellis,[3] abounded in good sense, but was not adapted to electrify the audience. Indeed, there was less humor than common in the exercises of the day.

The Latin valedictory, by Benjamin F. Atkins,[4] often the most amusing to the audience in general, lost much of its effect by being imperfectly committed to memory.

In the class for A.B., 23 had assignments, of whom 21 performed. The failures were an essay by Rollins; part in a forensic by Jackson.

The degree of A.B., 42 in course, 1 out of course; A.M., 20 in course, 6 out of course; M.D., 16; LL.B., 24; LL.D., Samuel Sumner Wilde, James Savage, Francis C. Gray, Francis Xavier Martin; D.D., James Thompson, Mark Hopkins, Barnas Sears.

The concluding prayer was by Dr. Walker, short, pertinent, and devout.

The procession walked to the dining hall between II & III. I walked with Dr. Gray and Dr. Homer.

Dr. Homer, H. U. 1777, asked the blessing, the 6th anniversary, as the oldest clergyman present, also the oldest graduate.

I set St. Martin's, 29th time, to the LXXVIII. Psalm, & the 7th anniversary as a substitute for thanks. Wine was on the tables!

The President gave the degrees to the Masters with a Bible, formerly owned by the first President, Dunster. It has the original Hebrew of the Old Testament, the translation of the New Testament into Hebrew, and the New Testament in Greek. Printed in 1633. It has been lately sent to President Quincy by the Misses Dunster, of Brewster, daughters of the Rev. Isaiah Dunster, native of Cambridge, H. U. 1741, ordained at Brewster, 13 Nov., 1748, died 18 June, 1791. Æt. 72, descendant of the first President.

These ladies are now beneficiaries of the Massachusetts Cong. Char. Soc. & Convention!

[1] Wickham Hoffman.

[2] Francis E. Parker, born in Portsmouth, N. H., July 23, 1821; died in Boston, Jan. 18, 1886. A memoir of Mr. Parker, by Edward Bangs, is in 2 Proceedings, vol. iii. pp. 247–252.

[3] Of the class of 1838.

[4] Of the class of 1838.

In this Bible, on the last page, is a Church Covenant, probably used by Rev. Isaiah Dunster.

"You [each of you] do solemnly assent, as in the presence of God, his holy Angels, and this Assembly, to accept of, and submit to, the only living and true God, as your God; the Lord Jesus Christ, as your Savior, Prophet, Priest, and King; the Holy Spirit, as your Guide and Comforter.

You do also promise [to bring up your children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord] to attend to the Ordinances, & submit yourselves to the government of Christ in this particular Church, though you be not satisfied in conscience as to your coming up to the ordinance of the Lord's Supper."

This is the 4th anniversary on which Dr. Homer has been the oldest graduate; the 6th on which he has been the oldest minister; the 6th on which he has asked the blessing.

This is also the 3d anniversary on which I have been the oldest clergyman present, having the sole care of his parish.

There are now 82 Overseers of Harvard University. Of these 38 are sons of Harvard. Present at Commencement but 32. Of these 23 are Cantabrigians.

There was no meeting of the alumni. It had been intended to observe the first anniversary of the Society on the day before Commencement. For this purpose Hon. John Quincy Adams was chosen to deliver the first Anniversary Address. Judge Story was chosen as his substitute. But Mr. Adams was detained by the extra session of Congress. Judge Story has recently had an illness, which he urged as an excuse from the allotted exercise.

10 were present of the class of 1802.

No strangers of distinction were present. The only officers of other institutions whom I recollect were President Sears & Professors Chase & Ripley of the Newton Theological Institution, Professor Romeo Elton of Brown University, Professor Cogswell of Dartmouth College & Dr. Going, B.[1] . . .

Alive before me, 164 + 1; alive after me, 1822 = 1987, whole number alive.

By accurate computation, on Catalogue, 1839, before me 3204, after me 2482 + 1 = 5687, whole number of alumni.

Dead before me = 3040; dead after me, 660 = 3700, whole number dead.

Before me in italics alive, 1 alone, 9 colleagues = 10 in the ministry, 17 occasionally preach = 27 who preach; 17 have left preaching = 44 alive before me.

[1] Here follow notices of the prize declamations and of the anniversary of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, and some of the usual statistics.

[1842.]

On Wednesday, 24 August, 1842, I attended my LVIII. Commencement at H. U.

The day was hot; the travelling dry and dusty, though around the College the dust was laid by artificial means.

The preliminary meeting of the Overseers was holden in Gore Library at a little before X, A. M., whence the procession moved into the meeting-house, so that the services commenced in the church a few minutes past X.

This is the first year in which the following notice was published in the order of exercises.

A part at Commencement is assigned to every Senior, who, for general scholarship, is placed in the first half of his class, or who has attained a certain rank in any department of study.

The names of the departments in which the student has attained the requisite rank are inserted in the order of performances with his name.

High distinction in any department is indicated by italics.

The salutatory oration by Allen,[1] of 8 minutes, was appropriate.

Six English orations were assigned. The last & most honorable, by Haven,[2] of Portsmouth, N. H., was omitted, through indisposition. So also was the 6th, by Nichols,[3] from the same cause. S. H. Phillips, of Salem, has been obliged to retreat from college, on account of infirmities, as is thought, by reason of the intense application demanded by the pressure of college studies.

The 2d E. O. in honor was by Johnson,[4] of Salem, 17 minutes, a beautiful exercise, on national songs.

The 3d E. O., by Hale,[5] son of the somewhat famous Sarah J. Hale, of Boston, whose eldest son, the first scholar in his class, left college, some years since, to go on the exploring expedition appointed by the government of the U. S.

The 4th E. O., by Jaques,[6] on "American National Legislation," of 14 minutes, was a subject too difficult for so young a man.

The 5th E. O., by Fish,[7] of 7 minutes, "On the Faëry Superstition in English Literature," was ingenious and popular.

[1] Rev. T. P. Allen, born in Northborough, July 7, 1822; died in West Newton, Nov. 26, 1868.

[2] Horace A. Haven, born in Portsmouth, N. H., Oct. 2, 1822; died there, Oct. 22, 1843.

[3] Benjamin W. Nichols.

[4] Rev. Samuel Johnson, born in Salem, Oct. 10, 1822; died in North Andover, Feb 19, 1882.

[5] William G. Hale, born in Boston, Oct. 28, 1822; died in New Orleans, La., Jan. 8, 1876.

[6] David R. Jaques.

[7] Asa I. Fish, born in Nottingham, N. J., Feb. 16, 1820; died in Philadelphia, Penn., May 5, 1876.

The oration for the Masters, by Edward Everett Hale,[1] of 20 minutes, was well written and spoken. This exercise would have been assigned to Eliot,[2] the first scholar in the class, but for his absence.

The valedictory, by Jacobs,[3] of 7 minutes, was in the usual style of such exercises.

The services were closed sooner than the steward expected. We therefore walked to the Gore Library, and waited our summons to dinner.

On being seated in the hall, by my nomination the Rev. Silas Totten, Episcopal President of Washington College, in Hartford, Conn., asked the blessing.

Notwithstanding the entreaties & remonstrances of so many temperance friends of the University, wine was on the tables. As I sat opposite to ——— and other military officers in their costumes, I saw much wine-drinking. When will this "abomination of desolation" be banished from the halls of Old Harvard?

To add to the annoyance of many attendants, cigars were smoked without mercy!

The Hon. John Welles, being the oldest at dinner, bo. 14 Oct., 1764, the oldest in the hall, H. U. 1782, prefaced a toast with a short speech which but few heard.

I set St. Martin's, the 30th time, to the LXXVIII. Psalm, and the 8th anniversary as a substitute for thanks.

Dr. Gray was the oldest clergyman in the hall; and as his colleague, the Rev. George Whitney, died last April, he was the oldest clergyman present having the sole care of his parish. This has been the case with myself at 3 previous Commencements.

After leaving the hall I called at Capen's chamber, one of the graduates, son of my friend, the Rev. Lemuel Capen.

I then went to the levee of Mrs. President Quincy, where were assembled great numbers of ladies and strangers of distinction. The brass band, as usual, added much to the interest of the occasion by their fine music.[4] . . .

Admitted to the degree of A.B., 55; A.M., in course, 22; out of course, 6: M.D., 21; LL.B., 39; John Davis, Artemas Ward, Samuel Hubbard, LL.D., 3; Rev. Dr. Wm. Jenks, Rev. W. B. O. Peabody, D.D., 2; Lucius Manlius Sargent, Wm. Cranch Bond, Hon. A.M., 2.

[1] Of the class of 1839.

[2] Samuel Eliot, of the class of 1839.

[3] Bela F. Jacobs, of the class of 1839.

[4] Dr. Pierce gives lists of "seniors and contemporaries" and other alumni whom he saw, and adds: "Before me in italics, 2 alone, 6 colleagues = 8 in ministry; 13 occasionally preach = 21 preach; 16 have left preaching = 37 alive before me. 144 alive before me in Catalogue." On another page he gives a list of "ministers laid by as broken vessels." It comprises 50 names, beginning with 1777 and ending with 1832.

The oldest graduate and the oldest minister at Cambridge during these 3 days was the Rev. Jonathan Homer, of 1777.

[1843.]

On Wednesday, 23 August, 1843, I attended my LIX. Commencement at Harvard University, every one since I began with the Commencement in 1784, but in 1791, when my mother was buried on Commencement day.

As there had been rain for three previous days, the streets instead of being dusty, as common on such occasions, and requiring artificial means to lay the dust, were very muddy, so as to render it difficult to cross them. At Gore Library III. anniversary.

The Governor and suite arrived in such season that the exercises commenced but a little after X in the morning.

Rev. Dr. Walker, of the Corporation, introduced the services with an appropriate prayer of 2½ minutes.

The Latin salutatory was by Octavius Brooks Frothingham, son of Dr. Frothingham, of Boston I. Church. It appeared to be elegantly written, and was delivered with much grace and propriety. It contained what is unusual on such occasions, an elaborate address to John Quincy Adams. Had he not been present, the effect of the oration would have been much less striking.

There were, as on the last year, 6 English orations.

The VIth in honor was by John Lowell, son of John A. Lowell, a member of the Corporation, grandson of John Lowell, former member of the Corporation, great-great-grandson of the Rev. John Lowell, the first minister of Newburyport. The subject of this oration was, "The Battle of the Nile," 8 minutes in length, a summary of the principal facts.

The V. English oration, by William Henry Adams,[1] of North Chelmsford, on "Our Debt to the Puritans," was not performed.

The IV. English oration, by James Howard Means, Boston, on "The Literary Services of the American Missionaries," of 9 minutes, was well done.

The III. English oration, "The Fall of Athens," by Washington Very,[2] of Salem, was of 12 minutes, well written, but spoken in too monotonous a tone.

The II. English oration, by Thomas Hill, of New Brunswick, N. J., on "Mathematics," 15 minutes long, was decidedly the most interesting exercise of the day. It was original, discriminating, finely written, and though on so apparently dry a subject, truly eloquent. It was expected

[1] Born Nov. 28, 1823; died August 4, 1845.
[2] Born Nov. 12, 1815; died April 28, 1853.

that he would have the first assignment in the class; but his attention has been divided among so many objects that he was exceeded in recitation exercises by Sargent, whose attention has been perseveringly and uninterruptedly devoted to the attainment of the first honors.

. . . Professor Pierce thinks him the best mathematician who has, for many years, been educated at H. U., and expressed the wish to Hill that he might be Professor of Mathematics in some literary institution. To which proposal Hill replied, that he would rather be the pastor of a country congregation than fill any professorship which could be provided for him. The reason why Hill sought his education at Cambridge is, that he is a Unitarian of the Priestley stamp, his parents having been formerly his parishioners in Hackney, England.

The I. oration, by Sargent,[1] on "The Correction of Popular Tendencies," was well composed and delivered, but not with that deep feeling which imparted such a charm to Hill's exercise. Sargent's oration occupied, like Hill's, precisely 15 minutes.

A disquisition by Bacon,[2] of Natick, of 8 minutes, on "Transcendental Views of Inductive Philosophy," was a solid and good performance.

A disquisition on "Sir Philip Sidney," of 8 minutes, by Morrell,[3] of Havana, W. I., did him much credit.

The poem, on "American Women," by Sedgwick,[4] did not captivate the audience as was expected. It was 11 minutes long.

A disquisition by Boyden,[5] of Beverly, on "The Attraction of Literary Eccentricity," 10 minutes long, gave offence to the theological professors, as in supposed allusion to the Divinity School, Cambridge, he intimated, on the authority, it is believed, of a hasty expression dropt some years since by the late Professor Palfrey, that "one third were Mystics, one third Sceptics, and the other Dyspeptics." Professor Francis maintained, in conversation, that Professor Channing ought not to have suffered such a sentence to pass.

The English oration for the Master's degree, on "The Faith of the Present," by Joseph Henry Allen,[6] 23 minutes long, though elaborated with great apparent care, yet was rather too misty for matter-of-fact hearers.

The valedictory, in Latin, by Russell,[7] of Plymouth, 16 minutes

[1] Horace Binney Sargent.

[2] John W. Bacon, born in Natick, July 12, 1818; died in Taunton, March 21, 1888.

[3] Edward Morrell, born in Philadelphia, Oct. 1, 1824; died in Newport, R. I., Sept. 3, 1871.

[4] Henry D. Sedgwick.

[5] James W. Boyden.

[6] Of the class of 1840.

[7] William G. Russell, of the class of 1840.

long, as usual affected wit, much of which, also as usual, aimed at the ladies.

The President then conferred the following degrees, viz., A.B. 63; A.M. in course, 14; out of course, 4; M.D., 31; LL.B. in course, 36; out of course, 1; LL.D., Wm. Smyth, Eng., Wm. H. Prescott, Jared Sparks, Geo. Bancroft; D.D., Rev. David Damon, E. S. Gannett, Dr. Sharp, Dr. Potter.

The Board of Overseers when full consists of 83. I took account of but 35 at Commencement. Of these, 20 were sons of Harvard.

But few strangers of distinction were present. Hon. Benjamin Tappan, Senator in Congress, was one, my brother-in-law, who had an honorable seat assigned him. Mons. Serrurier was also present; likewise Dr. Totten, President of Washington College, Hartford; Pres. Woods, of Bowdoin College; Bishops Doane & Eastburn.

On arriving at the hall, I was, for the IV. anniversary, the oldest clergyman having the sole care of his parish. What was my surprise to find none after me till 1802, nine years my juniors?

It was decided by all of whom I inquired that it would fall to me to ask the blessing at dinner, as the senior clergyman present. To this I consented, avowing at the same time that it should be the only time, should my life be prolonged. A blessing was supplicated in these terms: —

"God of light and of love, smile propitiously on our parent University, the pious care of our fathers, the joy, the glory, the hope of their children. May its governors, teachers, and pupils mutually combine to advance its highest interests! To thy kind care we devoutly commend that portion of this literary community who have this day received and reflected its honors. May thy good Providence accompany and direct them wherever they may go. Bless, we pray thee, our food and fellowship at this time. While we mingle our congratulations, and rejoice in each other's joy, may our feelings be chastened by the consideration that every such occasion deducts one more year from the short span of human life, and swells the number of those who go to their long home; and oh! may we not be slothful, but followers of them who, through faith and patience, inherit the promises, through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen."

The dinner was very soon despatched. Indeed, the Bishops and others compared it to a steamboat dinner, on account of the haste in which it was eaten. The reason probably was, that many present were invited to the private chambers of the graduates who had company, and others followed.

At the close of the dinner President Quincy arose and remarked that from the foundation of the University it had been customary to sing a version of the LXXVIII. Psalm, and that it would now be set by one who had set it for the last 50 years. I accordingly arose, and sang the psalm to St. Martin's. Though I had an instrument to give the pitch, yet in my confusion it was one or two notes too high. This made it the

more difficult to sing. But it was said by several to have gone well. When I used first to set the tune, I was required to read the psalm line by line, as none were printed for the occasion. This was really the 31st time in which I had myself set the tune, though I began to set it on 17 July, 1793, 50 years ago, the year in which I was graduated. This was the 9th anniversary on which the tune was a substitute for thanks.

After the exercises I called at Hudson's chamber, where were several from Newburyport; also at Sargent's, whose father made for him a most splendid entertainment. Here were coming and going the élites of the day. But though the provision for guests was ample, and the very best of the kind, yet from Mr. Sargent's position in the temperance cause there was no wine.

The same cannot be said of the Commencement dinner in the hall. Wine in abundance was furnished; and though but comparatively few partook of it while the company were together, yet afterwards there was a gathering of wine-bibbers and tobacco-smokers who filled their skins with vinous potations, the hall with a nauseous effluvia, and the air with bacchanalian songs and shouts.

At a little past V, company began to assemble at Mrs. Quincy's levee, at the President's house. Here many people gather to converse with one another, who attend no part of the Commencement exercises. To add to the entertainment, the brass band, as usual, discoursed sweet music in the President's yard. In the evening I walked home.

In the Boston Courier, Friday, 25 August, was the following editorial remark: —

"After the exercises in the meetinghouse, the Corporation, Faculty, Overseers, alumni, & invited guests dined in the picture-gallery of the University. The Rev. Dr. Pierce, of Brookline, invoked a blessing at the table. At the close of the dinner, the President remarked that there would then be sung a hymn, which had been sung there annually, on the same occasion, for *two hundred years*, by a gentleman who had sung it there for fifty years in succession. The Rev. Dr. Pierce then led off the following, to the tune of St. Martin's:

"'Give ear,' &c.

"We should like to see a copy of these verses two hundred years old. If we remember right, at the Commencement in 1842, Dr. Pierce made a declaration similar to that made, on this occasion, by President Quincy, viz., that they had been sung at the Commencement dinner for two hundred years. We apprehend that both gentlemen are under a mistake. We should be sorry to throw any suspicion upon the accuracy of their antiquarian learning; but if there is any reason to believe that certain poets of a later period wrote their own works, the first three stanzas above were written by one Nahum Tate, poet-laureate to her gracious Majesty Queen Anne, and the last two stanzas by one Isaac Watts, who wrote a version of the Psalms of David a few years later. But of this no more at present."

Now President Quincy could not mean, and I certainly never intended to assert, that this identical version had been used for two hundred years, for I knew well to the contrary. When I first set the psalm,

17 July, 1793, it was not printed in bills as at present. But I read them, line by line, the first six stanzas from Tate & Brady's version. I continued this practice till 1803, when for the first time a version of the LXXVIII. Psalm was printed on a sheet; & it has been printed in this form to the present time, but not precisely the same stanzas. For more than twenty years there were six stanzas printed from Tate & Brady's book. But for the last 13 years at least but five stanzas have been printed, and these immediately and verbatim from Dr. Belknap's collection, first published in 1795. Yet one stanza is omitted even from Belknap's collection; and he has made slight variations even from Tate & Watts. Thus in the first line on the printed bills from Tate we have

"Give ear, ye children," instead of

"Hear, O my people," &c.

In the 3d line of the first stanza, we have "instructions," instead of "*instruction.*"

In the 4th stanza on the bill, the first line from Watts, we have "*learn*" for "*hear.*"

I have been led into these trivial particulars in reply to the trifling criticism above noted.

In fine, I have always understood that it has been the invariable practice since the foundation of the College to sing some version of a portion of the LXXVIII. Psalm.

This version has varied with the taste of the times, from that of Sternhold & Hopkins, appended to the Geneva Bible, so called; next to that of the New England version of 1639 by Weld, Eliot, & Mather, the 26th edition of which was published in 1744; then Tate & Brady's version; then Dr. Watts's; & last, not least, Dr. Belknap's, 1795.

Not only have the versions been varied, but the number of stanzas. Of late years the number has been limited to 5 stanzas.

So that there is nothing in our usages to prevent the use of a still improved version, should such a one, in process of time, appear, retaining, however, for its basis the LXXVIII. Psalm in our common translation of the Bible. We always desire to offer our best services to the Most High, if we can but ascertain how we may best approach him in the delightful exercise of psalmody.[1] . . .

This was the first Commencement on which Dr. H. Ware, Senr, has been absent for the last 63. He attended every Commencement, since the war, beginning with 1781, i. e., 62 Commencements.

This was the IV. Commencement on which I have been the senior pastor, having the sole care of his parish.

[1] Here follow the order of exercises and names of the judges of the prize declamations, an account of the anniversary of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, and the usual statistical and personal memoranda.

Before me, in italics, 1 alone + 6 colleagues = 7 in ministry; 9 occasionally preach = 16 preach; 14 have left preaching = 30 alive before me in italics. 128 alive before me in Catalogue.

The oldest graduate at Commencement, this year, was Judge John Davis, H. U. 1781, born 25 January, 1761, accordingly 82 years & 7 months, lacking 2 days.

[1844.]

On Wednesday, 28 August, 1844, I attended my LX. Commencement at Harvard University, every one since I began in 1784, excepting in the year 1791, when my mother was buried.

It was cloudy most of the day, so that the temperature of the weather was pleasant. It had rained copiously on the previous Sabbath, so that there was no dust.

After dining with the alumni on Tuesday, 27 August, I walked by appointment to Dr. Braman's, physician in Brighton, son of my old friend, the Rev. Isaac Braman, of Georgetown, where I took tea. He had invited the survivors of his father's class to meet at his house the day before Commencement. Eight are supposed to be living, four of whom were together on this occasion, namely, Rev. Isaac Braman, of Georgetown, born 5 July, 1770; Rev. Elijah Dunbar, Peterborough, N. H., born 7 July, 1773; Rev. James Blake Howe, lately Episcopal minister of Claremont, N. H., born 31 March, 1773; and the Rev. David Kendall, formerly of Hubbardston, now of Augusta, N. Y., born 20 March, 1768. I was invited as their intimate friend, though not classmate. There was a melancholy pleasure in reviewing past scenes, and in contemplating the changes which we had lived to witness.

This class had but 29 when it was graduated. Of these but 8 are supposed to be among the living. Dr. Braman received answers from the Hon. H. Atherton, Amherst, N. H.; Hon. William Crosby, Belfast, Me.; & Stephen Peabody, Bucksport, Me., all of whom gave some encouragement that they would be present, but circumstances prevented. Not one of the 4 who were present is now in the ministry.

The Overseers met in Gore Library, the IV. anniversary. The Governor was escorted from Boston to Cambridge by a troop of Lancers on horseback.

Of the 83 Overseers which compose the Board when full, I took account of but 27 present on this occasion. Of the 83, 30 are sons of Harvard. Of the 27 present, 18 were Cambridge scholars.

The usual preparatory business of voting the degrees was despatched, so that at X precisely the procession was formed and moved to the I. Church.

Dr. Walker offered an appropriate prayer of 5 minutes.

The exercises consisted of the following, which were performed:

1 salutatory Latin oration, 1 intermediate do., 8 disquisitions, 4 dissertations, 6 English orations, 1 Greek oration, 1 English poem.

The following assigned, but omitted: 5 disquisitions, 2 dissertations, 1 English oration.

22 performed, 8 not performed; total, 30.

There was a remarkable uniformity in the execution of the parts, with the exception of the last and most honorable oration, which was pre-eminent in merit as well as in assignment.

This was by Josiah Shattuck Hartwell, of Littleton, "On the Political Fortunes and Destinies of the Anglo-Saxon Race." 20 minutes.

The best speaker was supposed to be Tilton,[1] who performed a poem "On Little Nell," &c.

Perry,[2] in a disquisition on "Respect for Custom and Habit in Social Changes," was lauded in the papers next to Hartwell.

My greatest anxiety was for Edward Augustus Wild, son of my doctor, born 26 Nov., 1825, who sustained the 5th rank in point of honor. He had written an exercise which Professor Channing thought too satirical for the occasion. He then wrote, in a few hours, another oration, entitled "The True Man of Action," which was quite a sensible exercise, and received with general approbation.

The oration in English omitted was by Fuller,[3] on "The Physical Sciences," the 2d part in honor.

Leverett Saltonstall, Jr., of Salem, had a good disquisition on "Clarendon as a Statesman." Governor Briggs remarked that he looked and spoke more like Henry Clay than any young man whom he had ever known.

Francis Parkman, Jr., of Boston, on "Romance in America," evinced more humor than any of the class. His wit was, in repeated instances, applauded.

This was the first Commencement, probably, since the foundation of the College in which no exercises were assigned to candidates for the Master's degree.

Though I have known college exercises which might be ranked higher, and many which were lower than any on this occasion, yet I ventured the opinion that, as far as I am capable of judging, I have attended no Commencement in which the exercises, taken as a whole, were so uniformly good.

At dinner the blessing was invoked by Dr. Packard, H. U. 1787. He had returned thanks once before, viz., in 1831. The Rev. Jacob Norton, formerly of Weymouth, H. U. 1786, was invited, as the senior

[1] Warren Tilton.

[2] Horatio J. Perry.

[3] Richard F. Fuller, born in Cambridge, May 15, 1824; died in Wayland, May 30, 1869.

clergyman present, to ask the blessing. But he declined on the ground that he had lost his voice. III. An^{y} in the new hall.

At the close of dinner we sang the LXXVIII. Psalm, for the Xth anniversary, as a substitute for thanks, in the version of Belknap, I setting the tune the 32^{d} time.

As Buckingham, in the Boston Courier last year, severely criticised what was said of our psalm, with leave of the President I arose and stated that from the foundation of the College it had been the practice to sing at the Commencement dinner the LXXVIII. Psalm in the prevalent version of the day. From the commencement of the University it was probably sung in the New England version.

In 1639 there was an agreement among the Magistrates and Ministers to set aside the psalms then printed at the end of their Bibles, and sing one more congenial to their ideas of religion. (I have the XXVI. edition, published in 1744.) Mr. Welde & Mr. Eliot, of Roxbury, & Mr. Richard Mather, of Dorchester, were selected to prepare a metrical translation.

On which occasion the Rev. Thomas Shepard, of Cambridge, gave them the following metrical caution: —

"Ye Roxbury poets, keep clear of the crime
Of missing to give us very good rhime;
And you of Dorchester, your verses lengthen;
But with the text's own words you will them strengthen."

Their version is the following: —

"Give listening ear unto my law,
Ye people that are mine;
Unto the sayings of my mouth
Do you your ear incline.

"My mouth I'll ope in parables;
I'll speak things hid of old,
Which we have heard, and known, and which
Our fathers have us told.

"Them from their children we'll not hide,
But show the age to come
The Lord, His praise, His strength, and works
Of wonder He hath done.

"In Jacob He a witness set,
A law in Israel
He gave, which He our fathers charged,
They should their children tell.

"That th' age to come, and children which
Are to be born might know;
That they who should arise, the same
Might to their children show."

There dined in the hall this day 500, and the bottles of wine furnished were 144; 72 were exhausted.[1]

Of class of 1802, 14 were present.

From the dining hall I called at Wild's chamber, where there had been a generous entertainment of Brookline people, &c.

I then went to the room of the Rev. Dr. Codman's son Robert, who had a sumptuous entertainment, without wine, for his Dorchester friends, &c. The Governor, the Lieutenant Governor, the President of the University, &c., called to express their gratulations.

At the close of the day Mrs. Quincy had her usual splendid levee, which many attended who had not been present at the Commencement exercises. The brass band was in the yard of the house, discoursing fine music. For my special accommodation they performed Tivoli, Auld Lang Syne, & Marseilles Hymn.

Degrees conferred, A.B., 52; A.M., 13; M.D., 35; LL.B., 36; LL.D., Gov. Briggs, John Sargeant, Charles Lyell; D.D., Andrew Bigelow, Edwards A. Park; A.M. Hon., Hosea Ballou, 2d, Prof. Asa Gray, R. C. Waterston, Nathan Appleton, Jonathan Mason Warren, M.D.[2] . . .

First class in which a majority are living, 1796. Last class in which a majority are dead, 1807. Last class in which all are dead, 1780. Only class in which all are alive, 1844.

Before me in italics, 1 alone + 5 colleagues = 6 in ministry; 8 occasionally preach = 14 preach; 14 have left preaching = 28 alive before me in italics; 115 alive before me in Catalogue.[3] . . .

[1] On another page Dr. Peirce gives some curious details and estimates of the wine drunk at the dinner of the Alumni Association, August 27, at the Commencement dinner, August 28, and at the dinner of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, August 29. At the first the wines furnished were claret and champagne. According to his statement, 12 dozen bottles of claret and 10 dozen of champagne were ordered; and of these 3 dozen of claret and 7 dozen of champagne were used; and he makes the average consumption to have been "about $\frac{1}{2}$ of a bottle apiece." At the Commencement dinner the wines were Sicily Madeira and claret, and the average consumption was "about $\frac{1}{7}$ a bottle apiece." At the dinner of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, the wines were old Madeira, old Sherry, and claret, and the average consumption by the hundred and ninety-four members who dined together was "from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{3}$ a bottle apiece." The average of the three dinners he makes "nearly $\frac{1}{4}$ of a bottle apiece."

[2] The order of exercises for the declamations, the account of the anniversary of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, and a few memoranda here follow.

[3] The names of those in italics before him who were then living are here given.

Living in italics in the Catalogue of H. U., Commencement, 1844 . . . Of these Liberal Congregationalists, 182; Orthodox do., 77; Episcopalians, 44; Baptists, 10; Universalists, 3; Swedenborgians, 2; Methodist, 1; Presbyterian, 1; Roman Catholic, 1 = 321.

Of 182 Lib. C., 145 preach + 37 do not = 182. Incumbents of chhs., 106; Colleagues, 10.

Of 77 O., 68 preach, 9 do not = 77.

[1845.]

On Wednesday, 27 August, 1845, I attended my LXI. Anniversary Commencement at Cambridge, all, beginning with 1784, but July, 1791, when my mother was buried.

The former part of the day was dry and cool. But on leaving the church, after the exercises, in going to the hall to dine, it rained violently.[1]

The hall was quite full, 550 plates having been occupied; and more were added.

Rev. Isaac Braman, H. U. 1794, of Georgetown, formerly Rowley, born 5 July, 1770, and ordained 7 June, 1797, asked the blessing. Instead of thanks as formerly, we sang a version of the LXXVIII. Psalm, I setting the tune for the XI^th^ anniversary on which it was substituted for thanks, and the 33^d^ time in which I have set the tune. N. B. I began to set the tune when I was graduated, 17 July, 1793, & have generally set it ever since when I dined in the hall.

A very long procession walked to the church, many more than could find room on the stage. I was sorry to see comparatively young men who had no just claims take seats on the stage to the exclusion of several old men, over 70.

The salutatory oration, by Reynolds,[2] 14 minutes long, was a fine performance.

The V. English oration in honor was by Force,[3] of Washington, D. C., an able performance.

Glover,[4] in the IV. English oration, appeared well as a speaker and writer.

Pringle,[5] of Charleston, S. C., on the Sphinx of Egypt, evinced fine talents for writing and speaking. 3^d^ E. O. in honor.

Wm. Giles Dix, in a dissertation on "The Relation of Science to

[1] Rain on Com^t^ days, 1796, 1798, 1835, 1837, 1845.—*Note by Dr. Pierce.*

[2] Dr. John P. Reynolds.

[3] Manning F. Force. The subject of his oration was "The Pontificate of Leo X."

[4] Charles H. Glover, born in Nantucket, Feb. 19, 1825; died in Brooklyn, N. Y., Oct. 18, 1885. His oration was on "The Jesuits in South America."

[5] Edward J. Pringle.

Revelation," wrote well, and appeared like a youth of deep religious impressions.

The concluding oration, by Thomas Russell,[1] evinced his title to the first honors.

The 2d English oration, by Emerson,[2] was omitted on account of his ill health.

Notwithstanding all the efforts of the friends of temperance to exclude wine, it was furnished in abundance, though a large portion of the company abstained from its use. There was, however, not so much disorder as is often occasioned by the votaries of Bacchus.

The Overseers met in Gore Hall, the V. anniversary. The Governor was escorted from Boston to Cambridge, as before, by a troop of Lancers.

For the 2d anniversary no exercises were assigned to the Masters.

As this was the last Commencement on which President Quincy, having resigned his office, was expected to officiate, the concluding orator bade him an affectionate farewell.

In addition to this, before leaving the church for dinner, the Governor read the following resolutions in respect of Pres. Quincy's resignation, which had been prepared by John Q. Adams for the purpose, and made an appropriate address. President Quincy answered in a few words.

The Committee of the Board of Overseers of Harvard University, to which was referred, on 24 July last, the communication from the Corporation of that Institution, announcing the resignation of President Josiah Quincy, and asking leave to choose a successor, have taken cognizance of Mr. Quincy's letter to the Corporation, tendering his resignation, and of the answer to that letter, signed unanimously by the members of the Corporation, and respectfully report the following Resolutions.

Resolved, by the Board of Overseers of Harvard University, That, while concurring with the Corporation of that venerable Institution in accepting the tendered resignation of President Josiah Quincy, they declare their entire and cordial concurrence with every sentiment of personal respect, and of grateful approbation of the administration of that high and dignified office, throughout the period during which it has been held by Mr. Quincy, expressed in a letter to him, signed 20 March last by the members of the Corporation.

Resolved, That in addition to the tribute of justice to Mr. Quincy for the able and indefatigable discharge of all the ordinary and appropriate duties of the President of the highest and most antient seminary of learning of this hemisphere, the Board of Overseers consider him entitled to the thanks not only of this community, but of this and of future ages, for the untiring zeal, the unbending firmness, and successful perseverance with which he has labored to maintain the discipline indispensable to the efficiency of any public school of instruction, for the unremitted exertions which he has applied to the elevation and enlargement of the circle of science embraced in the qualifications for admission to the

[1] Thomas Russell, born in Plymouth, Sept. 26, 1825; died in Boston, Feb. 9, 1887. His theme was "The Man of Letters in Active Life."

[2] George S. Emerson, born in Boston, August 4, 1825; died there, Dec. 19, 1848.

University, and in the attainments to the acquisition of which this intellectual mother of the youthful mind furnishes to her children the means, and for that exemplary industry and active energy which has traced for the benefit of after times, the history of the University from its origin, and left for his successors an example to emulate in the labors and virtues of all their predecessors, as well as of his own.

Resolved, That a copy of these Resolutions, signed by the Governor of the Commonwealth, as the presiding officer of the Board, be communicated to Mr. Quincy at the close of the performances on the approaching Commencement day.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, *Chairman.*

21 August, 1845.

Attest: JOHN PIERCE, *Secretary.*

The Exercises of the Day. — Performed, salutatory oration, 1; essays, 3; disquisitions, 6; dissertations, 8; English orations, 5 = 23. Assigned, but not performed, essays, 4; dissertations, 3; disquisition, 1; Latin oration, 1; English oration, 1 = 10. Total, 33.

After the exercises of the day I went by invitation to Prof. Beck's, whose son, Phillips, took his degree of A.B. this day. The company was large and the entertainment sumptuous. There was abundance of wine for such as desired it, administered by black servants. There was a continual accession and departure of guests from the fashionable circles of Boston and vicinity. The rain, which fell in torrents, which would have been a good excuse for non-attendance on public worship, was no obstacle to a full house on such a convivial occasion.

Of the class of 1802, 10 were present. But of the class of 1820, a quarter of a century since graduation, 25 were gathered together; and they went in a body to pay respects to their old tutor, Dr. John S. Popkin, and were kindly received.

Degrees conferred, — A.B., 60; A.M. in course, 12; out of course, 6 = 18; M.D., 19; LL.B., 51; LL.D., Benjamin Merrill, Henry Wheaton, John M. Williams, Rufus Choate; D.D., Rev. George G. Ingersoll, Rev. Henry J. Ripley, Rev. H. Ballou, II.; A.M., Paul John Robinson, 1823, & his name in class; A.M. Hon., George Atkinson Ward, Rev. Edwin Hubbell Chapin, Noble Butler [1] . . .

Living in italics in the Catalogue of H. U. printed in 1845 [2] . . .

Of these, Liberal Congregationalists, 180; Orthodox do., 75; Episcopalians, 43; Baptists, 11; Universalists, 3; Swedenborgians, 2; Methodist, 1; Roman Catholic, 1 = 316.

[1846.]

On Wednesday, 26 Aug., 1846, I attended my LXII. Commencement at Harvard University. The rain which commenced at a little

[1] Here follow the order of exercises for the prize declamations, an account of the anniversary of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, and various memoranda and statistics as in previous years.

[2] Their names are all recorded.

before IX., the previous evening, continued through the day of Commencement.[1]

I began to attend Commencement in 1784, when I was eleven years old, and have continued my uninterrupted attendance, except in 1791, when my dear mother was buried.

The following only are alive on the Catalogue in all the classes previous to 1784.[2] In the 19 previous years but 19 are living, averaging one to each year.

Notwithstanding the copious rain the Governor & suite arrived so that we were ready to start at the usual time, a little before X. We found the meetinghouse well filled.

Dr. Walker offered a singularly appropriate prayer of 5 minutes.

The salutatory oration, by Wm. Ladd Ropes, son of Hardy Ropes, was well written & delivered.

The salutatory orator addressed the Mayor of Cambridge, J. D. Green, for the first time, Cambridge having been incorporated as a city since the last Commencement.

14. The V. English oration, by Augustus Lord Soule,[3] of Exeter, N. H., on "Woman in Ancient Rome," was well sustained.

18. An essay, "Henri de la Roche Jaquelin," was well written & performed by Charles Eliot Guild, son of Benj. Guild.

22. A disquisition, "The Character of Prometheus in Ancient & Modern Poetry," by Charles Henry Hudson, of Cambridge. A lively, animated performance, in a style of elocution rather popular than natural.

27. A dissertation, "Santa Croce," by Charles Eliot Norton, son of Professor Norton, was among the best exercises, both for composition & elocution.

30. The II. English oration, "Tamerlane," by George Martin Lane, was well delivered, but did not equal the expectations of some who heard him at a former exhibition & at the inauguration of President Everett.

32. The concluding oration, by Francis James Child, on "The Prospects of Man & the Poetical Justice of Providence," was an uncommon exhibition of talent, composition, & elocution. When the young man ascended the stage he was welcomed with loud & long continued applauses, so that it was some time before he could commence. The cheering was also very enthusiastic when he left the stage.

The cheering was almost as hearty when Lane ascended the stage.

Governor Briggs and most of his suite arrived in good season. But

[1] Rain on Com^{t} days, 1, 1796; 2, 1798; 3, 1835; 4, 1837; 5, 1845; 6, 1846. — *Note by Dr. Pierce.*

[2] Here follow the names, beginning with Dr. Ezra Green, of the class of 1765.

[3] Born in Exeter, N. H., April 19, 1827; died at Sugar Hill, Lisbon, N. H., August 25, 1887.

his Excellency dispensed with the customary escort of the Lancers, a military company in Boston, on account of the rain.

This was the first Commencement on which President Everett presided; and he performed his part with dignity & grace, to admiration.

The Overseers met in Gore Hall, the VI. anniversary. It was the III. anniversary on which no exercises, as was formerly the invariable custom, were assigned to the Masters.

Exercises of the day. Performed, — salutatory ora. Latin, 1; essays, 5; dissertations, 8; disquisitions, 4; Greek oration, 1; English orations, 6 = 25. Assigned, but not performed, — essays, 3; interme. Lat. ora., 1; disquisitions, 3 = 7. Total assigned, 32.

After the several parts were performed, the President took the Old Chair, and with his academic cap gave the degrees in the usual form. A.B., in course, 61; do. out of course, 1; A.M., in course, 29; do. out of course, 6; M.D., 48; LL.B., 56. A.M. Hon., Nathaniel Barker, Col. John M. Fessenden, Rev. James Means; LL.D., Benjamin Rand, Hon. Wm. Campbell Preston, Hon. Henry Black, Hon. Thomas Grenville; D.D., Rev. Alexander Young, Rev. Leonard Woods, Jr.

At the close of the exercises the usual invitations to dinner were given; and all who were to dine went without order to the Library, where a procession was formed, and we repaired to Harvard Hall for dinner.

I was the oldest clergyman present, and according to former usages it would have fallen to me to ask the blessing. But this service I performed in 1843, when I was 70 years of age. I then resolved that I would ever in future decline the service, in favor of the principle of rotation. Dr. Codman, of 1802, being the next in age present, asked the blessing in a becoming manner.

For what next followed I subjoin an extract from the next day's "Mercantile Journal."

"At the close of the repast the company joined, as usual, in singing the LXXVIII. Psalm, to the tune of St. Martin's, which was led off by the venerable Dr. Pierce, of Brookline, with his fine, clear, & sonorous voice. This psalm has always been sung, so far as any one now knows, at the annual Commencement Dinners, & this is the 44th year that printed copies of it have been distributed, one to each person at the tables.

"After the singing of the psalm, President Everett, remarking that it was not the custom upon this occasion to occupy time with toasts & speeches, said that he would so far trespass upon the usual course as to give the memory of one individual who ought never to be forgotten there, the immortal Founder of the College. In this connection he spoke very pleasantly & feelingly of his researches in England for anything which might throw light upon the family or name of John Harvard. Until upon the eve of his return to this country, he had not been able to find any trace of the name or family, except in the Register of Harvard's own membership at the College where he was educated. But in passing through a narrow street in the city of London, just before his departure from it, his attention was arrested by a small sign, bearing the name & calling of

'John Harvard, lampmaker.' On this circumstance Mr. Everett dwelt in a half serious strain. The family, if it was that of one John Harvard, had, although reduced, adhered to a congenial & fitting trade; & if they could no longer found institutions for the spread of spiritual light, they were yet determined to afford material light to their fellowmen. It had reminded him of an injunction which the graduates of Harvard might well adopt as a motto (in default of Greek type, our readers must put up with a translation), 'Let those who have lamps share their light with their neighbors.'

"Mr. Everett closed his brief remarks by giving as a toast, the memory of John Harvard, at which the whole company arose, & the company soon after dispersed.

"The entertainment was conducted on the plan of total abstinence from all drinkables except water & lemonade. (The first of the kind, it is believed.)"

I began to set the tune 17 July, 1793, when I took my degree. It was the custom to deacon the lines, as it is called, till the Commencement of 1803, when the psalm was printed & put under each plate. I have set the psalm ever since, except when I did not dine in the hall, but with some private company. It was this year the 34th time in which I have officiated in that capacity, so that reckoning the 53 years in which I have sustained the office of Commencement chorister, it is more than one quarter of the period from the first Commencement of the College. This was the XIIth anniversary on which the psalm took the place of the thanks formerly rendered.

After dinner in the hall, I went by invitation to Professor Norton's, where he & his brother-in-law Guild, who had each a son graduated this day, with honor, had made large & elegant provision for numerous guests. But the rain prevented. Their notes were dated "Shady Hill." I remarked to Neighbor Guild, that in such a storm every hill will be shady.

After this call, which I made in the company and in the carriage of the Governor, he carried me to pay our respects to President Everett. We found callers passing into his house in quick succession. A fine band of instrumental music were in his yard discoursing sweet music. I arrived home about sunset.

In going from Mrs. Hedge's to the Colleges this morning, in my chaise, I met Professor Popkin, my long tried friend. I halted in my chaise to salute him. Instead of responding to my civility, he abruptly said, "I cannot stop to speak to you; for I must go to my family." By this intimation I understood that he was hastening home to his family devotions. Poor man, I fear that he is but little removed from insanity, of which complaint his mother died.[1] . . .

[1] The order of exercises for the declamations, the account of the anniversary of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, and some statistical and personal memoranda here follow.

The life and character of Dr. Popkin are well delineated in "A Memorial of the Rev. John Snelling Popkin, D.D., late Eliot Professor of Greek Literature in

Alive on the Catalogue before me, 87; dead on the Catalogue before me, 789.

First class in which a majority are living, 1805. Last class in which a majority are dead, 1807. Last class in which all are dead, 1780. Only classes in which all are alive, 1844, 1845, 1846.

At this Commencement there are 317 names in italics of those who are living.

Of these there are Liberal Cong$^{ts.}$	103	in of.	68	out of of.	= 171
Orthodox	32	"	34	"	= 66
Episcopalians	31	"	9	"	= 40
Baptists	6	"	4	"	= 10
Universalists	3	"	0	"	= 3
Swedenborgians	2	"	0	"	= 2
Methodist	1	"	0	"	= 1
Roman Catholic	1	"	0	"	= 1

Laid by, as broken vessels, between $\frac{1}{5}$ & $\frac{1}{6}$ part.[1]

[1847.]

On Wednesday, 25 August, 1847, I attended my LXIII. Commencement at H. U. The day was cool; the roads dusty; no rain having fallen for 7 days. The neighborhood, however, of the Colleges was throughout the day sprinkled by the Dearborn watering machine.

The Governor escorted by the Lancers, a horse company from Boston, arrived in such season that the preliminary business was transacted so as to enable the procession to arrive at the meetinghouse precisely at X.

Dr. Walker, of the Corporation, opened the occasion with a short and appropriate prayer.

The salutatory Latin oration, by Lowe,[2] was finely written and spoken, 1; essays performed, 3; not performed, 3 = 6; disquisitions performed, 4; not performed, 4 = 8; dissertations, all performed, 11; an English poem, 1; English orations, 5 = 32.

The poem was highly applauded, delivered by the second scholar in the class, Felton.[3]

Harvard University. Edited by Cornelius C. Felton, his Successor in Office." Cambridge: Published by John Bartlett, 1852. 12mo. pp. lxxxvii and 392.

[1] Here follow 58 names.

[2] Rev. Charles Lowe, born in Portsmouth, N. H., Nov. 19, 1828; died in Swampscott, June 20, 1874.

[3] John B. Felton, born in Boston, June 9, 1827; died in Oakland, Cal., May 2, 1877. His poem was entitled "The Hours."

The concluding oration, by Marsters,[1] was a masterly performance. The next best speakers were Tiffany[2] and Savage.[3]

The exercises, as a whole, were respectable. But a single speaker hesitated in the delivery, and he, Jennison,[4] soon recovered his recollection.

The Overseers met in Gore Hall, the VII. anniversary. It was the IV. on which no candidates for the Master's degree took part in the public exercises, as was the case in former times.

Admitted to the degree of A.B., 60; A.M., in course, 12; A.M., out of course, 3; LL.B., 47; M.D., 48. Degree of *A.M.* Honorary on Evangelinus A. Sophocles, Prof. Eben Norton Horsford, Royall Tyler, Rev. Frederic T. Gray, 4; *LL.D.*, Dr. Henry Holland, of London, Prof. Wm. Kent, Judge Peleg Sprague, Prof. E. T. Channing, Hon. John Banister Gibson, Hon. John Taylor Lomax, Hon. Timothy Farrar, the oldest living graduate, H. U. 1767, 7; *D.D.*, Pres. Woolsey, Y. C., Rev. Samuel Barrett, Rev. Emerson Davis, Rev. William Henry Furness, 4.

After the exercises we repaired without order to the Gore Library. Thence we went in procession to Harvard Hall to dine. President Hopkins, of Williams College, asked the blessing. Instead of thanks, as in olden times, the singing of LXXVIII. Psalm to St. Martin's was substituted, for XIII. anniversary. I set the psalm, as is my wont.

After dinner I went by invitation to the room of Joseph Peabody Gardner, a graduate of the day, son of John Lowell Gardner, whose summer residence is in Brookline.

Early in the evening I waited upon my daughter Hedge to President Everett's levee, where we were introduced to several strangers, and partook the generous hospitality of the house. The band of music, in attendance, played at my solicitation Tivoli, Marseillais Hymn, & Auld Lang Syne.

President Everett, after dinner, read an account of some plate, written by the Librarian, given by a relative, in the early period of the University. At the same time he apologized for not having speeches, for want of time. . . .

Alive on the Catalogue before me, 72. Dead after me, 837. First class in which a majority are alive, 1805. Last class in which a majority are dead, 1807. Last class in which all are dead, 1780. Only classes in which all are alive, 1846, 1847.[5] . . .

[1] Rev. John M. Marsters. His theme was "Conservatism in a Republic."

[2] Rev. Francis Tiffany. His Commencement part was an oration on "The Coronation of Petrarch."

[3] James W. Savage. He had an oration entitled "The Reviewer."

[4] James Jennison, born in Southbridge, August 21, 1821; died in Cambridge, Oct. 19, 1876. He had a dissertation on "Society and the Individual."

[5] On the day after Commencement, Dr. Pierce, as usual, attended the anniversary celebration and dinner of the Phi Beta Kappa Society. On this occasion he

[1848.]

On Wednesday, 23 August, 1848, I attended my LXIV. Commencement, H. U.

The day was so cool that thick clothing was comfortable. The roads had become dry, but those in the vicinity of the University were moistened by artificial means.

My attendance on Cambridge Commencements from the first, in 1784, to the present time has been uninterrupted, except in 1791, when my beloved mother was buried.

There are but 14 graduates of Harvard University living, according to the Triennial Catalogue published this year, whose Commencements I did not attend.[1] . . .

The Governor & suite arrived in season for the procession to reach the meetinghouse within a few minutes of X.

The salutatory oration, by Chase,[2] the second scholar in the class, was everything which could be desired.

The number of exercises on the order was 29, all but 3 of which were performed.

The omissions were an essay, a disquisition, and a Greek oration.

The exercises performed were 9 disquisitions; 8 dissertations; 1 essay; 1 Latin poem; and 6 English orations, besides the salutatory.

The performances in general were respectable; some of a high order; all spoke sufficiently loud; and not one hesitated or had to recur to his notes.

The valedictory orator was, by common consent, considered the first scholar in his class. But in elocution he was greatly exceeded by Edward James Young, son of Dr. Alexander Young, on "The Reciprocal Influence of the Old World and the New."

writes in his journal: "After dinner, Mr. Parsons, as presiding officer, made an introductory speech, in which he spoke of himself as an old man. I started up and remarked that I objected to the sentiment that he was an old man, as some at my end of the table were settled in life before he was born. Mr. Parsons replied by some pleasant personalities. He spoke of meeting Dr. Harris and myself on a certain occasion, when the Dr. gave me some valuable information. After my departure, Dr. Harris spoke to Mr. Parsons, in words to this effect. 'Now Brother Pierce will go home and make a particular record of what he has heard from me. In short,' continued the Dr., 'he will leave "the recording angel" but little or nothing to record.' This brought up another speaker, who stated that, in company with Judge Davis, I was once asked where a certain person was born. To which I replied, I knew not. 'Then,' said Judge Davis, 'I don't believe that he was born anywhere.' In short, the whole meeting was one of perpetual jest, repartee, and good humor, sufficient to give evidence that wine is by no means necessary to a social gathering."

[1] Dr. Pierce here gives their names, beginning with Judge Farrar, 1767.

[2] Thomas Chase.

This was the V^th^ anniversary in succession on which there were no Master's exercises, VIII. anniversary in Gore Hall.[1] . . .

After the exercises in the church, which lasted till about III, the graduates went, without a procession, to the Library. A procession was then formed, and we proceeded in order to the hall. Dr. Alonzo Church was assigned by the President to my care. He is a native of Brattleborough, a graduate at Middlebury College, Vt., 1816, and has been for more than 30 years connected with the College at Athens, in Georgia, of which he has been President for more than 17 years. Agreeably to previous arrangement, he asked the blessing. Instead of thanks as formerly, the singing of the LXXVIII. Psalm, to St. Martin's, was substituted for the XIV. anniversary.

Degrees conferred. A.B., in course, 57; do. of 1846, 1; A.M., in course, 12; out of course, 4; LL.B., 32; M.D., 30. A.M., Bernard Roelker; A.M. Honorary, Edwin P. Whipple, Lorenzo Sabine, Rev. Charles Edward Leverett, 3; D.D., Rev. George O'Kill Stuart, Rev. Wm. B. Sprague, Joseph Allen, Edward Brooks Hall; LL.D., Henry Hallam, Eng., Hon. Joel Parker, Hon. Theron Metcalf, Chancellor Walworth, Prof. Louis Agassiz.

I prefaced my setting the psalm with the remark that as time had not yet beaten me, I should beat time once more, as this practice enables a large company the better to keep time. It was remarked by some good judges that St. Martin's never went better on a Commencement occasion.

After dinner I went to Judge Fay's, to meet the fragment of the class of 1798, of which I was formerly their particular tutor. I had been invited with other surviving tutors to meet such as should assemble to keep their Jubilee.

The class originally consisted of 48. Thirty have gone the way of all the earth. Eighteen remain among the living; and it is not a little remarkable that of these 15 were assembled on this joyous, yet solemn occasion, namely: 1. John Abbot, Westford; 2. Rev. Thomas Beede; 3. Thomas Cole, Salem; 4. Andrew Croswell; 5. Humphrey Devereux, Salem; 6. S. P. P. Fay, Cambridge; 7. Isaac Fiske, Weston; 8. Ralph Hill French; 9. Rev. Jona. French, Northampton, N. H.; 10. Henry Gardner, Dorchester; 11. Nathaniel Lord, Ipswich; 12. Rev. Abraham Randall, Stow; 13. Hon. Richard Sullivan, Boston; 14. Dr. Robert Thaxter, Dorchester; 15. Hon. Sidney Willard, Mayor of Cambridge.

The other surviving members of the class are Dr. Matthias Spalding, who fully intended to meet his class, but was prevented by indisposition; Hon. Stephen Longfellow, of Portland, whose feeble state of health absolutely forbade him to make the attempt; and William Williams,

[1] Here follow the memoranda about Dr. Pierce's seniors and contemporaries.

who at Commencement had the second honor, but from whom no tidings were received.

Dr. Popkin and myself were present, by invitation, as their former tutors.

Judge Fay had spread his table with the choicest fruits of the season, and, I suppose, the most celebrated wines. Some of his class joined him in quaffing wine. On my refusal to take it, he reminded me of Paul's language to Timothy, "Drink a little wine for thy stomach sake"; but I at once replied that the reason on which that direction was founded did not apply to me, for I was not subject to "often infirmities." So easy is it to quote and pervert Scripture in defence of a beloved indulgence.

While at the table dwelling upon our reminiscences, we sang the following hymn, to Hebron: —

HYMN

FOR THE MEETING OF THE CLASS OF 1798, AT CAMBRIDGE, ON THEIR L. ANNIVERSARY, 1848. BY NATHANIEL LORD, ONE OF THE CLASS.

Eternal One, before whose sight
A thousand years are as the day,
And as a watch of the silent night,
Ages on ages roll away.

Before thy throne we humbly bow,
Thou ever good, thou ever just!
Thy being, one eternal Now;
Our frail foundation is the dust.

But yesterday, our cheerful band
In blithesome morn this classic ground
Perambulated, hand in hand,
While mirth and joy and hope went round.

Our daily task we here pursued;
Here we enjoyed our nightly rest;
Nor the world's toils could here intrude,
Nor cares disturb the youthful breast.

But those bright scenes have passed away;
Fifty short years have run their rounds;
Now we return, to take survey
Once more of these time-hallowed grounds.

But what a change! Death's ruthless hand
Has laid our loved companions low;
And the small remnant of our band
How small! How soon we all must go!

Our teachers honored and beloved
Who still remain, we welcome here,
Rejoiced to be by them approved,
As erst we used their frown to fear.

When the great Master calls our band
To enter other worlds than this,
May we partake at his right hand
Of "perfect, ever growing bliss." [1]

And may our Alma Mater dear
Till time shall cease so train our youth,
As to send forth from year to year
Her children valiant for the truth.

A large and elegant bouquet, in the form of a pyramid, was privately conveyed to Judge Fay's house, with poetry, afterwards ascertained to proceed from the wife of Nathaniel Silsbee, Jr., and daughter of Mr. Humphrey Devereux.

To the Class of 1798, at Hon. S. P. P. Fay's, Cambridge.

Just fifty years ago, good friends, a young and gallant band
Were dancing round the farewell tree, each hand in comrade's hand,
And hearts beat high, and eyes shone bright, till smiles were chased by tears,
And we parted from our classmates dear, for life, or for long years.

The world was all a vision fair; its trials and its strife
Had never sent its echoes to our calm, scholastic life,
And if we knew that clouds must come to turn our day to night
The bow of hope was still our own to make the darkness bright.

And so we left the pleasant shades of Harvard's classic bowers,
Where we had passed, in toil and sport, so many happy hours;
And the man returning to the home from which he went a boy
Began to weave life's mingled web of sorrow and of joy.

And sure am I, that none forget, though many a year has fled,
How proudly to our well earned homes our blushing wives we led;
And we remember well how our hearts grew larger year by year
To hold within their inmost depths our little children dear.

Then as our boys and girls grew up to man and womanhood
How earnestly we prayed that God would keep them true and good;
And when his hand has plucked our flowers, to bloom above with him,
We still could praise his name, although our eyes with tears were dim.

Year after year our ranks were thinned, our brightest and our best
Have left this world of ours to seek the mansions of the blest;
But in their upward flight they spread "a trailing cloud of glory"
O'er the class that boasts a Tuckerman, a Channing, and a Story.

[1] "See Professor Tappan's lecture to the class, in 1798, on their leaving college."

A stalworth band around we stand ; and though among the dead
The sapling and the leafy tree have bowed the stately head;
Yet the "brave old oaks" have weathered out full many wintry storms,
And still through shade and sunshine they rear their sturdy forms.

With heart on lip we'll pledge to all in memory enshrined,
And wreath the honored heads of those who trained each youthful mind;
And when another fifty years are numbered with the past,
When all who meet together here have looked on earth their last,
May the great boon of Christian men to one and all be given,
A band of brothers here below, O may we love in heaven.

The foregoing lines were accompanied by a beautiful pyramid of flowers tastefully arranged, which decorated the centre of a table spread with the choicest fruits, & sparkling with cotemporary wine ruin; being the anniversaries of the class, at the hospitable mansion of the Hon. S. P. P. Fay. Whence the flowers & the note came no one knew; & it was concluded y^{t} y^{e} guardian spirit of y^{e} occasion had dropped y^{m} there in this mysterious manner w^{n} an accidental circumstance betrayed y^{e} secret of this tribute of filial piety & affection by a daughter of y^{e} class of 1798, who was thereon unanimously voted an honorary member of y^{e} class.

Before me in italics alive, 0 alone; 2 have colleagues; 0 preach; 11 left preaching. 13 in italics, alive before me; 44, not in italics; 57, total. Dr. Popkin, the oldest in italics who was out at Commencement.

First class in which a majority are alive, 1806. Last class in which a majority are dead, 1807. Last class in which all are dead, 1780. Only class in which all are alive, 1848. In classes after 1767, all dead, 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, 1773, 1774, 1775, 1778, 1779, 1780.

After passing a short time very pleasantly with the fragment of the class of 1798 I went to Mrs. Everett's levee, where I found a large collection, though not so large as I saw the week before at President Woolsey's, New Haven.[1]

Comparative Expenses of three Graduates of Harvard University.

[December, 1838.]

I will here record as a matter of curiosity the expenses for a college education at Cambridge incurred by my maternal uncle, James Blake, who entered Harvard University, July, 1765, & was graduated July, 1769;

[1] This was the last Commencement which Dr. Pierce attended. He died on the 24th of August, 1849, a few weeks after the Commencement of that year, which he was too feeble to attend.

Next, John Pierce's (my own), who entered July, 1789, and was graduated July, 1793; and

Thirdly, John Tappan Pierce's (my son), who entered August, 1827, and was graduated August, 1831.

Freshman Year.

Mr. James Blake to Jona. Hastings, College Steward, Dr.

	£	s.	d.	q.
To the I Quarter bill from 14 June to 13 Sep., 1765 .	1.	8.	11.	2
To commons & sizings from 13 Sep. to 8 Nov., 1765 .	1.	19.	1.	0
	3.	8.	0.	2
Aug. 21, 1765, Credit	1.	4.		
	2.	4.	0.	2
To the II Quarter bill from 13 Sep. to 13 Dec., 1765 .	1.	17.	6	
	4.	1.	6.	2
To the III Quarter bill from 13 Dec. to 14 Mar., 1766	3.	14.	10	
To the IV Quarter bill from 14 Mar. to 13 June, 1766				
Punished for not reciting 1/.	5.	6.	2.	2
	9.	11.	0.	2
4 July, 1766, rec'd by Exhibition money	6.	14.	8	
	2.	16.	4.	2

Sophomore Year.

Mr. James Blake to Jona. Hastings, College Steward, Dr.

	£	s.	d.	q.
To the I Quarter bill from 13 June to 12 Sep., 1766 .	3.	19.	6.	2
To the II Quarter bill from 12 Sep. to 12 Dec., 1766 .	5.	2.	2.	2
	9.	1.	9.	0
To the III Quarter bill from 12 Dec. to 13 Mar., 1767	4.	2.	6.	1
To the IV Quarter bill from 13 Mar. to 12 June, 1767	5.	0.	7.	2
	9.	3.	1.	3

9 July, 1767

	£	s.	d.
Rec'd by Exhibition money	6.	14.	8
Rec'd by your being Monitor 3			

9. 14. 8

11. 6. 1

s. d. q.

You see there is 11. 6. 1 due to you.

Junior Year.

Mr. James Blake to Jona. Hastings, College Steward, Dr.

	£	s.	d.	q.
Your account rendered to 11 Sep. 1767	13.	15.	2.	2
To the II Quarter bill from 11 Sep. to 11 Dec., 1767	5.	14.	0.	1
	19.	9.	2.	3
Credit	9.	14.	8	
	9.	14.	6.	3
Your account rendered to 11 Mar., 1768	4.	8.	1.	2
To the IV Quarter bill from 10 Mar. to 10 June, 1768				
Punished, absence from prayers / 2, not reciting 1 /	5.	3.	0.	1
	9.	11.	1.	3
4 July, 1768, Rec'd by Exhibition	6.	14.	8	
	2.	16.	5.	3

Senior Year.

	£	s.	d.	q.
Your account rendered to 9 Sep., 1768	4.	11.	2.	1
To II Quarter bill from 9 Sep. to 9 Dec., 1768 . .	5.	11.	1.	2
	10.	2.	3.	3
Punished { Absence from prayers / 2, by Mr. Wigglesw. / 4				
{ Absence from College one night 1 / 6				
24 December, Credit by Mr. Eliot's order	0.	0.	9.	3
	10.	1.	6.	0

	£	s.	d.	q.
Account rendered to 10 March, 1769	4.	8.	3.	3
To IV Quarter bill from 10 Mar. to 9 June, 1769 . .	5.	9.	1	
Punished, absence from prayer / 2				
To Commons & sizings from 10 June to 30 June, 1769	1.	2.	5	
Toward the Commencement dinner	0.	18.	0	
	11.	17.	9.	3
Credit	6.	14.	8	
	5.	3.	1.	3

Summary of James Blake's Bills.

	Bills. $	c.	m.	Credit. $	c.	m.
Freshman year . .	47.	09.	7	26.	44.	5
Sophomore year . .	60.	81.	6	32.	44.	
Junior year . . .	96.	72.	9	54.	88.	9
Senior year . . .	73.	35.	4	23.	98.	6
Total, Bills	277.	99.	6	137.	76.	0
Total, Credit . . .	137.	76.	0			
Had to pay, only . .	140.	23.	6			

John Pierce's College Bills.

		£ s. d.	$ c. m.
Freshman year,	1789, 27 Aug.	3. 6. 7	
	26 Nov.	8. 1. 4	
	1790, 25 Feb.	4. 5. 4	
	27 May	5.17. 5	
		21.10. 8	= 71.77.8
Sophomore year,	26 Aug.	5.11.10	
	25 Nov.	6. 7. 7	
	1791, 24 Feb.	4. 2. 9	
	26 May	4. 2. 8	
		20. 4.10	= 67.47.2
Junior year,	25 Aug.	5. 8. 6	
	24 Nov.	6. 9.10	
	1792, 23 Feb.	4. 7.10	
	24 May	6.16	
		23. 1. 4	= 76.88.9
Senior year,	30 Aug.	3.11.11	
	29 Nov.	4. 8. 3	
	1793, 21 Feb.	4.10. 8	
	30 May	8. 8. 4	
	21 June	1.12. 1	
		22.11. 3	= 75.20.8
		87. 8. 1	= 291.34.7

	£ s. d.		Federal money. $ c. m.	
Credit, Freshman year,	5.17.5	=	19.56.9	
Sophomore year,	6.15.3	=	22.54.2	
Junior year,	6.16.0	=	22.66.7	
Senior year,	11. 6.8	=	37.77.8	
	£ 30.15.4	=	$102.55.6	
So that from	87. 8.1	=	291.34.7	Total of bills.
Deduct credit	30.15.4	=	102.55.6	Total of credit.
Leaves to be paid by my father	56.12.9	=	188.79.1	Paid by my father.

It will be perceived that I was not required to pay a single cent for fines, though fines were very common at that period.

It has always appeared unaccountable to me, how my father managed to pay the small sum required, as he was a shoemaker with ten

children. It affords a striking proof of what may be accomplished by industry, economy, and temperance, with the blessing of Almighty God!

John Tappan Pierce's College Bills.

		$ c.
Freshman year,	First Term bill, 19 Dec., 1827 .	69.23
	Second Term bill, 20 Mar., 1828 .	64.30
	Third Term bill, 16 July, 1828 .	55.40
	Spending money	11.22
	Expenses of the Freshman year =	200.15
Sophomore year,	First Term bill, 24 Dec., 1828 .	68.15
	Second Term bill, 31 Mar., 1829 .	59.15
	Third Term bill, 14 July, 1829 .	54.35
		181.65
	Spending money	24.25
	Expenses of the Sophomore year =	205.90
Junior year,	First Term Bill, 23 Dec., 1829 .	61.20
	Second Term bill, 7 Apr., 1830 .	57.65
	Third Term bill, 14 July, 1831 .	55.42
	Spending money	12.50
	Expenses of the Junior year =	186.77
Senior year,	First Term bill, 22 Dec., 1830 .	70.07
	Second Term bill, 6 Apr., 1831 .	53.96
	Third Term bill	58.63
	Spending money	32.64
	Expenses of the Senior year =	215.30

Summary.

	$ c.		$ c.	Total.
Freshman year Term bills	188.93	+ Spending money	11.22	= 200.15
Sophomore	181.65	+	24.25	= 205.90
Junior	174.27	+	12.50	= 186.77
Senior	182.66	+	32.64	= 215.30
	727.51		80.61	= 808.12

General Summary.

Com.	Total of Bills. $ c. m.	Total of Credit. $ c. m.
James Blake, 1769,	277.09.7	137.76.0
John Pierce, 1793,	291.34.7	102.56.6
John T. Pierce, 1831,	727.00.0	

I never asked nor received a single cent of pecuniary favor for my son, of the Government of Harvard University, though I had a large family, and my salary, besides wood and rent of my house and lands, never amounted to more than $850 ℔ annum.[1]

Mr. WILLIAM S. APPLETON said: —

During my absence of three years in Europe I twice passed many days at the principal registry of probate in London, known as Doctors' Commons, working by the side of Mr. Waters. I wish of course not to interfere with the Genealogical Gleanings now in course of publication under his name, but I read several wills of such curious personal interest that I have decided to communicate some of them to the Society.

Mr. Savage says, in his "Genealogical Dictionary of New England," under the name AMBROSE, "JOSHUA, of wh. we gladly would kn. the f. and date of b.," "NEHEMIAH, of unkn. parentage." Both these men were graduates of Harvard in the class of 1653, but Mr. Sibley knew no more of their parentage than did Mr. Savage; and I wish they were alive to know that Peter Ambrose, of Toxteth, Lancashire, in his will, 1653, named his sons Joshua and Nehemiah, and as if to leave no possible doubt also mentioned New England.

Mr. Nathaniel I. Bowditch, as all remember, dedicated his volume, "Suffolk Surnames," "to the memory of A. Shurt, 'the father of American conveyancing,' whose name is associated alike with my daily toilet and my daily occupation." I think he would have been pleased to know that George Shurt, of Bideford, in his will, 1655, mentioned his brother "Abraham Shurt now in newe England," and particularly desired him to return to England and receive the property, as I believe it is quite possible he did.

Lion Gardener, in a letter in the Winthrop Papers (4th series, vol. vii.), mentions Kempo Sybada, a sea-captain, of whom the editors say something in a short note. He is not famous,

[1] Notwithstanding the care with which Dr. Pierce made up these comparative statements, there are two or three trifling mistakes in the items, which do not, however, affect the General Summary. An examination of the Steward's books, in the University Library, shows that James Blake's bill for the fourth quarter of his Freshman Year amounted to £5 . 16 . 2 . 2; and that John Pierce's bill for the third quarter of his Junior Year was £4 . 7. The aggregate of John T. Pierce's bills in the General Summary is not exact.

but I found his will of 1659. He called himself of London, mariner, and devised his "Lands houses and plantations in Affrica (To witt in New England and Jameco)," and named his friend Capt. John Wentworth, of "Barmodaes." So far as I know, the first mention of New England in a will is that of Thomas Marshall, of London, who in 1625 left to his father John "all my right title and benefitt whatsoever which I have for fishinge or other wise in Plymouth in New England."

In my "Ancestry of Priscilla Baker," printed in 1870, I was only able to conjecture that Elizabeth, wife of Edmund Reade, of Wickford in Essex, afterwards also of the Rev. Hugh Peter, might have been daughter of Thomas Cooke, of Pebmarsh in Essex. I am glad to be able to say that I was right. This Thomas Cooke in his will, 1621, named his son-in-law Edmund Reade with wife Elisabeth, and his grandchildren Samuel Reade, Margaret wife of John Lake, and Martha Reade now wife of —— Epps, of London. This last afterwards married Deputy-Governor Samuel Symonds.

Katherine Oxenbridge, a widow lady, in her will, 1651, used the words, "I give to the Plantation of New England Tenne poundes for to buy bookes for the Indians to Learne to read." I think this bequest can hardly have been carried out, for indefiniteness; but if the money were used as intended, the poor lady would certainly be grieved to know with how little result. Most interesting is a bequest in the wills of Anthony Abdy, Citizen and Alderman of London, 1640, and of his sons Roger, 1641, and Nicholas, 1642. All three used the identical clause: £120 "to be disposed and bestowed by my Executors upon twenty poore Boyes and Girles to be taken up out of the streets of London as vagrants for the Cloathing and transporting of them either to Virginia New England or any other of the Western Plantations there to be placed." I am by no means able to say that nothing came of these bequests; but I have found no trace of them on this side of the ocean, and do not know whether Puritans or Cavaliers are descended from these "poore Boyes and Girles," vagrants from the streets of London.

Mr. Henry F. Waters was chosen a Resident Member.

The Hon. MELLEN CHAMBERLAIN, on being called on by the President, spoke of the meeting of the American Historical

Association recently held in Washington, where there was a large attendance of historical scholars from all parts of the country, and continued substantially as follows: —

Within the last decade there has grown up among us a new school of history which has its principal seats at the higher universities. It is now so well known by its leading characteristics that a minute description of it would seem like pretending to a new discovery. Its promise is high, and even thus early its work is more than respectable as that of young men mainly of scholastic training, unacquainted with affairs, and without opportunities for observing how the elementary facts which make history are colored and even transformed in legislative assemblies, by judicial decisions, and in the tumultuous proceedings of the crowd. Gibbon has recorded that his captainship in the Hampshire grenadiers had not been useless to the historian of the Roman Empire; and every one knows how much the historical insight of Clarendon, Hume, and Macaulay was quickened, and how much their narratives gain in closeness and verisimilitude by their participation in government, diplomacy, and parliamentary affairs. And so will it be with the new school of American historians. Years and experience will add greatly to the value of their future work.

Their methods are the comparative of Bopp, and the critical of the later scientists; and these are something more than new names for old processes. Hutchinson, Belknap, Trumbull, and Ramsay were diligent seekers and close observers. They did good work; of its kind none better has been since done. But their field of observation was no wider than the subject in hand, of which they gave the facts very exactly, but not their relative values; nor were they curious about remote causes, or the origin of institutions.

The new methods have produced surprising results in history as well as in science. The historian of the new school, distrusting second-hand authorities, resorts to original documents; and if these are legal, as is more than likely to be the case in American history, since our English colonies were based on legal instruments, and their constitutional history is mainly found in the legal interpretation of those instruments, he acquaints himself with the rules of interpreting

such documents. The neglect of this obvious duty has often led to deplorable mistakes. At the same time he considers how often, and how justly, legal arguments and conclusions are overruled by considerations of public policy. This is especially necessary in the history of the period just before the Revolutionary War, when the weight of purely legal argument was mostly on one side, and on the other a weightier colonial policy. Deeper than legal principles, deeper even than questions of public policy, and more potent, were the instincts and traditions of the race, voiced as they often were by wild cries of the mob unthinking and sometimes cruel, but generally right in their main purpose. It was by his recognition of these, and by his appeal to them, that Pitt, with vague notions of constitutional law and sometimes mistaken in his views of public policy, made his first administration the most glorious in British annals; and Macaulay, gathering their varied expressions from recondite sources, added to his narrative much which will be more valued than its brilliancy and picturesqueness.

The methods of the new school are adapted to their subjects of research; and these, judiciously chosen as yet, are those which require neither a large canvas nor imaginative treatment, but rather, patient investigation and thoughtfulness, — such as the origin and growth of local institutions, municipal governments, constitutions, and social science. Nor is this history of our institutions limited to their beginnings and growth on American soil, but the inquiry is pushed into the remote *habitats* and ages of our Anglo-Saxon race.

Nothing could be better than this, though not without its perils in treatment. In a large view the human race is one; its thoughts, desires, necessities, and modes of action are similar; and so, to that extent, is its essential history. But such generalizations are more safely used by the anthropologist than by the historian. Nevertheless, there is a certain fascination in tracing the unity of history. It pleases the reader not less than the historian. There are few more effective paragraphs in any history than those in which Guizot affirms that "neither the English revolution nor the French revolution ever said, wished, or did anything that had not been said, wished, done, or attempted a hundred times before they burst forth; . . . and that nothing will be found of

which the invention originated with them, nothing which is not equally met with, or which, at all events, did not come into existence in periods which are called regular." [1]

I have spoken of this school as new, — new in its methods and new in its purposes; and so, doubtless, it is in this country, but not in Europe. Its prototype is to be found there, and there its most distinguished master, Dr. Edward A. Freeman. His view of our history may be gathered from a paragraph in which he says that "the early institutions of Massachusetts are part of the general institutions of the English people, as those are again part of the general institutions of the Teutonic race, and those are again part of the general institutions of the whole Aryan family." And there he says he stops; but he adds that his friends do him no wrong who make such institutions common to all mankind.[2]

The new American school inclines to go no farther than Freeman goes. But there is danger even in this. It is frequently said that our emigrant ancestors brought British institutions to Massachusetts; and with this notion we seek in English towns the prototypes of our own, and so back to those communities in the German forests vaguely described by Tacitus and Cæsar. I think there are reasons for caution in accepting the conclusions of some of our recent historical writers based on the theory of Dr. Freeman.

Analogies do not constitute identities. Instincts are not institutions; nor does similarity of design, or adaptation of institutions, indicate heredity, or even relationship. When Englishmen sought new homes on American soil, they doubtless came with the purpose of organizing society and government; but they would have done so without such antecedent purpose. With forethought they brought many things. But there is no evidence that they brought institutions, or had even meditated the form which they would give them. They certainly brought with them the instincts, traditions, and habits of their race, and these determined their action in unwonted situations and gave shape to their institutions. We know with some exactness what they brought with them. We have the lading of the ships in which they came. Besides themselves, their wives, their children and servants,

[1] English Revolution, preface.

[2] Introduction to American Institutional History, p. 13.

they brought clergymen, physicians, surveyors, mechanics, with food to serve until the soil should yield it. They brought clothing, furniture, tools, utensils, weapons offensive and defensive, and animals. They brought "Ministers, Men skilfull in making of pitch, of salt, vine Planters, Patent Under Seal, a Seal, wheat, rye, barley, oats, a head of each in the ear, beans, peas, stones of all sorts of fruits, as peaches, plums, filberts, cherries, pears, apples, quince kernels, pomegranates, woad seed, saffron heads, liquorice seed, roots sent and madder roots, potatoes, hop roots, hemp seed, flax seed against winter, connys, currant plants, tame turkeys, and madder seed." But we nowhere find mention of Magna Charta, the British Constitution, the Petition of Right, or English institutions. Nor is much said about them in their books, sermons, diaries, or correspondence. But when they needed, they found them directly enough in the traditions and instincts of their race.

While their general purposes were clear, there is no evidence that they had any definite and fixed plans as to their government or institutions. The evidence is all the other way. Their charter, which was the expression and measure of their rights, gave them no power to set up a government save of rules for managing a land company. If they intended to bring an English town with them, as is so often said they did, they were singularly lacking in care; for when they had organized their commonwealth government, and arranged themselves in separate communities for which corporate town powers were necessary, no warrant was found in their charter, and to meet the necessity they were obliged to usurp the power of forming corporations, for which they were afterwards called to account, and greatly to their cost.

So our English ancestors did not bring English towns with them, nor English churches, nor vestries, nor British institutions. But on occasion they builded for themselves, as Englishmen always and everywhere had done and still do, according to the exigencies of their situation, and after the manner of their race, just as the seeds they brought with them produced, each after its kind, but modified by differences of soil, climate, and situation. And so doubtless was it with their ancestors, and ours, who came from the forests of Germany to

England; but it is questionable whether they brought German towns into England. We must not be misled by analogies or resemblances, nor assign to nationality what belongs to all races. Wherever people are gathered in stationary communities, their communal wants will be essentially the same, and will be provided for essentially in the same manner. But it is quite probable that a fully organized New England town differed in as many particulars, and as widely, from an English town, as that from a German town, or as that from one in the heart of Africa.

It is not to be inferred, from what has been said, that the new historical school have generally fallen into the mistake indicated, though perhaps there is a tendency to do so.

One of those who adopted the extreme view as to the origin and powers of New England towns was the late Prof. Alexander Johnston. His opinions took shape in a monograph entitled "The Genesis of a New England State," published in 1883, which was substantially incorporated into his history of "Connecticut: A Study of Commonwealth Democracy," published in 1887. On the appearance of this work I read it with interest; but finding some statements and opinions, presently to be referred to, which seemed to me questionable at least, I made memoranda which form the substance of what I am now saying. Professor Johnston possessed many qualifications for writing history. He readily apprehended and swiftly methodized the facts appertaining to his subject, and presented them in an attractive style. His views of the origin and development of our institutions were those of the new school pushed beyond their extreme limits; but his way of handling facts and drawing inferences from them was his own, and, in my judgment, not to be commended.

His views are best set forth in his own words, as follows: —

1. "Connecticut's town system was, by a fortunate concurrence of circumstances, even more independent of outside control than that of Massachusetts; the principle of local government had here a more complete recognition; and in the form in which it has done best service, its beginning was in Connecticut.

2. "The first conscious and deliberate effort on this continent to establish the democratic principle in control of government was the settlement of Connecticut; and her Constitution of 1639, the first

written and democratic constitution on record, was the starting-point for the democratic development which has since gained control of all our Commonwealths, and now makes the essential feature of our commonwealth government.

3. "Democratic institutions enabled the people of Connecticut to maintain throughout their colonial history a form of government so free from crown control that it became really the exemplar of the rights at which all the colonies finally aimed.

4. "Connecticut, being mainly a federation of towns, with neither so much of the centrifugal force as in Rhode Island nor so much of the centripetal force as in other colonies, maintained for a century and a half that union of the democratic and federative ideas which has at last come to mark the whole United States.

5. "The Connecticut delegates, in the Convention of 1787, by another happy concurrence of circumstances, held a position of unusual influence. The frame of their commonwealth government, with its equal representation of towns in one branch, and its general popular representation in the other, had given them a training which enabled them to bend the form of our national Constitution into a corresponding shape; and the peculiar constitution of our Congress, in the different bases of the Senate and House of Representatives, was thus the result of Connecticut's long maintenance of a federative democracy."

The foregoing propositions contain several matters in respect to which I find myself not in accord with Professor Johnston, but I shall advert to two only; and these are, first, his ideas of the origin of Connecticut towns, the functions assigned to them in the formation of that Commonwealth, and their subsequent relation to it; and, secondly, the alleged influence in the Convention of 1787 of the Connecticut system in giving shape to the Constitution of the United States.

Before giving further extracts from Professor Johnston's history, I will notice briefly the circumstances of the settlement of the valley of the Connecticut, detailed more fully by Palfrey.[1]

The most considerable emigration to Massachusetts Bay which followed the coming of Winthrop in the summer of 1630 was a party of East England people who landed at Boston, Sept. 4, 1633. Of these the most conspicuous were John Cotton, Thomas Hooker, Samuel Stone, and John Haynes, all of whom, except the last, were clergymen, and all, except the

[1] History of New England, vol. i. pp. 444 *et seq.*

first, were prominent in bringing about, three years later, the exodus to Connecticut, and in setting up a new Commonwealth there in 1639. Hooker and Stone were settled at Newtown, now Cambridge, as pastor and teacher of the church there; and in the summer of 1636 they led many of their congregation, as well as the church, to what is now Hartford, where Haynes joined them the next year. Wareham, the Dorchester clergyman, also carried his church and part of the congregation to Windsor. These churches emigrated as organized bodies, thus creating vacancies in these several towns which were filled by the formation of new churches at Cambridge, under the charge of Shepard, and at Dorchester, under the charge of Richard Mather, the famous progenitor of the more famous Increase and Cotton Mather. But the emigrants from Watertown, Boston, and Roxbury, accompanied by several eminent men, went as groups of people unorganized either as church or community.

Thus, after three years' residence in the Bay, these people went away to Connecticut. Indeed, they had been settled only a few months before they conceived and made known their dissatisfaction with things as they found them, and began to form plans for removal. The reasons they assigned for this desire were as follows: —

1. "Their want of accommodation for their cattle, so as they were not able to maintain their ministers, nor could receive any more of their friends to help them; and here it was alleged by Mr. Hooker, as a fundamental error, that towns were so near to each other.

2. "The fruitfulness and commodiousness of Connecticut, and the danger of having it possessed by others, Dutch or English.

3. "The strong bent of their spirits to remove thither."[1]

In the two years before the emigrants led by Hooker had reached Connecticut, a considerable number of people must

[1] Palfrey, History of New England, vol. i. p. 445. Dr. Palfrey finds other reasons than those assigned for their desire to remove to Connecticut; and his views are adopted by Charles M. Andrews, Fellow in History, 1889–1890, Johns Hopkins University, in his monograph entitled "The River Towns of Connecticut." It seems to me, however, that much which has not been said may with good reason be said on the other side. Under three heads, Mr. Andrews has admirably treated the Early Settlement, the Land System, and the Towns and the People of Connecticut. Mr. Andrews does not accept Professor Johnston's peculiar theory in respect to the Connecticut towns, and quotes judicial decisions on the subject.

have gathered there; for the General Court, Sept. 3, 1635, ordered "That every town upon the Connecticut shall have liberty to choose their own constable, who shall be sworn by some magistrate of this Court"; and March 4 of the next year appointed a commission to order provisionally for one year the affairs of the people there, and to call a court of the inhabitants to execute the authority granted. When the powers of the Massachusetts commissioners expired, the people of the several towns chose their successors, and held courts until the adoption of a constitution, Jan. 14, 1639. A material fact to be noted is that in all of the proceedings of the General Court of Massachusetts relating to the Connecticut settlers, they are spoken of as "our loving friends, neighbors, freemen, and members of Newtown, Dorchester, Watertown, and other places, who are resolved to transport themselves and their estates unto the River of Connecticut, and there to reside and inhabit." No mention is made of any "migrating towns."

I now return to Professor Johnston's narrative. He says:

"The independence of the town was a political fact which has colored the whole history of the Commonwealth, and, through it, of the United States. Even in Massachusetts, after the real beginning of the government, the town was subordinate to the colony; and though the independence of the churches forced a considerable local freedom there, it was not so fundamental a fact as in Connecticut. Here the three original towns had in the beginning left commonwealth control behind them when they left the parent colony. They had gone into the wilderness, each the only organized political power within its jurisdiction. Since their prototypes, the little *tuns* of the primeval German forest, there had been no such examples of the perfect capacity of the political cell — the 'town' — for self-government. In Connecticut it was the towns that created the Commonwealth; and the consequent federative idea has steadily influenced the colony and State alike. In Connecticut the governing principle, due to the original constitution of things rather than to the policy of the Commonwealth, has been that the town is the residuary legatee of political power; that it is the State which is called upon to make out a clear case for powers to which it lays claim; and that the towns have a *prima facie* case in their favor wherever a doubt arises" (p. 61).

With these extracts before us we can state more succinctly Professor Johnston's theory. He says, though somewhat

vaguely, that towns came from the forests of Germany to England, and from England to Massachusetts Bay; and, more distinctly, that three of them, — Watertown, Newtown, and Dorchester, — as organized towns, migrated to Connecticut, and there, in 1639, set up a commonwealth as the result of their joint corporate action; — that these towns, having created a commonwealth, became the pattern for towns in other commonwealths; and so happily had their system of confederated towns worked, and especially in relation to the commonwealth, that the Connecticut delegation in the Convention of 1787 were able to persuade that body to form the Constitution of the United States on the same basis, — the Senate, with its equal and unalterable representation of sovereign States answering to the independent Connecticut towns; and the House of Representatives, elected by popular vote, answering to the Connecticut Council, elected in the same manner. Professor Johnston says: —

"And this is so like the standard theory of the relations of the States to the federal Government that it is necessary to notice the peculiar exactness with which the relations of Connecticut towns to the commonwealth are proportioned to the relations of the commonwealth to the United States. In other States, power runs from the State upwards and from the State downwards; in Connecticut, the towns have always been to the commonwealth as the commonwealth to the Union. . . . In this respect the life principle of the American Union may be traced straight back to the primitive union of the three little settlements on the bank of the Connecticut River. . . . It is hardly too much to say that the birth of the Constitution [of the United States] was merely the grafting of the Connecticut system on the stock of the confederation, where it has grown into richer luxuriance than Hooker could ever have dreamed of" (pp. 62, 322).

The fallacy of this scheme lies in his theory respecting towns, — their existence independent of some sovereign power.

This leads, then, to an examination of the nature of towns. Three things seem necessary to constitute a town, — territory, population, and corporate existence.

It must have definite territory with a certain permanency of tenure. A military company, a camp-meeting, or a tourist party — frequently more numerous than the inhabitants of

some towns — occupying territory for an indefinite time and, it may be, observing many regulations which govern towns, nevertheless does not constitute a town. Nor does a migratory body of people such as is found in pastoral regions; for when the inhabitants of a town remove to another locality they do not take their town with them, though no town remains behind. Whether they go to a place within the same jurisdiction, or to one outside of it, in either case on removal their corporate powers revert to the State, and they become a voluntary organization unknown to the law and without rights before it. They are relegated to their natural rights. Again, the inhabitants of a town constitute a legal unit which, for certain purposes at least, absorbs the individuality of all its members. It is a corporation by express creation of the State, or has become such by prescription; and one of the tests of such a body-corporate is its power to sue, and its liability to be sued, in its corporate name. When, therefore, certain inhabitants of Watertown, Cambridge, and Dorchester migrated to Connecticut, even though they constituted the major part of the inhabitants of those towns, and even though they had carried the town records and other evidences of their corporate existence along with them, which they did not, they went simply as a body of unorganized people voluntarily associated for seeking a new residence. They did not take the towns along with them. After the migration the map showed no vacancies with asterisks referring to the margin, "Gone to Connecticut." They went, according to the Act authorizing their going, as "divers of our loving friends, neighbors, freemen and members of Newtown, Dorchester, Watertown, and other places"; and they went under the government of commissioners authorized, not to create towns, but to exercise certain powers of state over them for the space of a year. So little is the foundation for Professor Johnston's assumption "that three fully organized Massachusetts towns passed out of the jurisdiction of any commonwealth, and proceeded to build up a commonwealth of their own" (p. 12).

But were it possible, and were it true, that the three Massachusetts towns migrated as such, it is neither true nor is it possible that they could have set up a commonwealth, though their people might do so, as they did.

Professor Johnston calls the town the political cell from which the commonwealth was evolved.

But a town can be the germ of nothing but a greater town; never of a commonwealth. The rights and duties of towns are communal; and for such rights and duties they may provide; but even then these powers are delegated, not inherent. The State may, and often does, attend to these matters. But the rights and duties of the State primarily concern sovereignty, external relations, and general laws affecting the inhabitants of all the State. Some of these powers the State, for convenience, may delegate to the inhabitants of towns, such as the election of constables, who are the officers of the State, not of the town, and whose legal relations are to the State, not to the town.

On the other hand, it need not be denied that a town may be something more, and like the Hanse Towns, become qualifiedly independent. But this is not in consequence of the development or extension of communal functions so as to include national functions. It is by taking on new functions. Where these are exercised, it is not because they belong to the town or city in its corporate capacity, but because they are assumed by the people, and their assumption is allowed by neighboring States; and even then they owe a qualified allegiance to some sovereign, which is inconsistent with the idea of an absolutely independent commonwealth.

If we look at the natural order of towns and commonwealths, it will appear that the latter is first. The primary question of government which concerns every community is that of sovereignty. When this is not denied, the question is in abeyance; nor does it practically arise where communities, under a previously settled order of relations to the sovereign power, proceed at once to provide for their communal relations.

And so we find that the first act of legislative bodies is to provide for the safety of the body politic, and later, for communal affairs. They first establish the State, and then erect towns. Nor is this order ever reversed. The genesis of the State is not from its parts, — confederated districts, towns, or counties, — but from the sovereign people, who arrange themselves into towns and counties.

The same is true of a confederacy of independent States, whether monarchical or democratic; for behind the resultant

form of confederation are the people, who assent to the proposed relation.

The genesis of American commonwealths is historically clear. (1) They originated with mere adventurers for fishing, hunting, or trading, who without territorial ownership or by State authority, established themselves on the coast. Among these, though with other views, must be included the Pilgrims driven out of their course by adverse circumstances, as well as the first settlers of Rhode Island and Connecticut. (2) They originated with those who had purchased lands and obtained charters. (3) They were founded under proprietary governments. (4) They were founded as royal governments. In all these cases we find that people first addressed themselves to their foreign relations, and to the perfecting of their autonomy. Neither towns nor town records appear until much later. Nor does it change the order of these relations that the State simultaneously took upon itself the direction of communal as well as of general affairs. The town was not the primordial cell which developed into a State, but the State was the mother of her towns. Development is along the lines of original constitutions, and seldom or never passes over into a different genus.

In accordance with this order, while the three Massachusetts towns of Watertown, Cambridge, and Dorchester, with their records and corporate powers and muniments, remain where they were first settled, it is true that a large number of their inhabitants, between 1634 and 1637, migrated to Connecticut and settled as communities in places now known as Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield. They went as unorganized bodies of people, by permission of the Bay Colony, which, for reasons stated in their commission, had assumed jurisdiction over that part of Connecticut, — a fact recognized by the migrating parties. It is further true that these same people, — not in any corporate capacity, for that they lacked, — on the expiration of the Bay Colony commission, chose commissioners for themselves; and in 1639, in the language of their own constitution, "We the Inhabitants and Residents of Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield . . . do associate and conform ourselves to be as one Public State or Commonwealth." Such was the genesis of Connecticut. Towns had absolutely nothing to do with it. They did not even exist;

and it was not before 1639 that the unorganized communities which went from the Bay Colony were set up as corporations. Instead of being the creators of the commonwealth they were its offspring. From the commonwealth they derived all of their powers. Nor is their character in any essential respect changed — they are neither more nor less than towns — by the fact that the State, for the convenience of towns more widely separated from one another and removed from a common centre than were those in the Bay, chose to delegate a larger share of her authority to them than Massachusetts did to her towns. In both cases they derived all their power from the State and conferred none upon it. Nor were they any more "little republics," or more independent of State control than other towns in New England, because in apportioning representation to the General Court town lines were used to express the territorial unit of representation.

It would seem that Professor Johnston's theory of town sovereignty was adopted to lay the foundation for his fifth proposition, that in the Convention of 1787 the equal and unchangeable representation of the States in the Senate of the United States was based upon the Connecticut system of town representation. So far from this being probable, the fact is that while the representation in the Senate of the United States was State or corporate representation, the representation in the General Assembly was not corporate representation, but essentially the representation of the people determined, not by corporate powers, but by town lines.

We find nothing in the debates of the Convention of 1787 which warrants the view of Professor Johnston. Theories of government were discussed, constitutions of the several States were referred to, and some of their provisions, notably those of Massachusetts, were adopted; but the main features of the Constitution were determined by the necessities of the situation and the interests of sections and of States, — as large or small, agricultural or commercial, slaveholding or non-slaveholding.

The Connecticut delegation had great influence in the Convention, first, because Sherman, Johnson, and Ellsworth were very able men, and the only three very able men from any State who worked together; and secondly, because Connecti-

cut, being neither one of the largest nor one of the smallest States, held a position of great influence as mediator between the two classes of States.

Mr. H. E. SCUDDER spoke of the sketch of the history of Connecticut, by Professor Johnston, printed in the first volume of the "Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science," and said that the ability shown in that essay had led to his being selected to write the History of Connecticut in the Commonwealth Series.

Mr. HENRY W. HAYNES said: —

I wish to return for a moment to Judge Chamberlain's statements in regard to certain theories as to the origin of English institutions. The opinion maintained by Freeman, Green, and others — that most of the legal and social usages of England have been derived from the Anglo-Saxons, or as they prefer to call them the Early English — has been combated by Mr. H. C. Coote, in a brief treatise entitled "A Neglected Fact in English History," which he subsequently expanded into a considerable volume called "The Romans in Britain." In this he claimed that the land-laws and social organization of England are more Roman than Germanic, but that the majority of the population of eastern England is descended from ancestors who were settled there long before the Anglo-Saxon conquest. At the time of the invasion of the Romans they found the country occupied by a population of the Belgæ, who belonged to a Teutonic stock. From them were derived such German customs as have been attributed to the Anglo-Saxons. The Romans colonized the country, allotting its area to landholders by boundaries laid down by *agrimensores*, assigning the native population to them as serfs. Roman municipalities were also largely disseminated throughout the island. The Saxon Conquest left the descendants of these Roman *coloni* in possession of their lands and rights; while the old Belgic population remained as the laboring class, and the victorious Saxons constituted a military aristocracy, which was afterwards almost exterminated by the Danes.

These and other positions assumed by Mr. Coote, which it would take too much time to cite, are sustained by a wealth of learning and illustration, which cannot be neglected by the

careful student of history, even if they fail to carry conviction from their failure to explain all the known conditions.

Mr. R. C. WINTHROP, JR., said: —

It occurs to me to mention that not long after Professor Johnston's "Connecticut" appeared in the American Commonwealth Series, I wrote to him that I had read the book with a great deal of interest and pleasure, but that I thought it only right to point out to him that he had been careless about some of his facts. For instance, on page 110, he had stated that John Winthrop the younger did not arrive in New England till October, 1635, more than five years after his father, and that on his way to Boston he was "diverted into an interest in Connecticut." I need hardly say that writers upon the early colonial period are supposed to be aware that John Winthrop the younger reached Boston in November, 1631, but little more than a year after his father; that he was immediately made an Assistant of the Massachusetts Colony, and soon after took the leading part in founding the town of Ipswich. His arrival here in October, 1635, which Professor Johnston hastily assumed to have been his first coming, was merely his return from a visit to England; and the commission he then brought with him to be governor at the mouth of the Connecticut River was only a temporary employment which did not oblige him to retire from the Massachusetts magistracy. In point of fact, in spite of repeated absences, he continued a Massachusetts Assistant until 1650, in which year he first became a freeman of Connecticut.

In reply to this and other criticisms, I received a very polite letter from Professor Johnston, promising that proper corrections should be made if a second edition was called for, and entering into some brief explanation of his motives in writing the book. The following passages in his letter are of interest: —

"Not a New Englander by birth or blood, I felt indebted to Connecticut for home, family, and much more than I could say. . . . But though not a New England historian, and never looking to be considered an authority in that department, yet I felt that I had special training enough to contribute my quota of judicial opinion upon some points of Connecticut history and her influence on our country's his-

tory and development, which had not been treated altogether to satisfy me. It seemed to me that there was more than had been brought out. I can thus claim nothing more than a place in the skirmish-line, covering only one small part of it, for the possible guidance of the coming historian of Connecticut. My work, imperfect as it may be, has done me good. To me, actions and results have always seemed of far more importance than words, however fine; and it would not be easy for me to say how much I have found to admire in the typical Connecticut man, — the silent, logical, inexorable *success* of Winthrop, Hooker, Allyn, and others of the Connecticut founders. The smallness of their field does not alter the case: Nature works on the same principle, without regard to scale. They seem to me to have exhibited the very essence of individual, quiet self-reliance, trebly beautiful in these days, when no ten men can do or begin anything unless they form a 'union' of some kind, to give them courage to attempt it!"

A new serial, comprising the proceedings at the meetings in October and November last, was placed on the table at this meeting.

FEBRUARY MEETING, 1890.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 13th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair.

The record of the January meeting was read and approved; and the monthly list of accessions to the Library was also read.

The PRESIDENT then said: —

We are brought very near to, if we have not already reached, the date in time which will mark the completion of a century of the existence and activity of this Society, — the first in our country to lead the succession of the numerous and generally efficient and prosperous societies of like purposes in our States, cities, counties, districts, towns, and villages. An interesting question at once presents itself as to the precise date of our nativity from which we are to begin our reckoning. Usage and recognized precedents have established the rule that the life of a chartered or incorporated Society intended for perpetuity begins with its authoritative official sanction. Yet it is a well-known fact that very many schemes have been in active existence, and many associations and fellowships for a great variety of purposes have had organizations and meetings of members before charter and seal gave them incorporation. The Royal Society of London received its charter from Charles II. in 1661. But for at least a score of years previously the scholars, savants, and philosophers who asked for and obtained that charter, with seal and mace, had held their meetings and conferences, and had been gathering materials to promote in the same way the same objects which received the royal sanction. Our own now venerable and honored University — still poor and suppliant with its flood of wealth — dates its life from September, 1636, because the General Court of the Colony then recorded its purpose to plant and foster a college among the stumps in a patch of the wilderness in a new town. The Court also made a promise of

money for the object, and designated a committee to take order for it. But none the less the Memorial Statue on the Delta is inscribed, "John Harvard, Founder, 1638." This earliest and most munificent benefactor was the founder of "*Harvard* College." But the date of two years preceding fitly marks the inception of the seminary.

Following so honored a precedent, this Society might claim that this year will complete a full century of its existence. Curiously enough, the first book plate in some of its earliest volumes bears the inscription, "Established in 1790." There was then something "established," which, soon after, it was thought best to have "incorporated." Those are the premises which we have before us for fixing the year of our nativity. And what is the significance of that word "established"? It means something that is in being, not only in purpose, but in fact. The new-born infant is a reality in a household, for watching over and for nutriment, perhaps before its name is decided upon; and that name may have been adopted in the household before it has been formally conferred in a sacred rite. It is, however, noteworthy that the faithful scribes of church and parish records in the mother country and in our early colony times, while very scrupulous in entering the date of baptism, fail to give the date of birth; as if a child's life began on the day when, as the phrase is, it was "christened." About many of our own worthies in whose biography we are interested, as for instance of John Harvard, we know the date of baptism, but not of birth.

The titlepage of the first published volume of the Society reads, "Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society for the Year 1792. Vol. I." It was printed and published in that year. The edition was a small one, and soon exhausted. The volume was reprinted in 1806.

Our records satisfactorily explain to us what was meant by the words "Established in 1790." The books in which the legend was stamped were not private property, did not belong to individuals, but had passed into the ownership of associates, a fellowship formed of a few gentlemen brought intimately together to advance a common object. They were the same men who afterward sought and obtained a charter for their Society. They had been holding meetings, gathering and contributing materials for a common purpose. Later on, one

of this series of meetings was held at the house of an associate, Judge Tudor, on Jan. 24, 1791. Eight persons were present. They agreed to regard this as their "First Meeting." It was not because it was the first meeting, but because they then first gave organic form to their association by voting on "Articles for its Constitution and Government." Continuing their "Regular" and "Special" Meetings, at one of them, on Jan. 10, 1794, a Committee was directed to apply to the Legislature for a Charter. This was granted under an Act of Incorporation passed on February 19. Here again the date of baptism, so to speak, is given more definitely than the date of birth.

In any recognition, therefore, which we might see fit to make of the completion of our first Centennial, we have an alternative for choice of date. Honoring the memory of that little group of cultivated and zealous gentlemen who had found a joint attraction in intelligent historical interests and aims, we may find the origin of our Society in their meetings held in 1790; or we may date from the grant of our formal charter. It is for the members of the Society, if the matter has interest for them, and if any view should be entertained of recognizing our Centennial, to discuss and to dispose of the question.

Intimately related, because so near in date and observance, with this matter of special concern to us, is another Centennial now engaging the interest of our whole nation, that of the completion of the fourth century of the disclosure of this Continent as a New World to the people of the Old World. This Society, before it was incorporated, was alive and active enough to take a very prominent part in the celebration of the close of the third Centennial of that event. It is the generous and uniform judgment of all the original members of this Society, that Dr. Jeremy Belknap was the first to devise, and the most earnest and efficient agent in, the work of this Society. He was a pioneer in the improved modern method of historical study. He had written an approved History of New Hampshire in three volumes before his work began here. He was zealous in collecting and discriminating in the use and improvement of important papers. He accomplished very much of value in his comparatively limited life of fifty-four years. It will gratify you to know that the Publishing Committee

have in view to provide you with a volume wholly or largely occupied with Belknap Papers now in our Cabinet.

At a meeting with his associates, Dec. 23, 1791, Dr. Belknap proposed that the centenary of the discovery of America by Columbus, as of date Oct. 12, 1492, be celebrated by the Society. The members at a meeting, March 30, 1792, approved the proposition, and appointed Dr. Belknap to deliver a Public Discourse on the occasion, with his associates, Drs. Thacher and Eliot, to take part in it. The celebration accordingly took place in Brattle Street Church on Tuesday, Oct. 23, 1792, — the date being mischosen for October 21, nine days only instead of eleven being needed for adjustment of style in the calendar. I hold in my hand the original printed pamphlet of the proceedings, — itself time-stained and antique. The speaker, with some professional formality, addressed himself to his "respectable auditors," and started from an appropriate Scripture-text about the running to and fro through the earth, and the promised increase of knowledge or science. The address well befitted the occasion, — the materials which in more recent years have illustrated and enriched the subject, dealing with controverted details, not then being at hand. It rehearsed with sympathy and dignity the personal experience and qualities and the troubled career of Columbus, and assigned to him the unqualified renown of first opening communication between the ocean-parted continents. An appended dissertation to the Address disposed of the pretensions set up for Martin Behaim as having preceded Columbus by eight years. Only a passing reference was made to an alleged visit of "Normans to Vinland," centuries before. After the exercises in the church, the Society dined at the house of its President, Governor Sullivan. In a course of public lectures by the Society in the Athenæum in 1833, Mr. A. H. Everett delivered one on the Life of Columbus.

The approach of the fourth Centennial of the signal event finds our citizens discussing three leading questions: (1) Whether the event shall be adequately recognized and celebrated? (2) Where the locality or central site for such celebration shall be? (3) What shall be the manner and method of it?

The first question has needed no discussion, the general assumption being that the event must be duly recognized.

The answer to the second query, as to place, has been found largely to depend for its decision upon the disposal of the third query, as to method and concomitants. The alternative to be settled is, as tersely put by our associate General Walker, in his admirable article in the "Forum" for this month, whether we wish to have a "Peddlers' Fair," or an august and dignified observance at our National Capital, on a continental scale, with munificent and lavish outlay, for grandeur and ceremonial, from our public treasury.

The date of the event comes midway between the centennial of the formation of this Society and that of its incorporation. This fact may be entertained by us in considering the question of our own recognition of either incident.

I do not propose that any action shall be taken by the Society at this time, and make these suggestions now that the matter may be considered at our next meeting.

Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH said that among the Belknap Papers referred to by the President is a letter from John Pintard, Secretary of the Tammany Society, of New York, written in 1791, in which it is stated that that Society proposes to celebrate the completion of the third century since the discovery of America by a procession and an oration; and the writer asks for the dimensions and cost of the monument on Beacon Hill, with a view to the erection in New York of a column to the memory of Columbus.

The Committee to examine the Library and Cabinet, which was authorized to make certain alterations and improvements, submitted the following report: —

The Committee on the Library would report that soon after the meeting of the Society in June last it obtained from Mr. Harris a plan for stacks or cases, and has had six made according to the pattern, and placed in the Library-room above.

It has had a large stack for pamphlets placed in the pamphlet-room, and a series of bins in the room reserved for storing the publications of the Society.

It has had a new staircase built connecting the second and third stories above this, so that access can be obtained to the upper story without passing through the entry, thus making it possible at some time to convert the landings into rooms.

A portion of the cases in the upper room have been cut down, thus giving wall space for hanging the portraits belonging to the Society; and most of those formerly on the stairway have been transferred there.

The walls and ceiling of this room have been painted, the color of the walls being such as to furnish a good background for the portraits.

The cost of all this work has been $691.17, — not quite two thirds of what the Committee was authorized to expend.

Places have been found for the books removed in making these changes in the new stacks, which will also accommodate the probable accessions of the next year or two, when additional stacks must be provided, unless the weeding-out process shall by that time be decided upon.

The suggestions made by the Committee in regard to binding the newspapers have not been carried out, as the work is more than can be done in the remainder of the year. The Committee would refer this subject to the consideration of the Committee which is to succeed it.

Now that the pictures have been removed, the walls of the staircase ought to be repainted; but the Committee thought it not really a part of its duty to have this done.

The Committee has not done all it proposed to the Society, but thinks best to make this report to-day and ask to be discharged, because by the By-Laws a new committee is to be appointed at the next meeting of the Society, to which committee what has been left unfinished may well be referred.

The Committee feels that the thanks of the Society are especially due to our associate Mr. Harris for his labors to facilitate and expedite its work.

Respectfully submitted for the Committee,

HENRY F. JENKS, *Chairman.*

The report was unanimously accepted.

Communications from the Third Section having been called for, Mr. R. C. WINTHROP, Jr., said: —

For the convenience of committees of this Society who may hereafter be called upon to edit papers of the Colonial period, and for the information of any other persons who may be interested in the subject, I desire to communicate a list of about

four hundred manuscripts which, with my father's consent, I have separated from the main body of his collection of Winthrop Papers, and have given to certain libraries hereinafter named, on the ground that the local interest attaching to them renders it desirable that they should find their permanent resting-places elsewhere than in Boston. The greater part of these manuscripts have been given to the State of Connecticut for its archives, to be preserved in the State Library at Hartford, and consist largely of official papers, of varying degrees of importance, which were accumulated by John Winthrop, Jr., and Fitz-John Winthrop during their long terms of office as Governors of Connecticut.

I am aware that an idea prevails, in many quarters, that when a Society or an individual has come into possession of a mass of miscellaneous original material for history, it should be kept intact at all hazards; but, to my mind, a much broader view to take is to consider how far it may be appropriate, in the interest of historical research, to transfer portions of such material to institutions immediately connected with the subjects to which they relate. In other words, the duty of providing the various classes of historical manuscripts with the fittest, the safest, and the most convenient permanent homes ought, in my judgment, to be paramount to any selfish considerations. For instance, I have never been disposed to echo the lamentations which pervaded this building when the State of Massachusetts finally obliged us to surrender the Hutchinson Papers so long in our keeping. I incline to believe the State had the better claim to them, and I think they are appropriately quartered in the State House. Nor should I have shed many tears if Connecticut had similarly succeeded in recovering for its archives some of the papers given us, in 1794, by the heirs of Governor Trumbull.

It must not be supposed, however, that the scattering subtractions I have made from the main body of my father's collection in any way impair the interest and value of those sequences of public and private correspondence which it would not be wise to disturb, and upon which successive committees of this Society have labored, at intervals, for at least half a century, and seem likely to labor, at similar intervals, for at least half a century to come. On the contrary, the removal of many miscellaneous papers of local interest tends to facil-

itate a much needed rearrangement of the correspondence, a good deal of which is not in its proper order.

It is not improbable that some further selections will one day go to Connecticut or elsewhere; but in view of the delay and uncertainty attending such a disposition, I have thought it convenient to communicate what has thus far been accomplished, as the lists, when printed, may be useful to students. They are made out, so far as practicable, in chronological order; and where the word "copy" occurs, an ancient copy is invariably meant, although not always one of the same year as the original.[1]

Given to the State Library of Connecticut, at Hartford.

163½, March 19. The old patent of Connecticut, or Warwick grant. Copy, indorsed by John Winthrop, Jr.

1647, July –. Testimony of three Niantick Indians that Sassacus had granted his country to John Winthrop, Jr., before the Pequot War. See Plym. Col. Rec., vol. ix. p. 103.

1647, Oct. 27. Commission of Edward Hopkins, Governor of Connecticut, to John Winthrop, Jr., to be magistrate at Nameocke (New London). It is in the handwriting of Hopkins, and has on it the oldest known impression of the seal of Connecticut Colony. Winthrop was then a Massachusetts Assistant, as he had been since 1631, and as he continued to be till 1650. This Commission was given him in order that he might exercise authority at New London, Massachusetts having relinquished her claim to the Pequot country. He did not become a freeman of Connecticut till 1650.

1650, Nov. 15. George Chappell's acknowledgment of indebtedness to Thomas Sweetman.

1651, Nov. 18. Agreement between Pequot townsmen and Cassasinamon, *alias* Robin, Chief of the Nameaug Indians.

1651–1665. Copies of grants of land at New London to John Winthrop, Jr. Eight pieces.

1652, Dec. 22. Agreement of New London with John Elderkin about a meeting-house.

1653, April 23. Depositions about certain grants of land in New London.

1653, June 17. Indenture of Henry Sawmon as apprentice to John Chester.

[1] In assigning dates to copies, it has been thought preferable to give the date, or probable date, of the original document.

1653, August 2. Paper relating to case of Edward Hull and Kempe Sybada, tried in Rhode Island.

1653, Nov. 2. Original deed of Pawtuxett, by James, Sachem of Quinebaug, to John Winthrop, Jr.

1654, Oct. 16. Names of captive Pequots who consent to remove.

1654, Oct. 24. Order of Committee of Commissioners of the United Colonies, about settling Pequots, etc.

1655, May 22. Richard Harvie, and others, to John Winthrop, Jr., about iron ore at Stratford.

1655, Sept. 15. Royal Commissioners to Magistrates of Rhode Island, about Narragansett. Copy.

1655, Nov. 29. Copy of New Haven town-record about the Iron-Works.

165⅞, Jan. 1. Instructions of Connecticut Magistrates to John Gilbert and John Griffin, with regard to Uncas. See Conn. Col. Rec., vol. i. p. 307; and Plym. Col. Rec., vol. x. p. 196.

1658, May 26. Return of John Gilbert and others, sent to Farmington to inquire why Indians passed through Hartford bounds in a hostile manner.

1658, August 19. Original deed of Massapeag, by Uncas, Sachem of the Mohegans, to Richard Haughton.

1658, Oct. 19. Massachusetts grant to Southertown (Stonington). Copy attested by Secretary Willard.

1658. Copies of deeds to Robert Park, of New London. Three pieces.

1658–1659. Unsigned paper, in the handwriting of John Winthrop, Jr., relative to interpretation of an order of the Commissioners of the United Colonies about Mistick.

1659, Feb. 23. Copy of the order of the General Court of Connecticut with reference to the bargain with Mr. Fenwick. This, though a certified copy, varies somewhat from the record.

1659, March 2. Copy of a survey of Southertown (Stonington).

1659, April 28. Copy of a deed of Allumps and Haquountouses (Indians), of land at Quinebaug.

1659, May 14. Original deed of Allumps and Aguntus, granting Quinabaug lands to John Winthrop, Jr., John Endicott, and Amos Richardson. On parchment, torn.

1659, Sept. 12. Original deed of Waweequa, brother of Uncas, to John Winthrop, Jr., of a mine in the Shetucket country.

1659, Dec. 12. Saybrook men to Governor and Magistrates of Connecticut. Greater part of the Church and some of the Town, with Minister, are removing. They (the signers) intend to stay.

1660, May 5. Draft, in handwriting of Secretary Clark, releasing

Capt. John Cullick from restraint. A similar draft, unsigned. Two pieces.

1660, May 7. Draft of letter from John Winthrop, Jr., to Nathaniel Willet, to let fall his action against Captain Cullick. This paper and the preceding one have reference to the purchase from Fenwick.

1660, Sept. 14. Commissioners' letter about Mr. Sylvester and his island.

1660, Sept. 29. Copy of the Narragansett Mortgage. Handwriting of John Winthrop, Jr.

1660. Copy of a complaint by Englishmen at Nameaug against Uncas.

No date. Paper, in handwriting of John Winthrop, Jr., about jurisdiction over Pequot lands, and about union of Connecticut and New Haven.

No date. Pleas to the Commissioners about Mistick. Handwriting of John Winthrop, Jr.

No date. Argument as to Connecticut's title to Mistick. Handwriting of John Winthrop, Jr.

No date. Intended order of the Commissioners about Southertown (Stonington). On the back, copy of part of a letter from General Court of Rhode Island.

No date. Paper indorsed by John Winthrop, Jr.: "Names of the Pequots taken by Major Mason and myself at Pakatuck."

166$\frac{9}{1}$, Jan. 14. Nathan Gold and others, of Fairfield, to Gov. John Winthrop, Jr., about taxes.

166$\frac{9}{1}$, Feb. 4. Copy of a deed of land at Nawayunk (Noank), from Robin and other Pequots, to William Thompson.

166$\frac{9}{1}$, Feb. 14. Result of the consultation of Magistrates and Deputies, about addressing King Charles II. Handwriting of John Winthrop, Jr.

166$\frac{9}{1}$, March 14. Order for proclaiming King Charles II. in Connecticut.

1661, May 6. Certain inhabitants of Fairfield to Gov. John Winthrop, Jr., about Indian land between Fairfield and Stratford.

[1661, May–?] Petition of John Stebbins, of New London, to General Court of Connecticut for remission of payment of money.

1661, June–. Attestation of Magistrates that John Talcott is Treasurer of Connecticut, etc.

1661. Letter of credit for £500, in favor of Gov. John Winthrop, Jr., Agent of Connecticut in London, signed by Treasurer Talcott.

166$\frac{1}{2}$, Feb. 26. Order for the appearance of Col. Thomas Temple and Gov. John Winthrop, Jr., before the Privy Council in London, with reference to the Connecticut Charter.

1662, May 3. Draft of Gov. John Winthrop, Jr., on Treasurer Talcott, for expenses relating to Charter, etc. Copy.

1662, May 3. Agreement of Gov. John Winthrop, Jr., for 2,000 bushels of wheat, at 3*s.* 6*d.* per bushel, and 1,200 bushels of pease, at 2*s.* 6*d.* per bushel, to be delivered by Treasurer Talcott to Messrs. Cowes, Maskelyne, & Sylvester, merchants of London, in repayment of cash advanced by them.

1662, May 8. Deposition of John Stebbins, of New London, as to words spoken by Goody Waterhouse.

1662, Oct. 13. Gov. Peter Stuyvesant to Gov. John Winthrop, Jr. Copy. See N. Y. Col. Docs.

1662, Oct. 13. Copy of Summons to inhabitants of Westchester, New York, to send deputies to General Court at Hartford in May following.

1662, Oct. 15. Copy of Secretary Clark's letter to Governor Stuyvesant, thanking him for attentions to Governor Winthrop, etc.

1662, Oct. 27. Copy of John Young's letter to Sergeant Hubbard; notification of claim of Connecticut to jurisdiction over Long Island.

1662. Copies of depositions about Goodwife Waterhouse's treasonable speech.

1662. Draft of letter sent by Gov. John Winthrop, Jr., to certain gentlemen of New Haven. See New Haven Col. Rec., vol. ii. pp. 522, 523, from which it varies.

1662? Draft of acquittance for ——— Goodwin's legacy.

1662–3. Copy of declaration by Commissioners of Connecticut, claiming jurisdiction over Long Island.

166$\frac{2}{3}$, Jan. 4. Temporary agreement of John Scott and John Young with Secretary Van Ruyven, etc., as to status of English and Dutch in sundry towns.

166$\frac{2}{3}$, Feb. –. Instructions to deputies to Connecticut General Court from Crafford (Jamaica); desire to unite with Connecticut if other Long Island towns do.

1663, July –. Docket, as to granting Rhode Island Charter.

1663, Sept. 3. Testimony about oath of William Wells, of Southold.

1663, Sept. 9. Return of committee of Commissioners of the United Colonies, concerning lands claimed by Pequots, and by Uncas. Copy by Secretary Kimberly.

1663? Copy, in handwriting of Daniel Clark, of undirected letter about Address to the King.

1664, April 26. Copy of the commission to Col. Richard Nicolls et al. for settling differences in New England.

1664, May 1. Paper relating to the preference of the inhabitants of Newark (Flushing) to remain under the Dutch.

1664, June 14. Paper relating to the appointment of deputies from Oyster Bay to Hempstead, and elsewhere; to vindicate their lawful liberties against any pretended jurisdiction over them.

1664, June 17. Paper relating to desire of the inhabitants of Flushing to abide by the agreement between Governor Stuyvesant and John Scott.

1664, July 16. Richard Smith to Gov. John Winthrop, Jr., about interference of Rhode Island men at Narragansett.

1664, Sept. 24. Copy of Colonel Cartwright's agreement with Mohawks and Senecas.

1664, Oct. 14. Petition of William Cheesbrough to General Court of Connecticut, as to Stonington bounds.

1664? Copy of the petition of Anne Phillips to Governor Nicolls, of New York, concerning a fine laid on her son by Connecticut.

166$\frac{4}{5}$, Jan. 28. Copy of letter from King Charles II. to Colonel Nicolls; precautions against the Dutch.

166$\frac{4}{5}$, Feb. 1. Secretary Allyn to William Jones; arms of soldiers in New Haven, Guilford, etc., to be viewed, there being a reported gathering of Indians at Albany.

166$\frac{4}{5}$, March 17. Deed of Robert Burrows to Edward Culver. Original and copy. Two pieces.

1665, July 15. Draft of letter from General Court of Connecticut to Governor Nicolls of New York, apologizing for not affording aid.

1665, Sept. 15. Royal Commissioners to Rhode Island magistrates, about Narragansett. Copy.

1665. Draft of Address of Connecticut General Assembly to the King.

1666, June 13. Jonas Houldsworth to Gov. John Winthrop, Jr.; claim of Deborah Scott transferred to John Cooper.

1666, August 28. King Charles II. to Governor and Council of Connecticut about war with French and Dutch.

1666, Oct. 2. Deposition of Thwayt Strickland and wife, about Rhode Island boundary.

1666, Nov. 16. Copy of a Coroner's verdict: death of child of Samuel Browne.

1666, Nov. 23. Copies of lay-out of land in Stonington.

166$\frac{6}{7}$, March –. Remonstrance of Milford against paying Mr. Rossiter.

1667, April 1. Order of Council of Connecticut for precautions against small-pox.

1668, Sept. 19. Propositions made by Maqua Indians at Albany. Copy.

1668–1704. Copies of New London town votes. Three pieces.

166$\frac{8}{9}$, Jan. 21. Letter of Middletown Church to Rev. Samuel Stow.

1669, May 5. Petition of Cassasinomon to Connecticut General Court.

1669. Testimony of an Indian about land given to Jeremy Adams.

No date. Draft, or copy, of a letter to Massachusetts Commissioners, about a misunderstanding, not specified.

No date. Agreement with Indians at Quaquetauge. Copy.

1670, May 9. John Lay, senior and junior, to Gov. John Winthrop, Jr., about a justice for Lyme.

1670, June 21. Copy of a letter from John Allyn et al. to Samuel Wilson, as to molestation of Connecticut men by Rhode Islanders in Narragansett country.

1670? Petition of Cassasinomon for land.

167½, Jan. 3. Secretary Allyn to Gov. John Winthrop, Jr., about a special Court of Assistants.

1672, March 26. Petition of Narragansett men to Connecticut General Court for protection.

1672, Oct. 8. Secretary Rawson to Gov. John Winthrop, Jr., about land in Stonington held under Massachusetts grants.

1673, May 8. Copy of lay-out of eastern bounds of Stonington.

1673, August 7. Southampton, L. I., asks advice of Gov. John Winthrop, Jr.; Dutch have taken New York.

1673, August 7. Southampton, L. I., asks advice of Gov. John Winthrop, Jr., about Dutch summons to surrender.

1673, August 7. Easthampton, L. I., asks advice of Gov. John Winthrop, Jr., or the Council at Hartford, concerning the Dutch invasion.

1673, August 7. W. Rider to ———, asking advice about surrender of Setauk to the Dutch.

1673, August 15. Deputies of five towns on east end of Long Island thank Connecticut for care, etc., but have been compelled to submit to Dutch; ask liberty of egress and regress, as formerly. Two copies.

1673, August 29. Copy of Southampton's declaration that she has been compelled to submit to the Dutch.

1673, August 29. Copy of a letter from Southampton to the Governor of Massachusetts. It has been wet, and is difficult to decipher.

1673, Oct. 20. Henry Pierson, Thomas James, and others inform Gov. John Winthrop, Jr., that a Dutch attack is imminent, and ask for aid.

1673, Oct. 30. Address of Southampton, Southold, and Easthampton, to Governor and Council, or General Assembly, of Connecticut, asking that Capt. Fitz-John Winthrop may be sent as Major in command of the three plantations for their joint defence.

1673, Oct. 30. Southampton and Easthampton to Samuel Willis and Fitz-John Winthrop, asking authority to prevent mutiny and disorder.

1673, Dec. 4. Southampton to Fitz-John Winthrop, about need of ammunition.

1673, Dec. 9. Fitz-John Winthrop's certificate that he had pressed several men as soldiers.

1673, ——. Certain men of the new Church at Windsor complain against the old Church.

No date. Copy of agreement between a Dutch captain and John Clark.

1674, April 10. Copy of order from Council of Connecticut releasing soldiers on Long Island on arrival of Massachusetts ships.

1674, April 16. John Howell and others, of Southold, communicate to Governor and Council of Connecticut their satisfaction with the course pursued by Major Fitz-John Winthrop.

1674, Oct. 30. Southampton asks advice of Gov. John Winthrop, Jr., or his Council, on learning the reported arrival of Governor Andros at New York.

1674, Nov. 1. Agreement between Fitz-John Winthrop and John Lamb, of New London, about Mystic Mill.

1675, May 27. Settlement of line between Gov. John Winthrop, Jr., and W. Parks at Quaquabag.

1675, Sept. 8. Fitz-John Winthrop's warrant to press a horse, on his way to Hartford.

1679, May 6. Original deed (of land at Stonington?) by Cattapesett to Mrs. Anna Stanton. It is witnessed by "Wonkow, gentleman," and by "Mugwomp."

1680, March 29. Governor Andros to Fitz-John Winthrop, about a wreck on Fisher's Island.

1681, May 18. Treaty of Uncas with Connecticut. Original, and copy of counterpart. Two pieces. See Conn. Col. Rec., vol. iii. p. 309.

1683, May 10. Copy by Secretary Allyn about Mohegan East bounds.

1683, Oct. 20. Copy of the report to the King about Narragansett, by Edward Cranfield and others.

1683, Nov. 20. Townsmen of New London to Rev. Increase Mather, about a minister.

1683, Nov. 28. Articles of agreement between Governor Dongan of New York, and Governor Treat of Connecticut. Copy.

1684, July 5. Copy of an Act about Pirates, with a memorandum of the Sheriff of Fairfield County that it had been proclaimed.

1684, ——. Copy of several records concerning Mohegan bounds.

1685, August 3. Agreement of New London about Rev. Thomas Barnerd for minister.

1686, May 7. Deed by James Fitch, Jr., of Norwich, to William Stoughton, Samuel Shrimpton, and Wait Winthrop, of a large tract of land in the northern part of Windham County, Connecticut. Indenture on parchment.

1686, May 10. Original deed, on parchment, of part of the Nipmuck, and the whole of the Wabaquasset country, by Owaneco and Josiah to William Stoughton, Samuel Shrimpton, and Wait Winthrop. See Col. Rec. Deeds, vol. ii. pp. 195–197.

168$\frac{6}{7}$, Feb. 14. *Dedimus* of Sir E. Andros to Walter Clark, Fitz-John Winthrop, and John Coggeshall, to administer oath of allegiance to inhabitants of Rhode Island, King's Province, etc.

1687, April 6. Roll of military company at Feversham (Westerly), R. I.; Stonington names.

1688? Copy of a petition to Deputy-Governor Nicholson, of Massachusetts, about Narragansett.

1690, June 30. Blank commission of Ensign, in Connecticut service, with seal.

1690, July 11. A commission similar to preceding, for service against French and Indians.

1690, July 25. Commission of Daniel Wetherell to be captain of New London train-band.

1690, Sept. 4. Substance of propositions made at Albany by Sachems of the Five Nations.

1691, May 27. Secretary Allyn to Fitz-John Winthrop and Daniel Wetherell, about pirates.

1692, Sept. 16. Address of Freeholders of Connecticut to their Majesties. See N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. iii. p. 849.

1692. Memorandum about Quinabaug bounds.

1693? Queries about Connecticut Charter, command of militia, etc.

1693. Copy of Acts of New York and New England Commissioners.

1693, Sept. 28. Acknowledgment from the authorities of Hampshire County, Massachusetts, of assistance rendered by Connecticut.

1693, Oct. –. "Theses to be debated with his Exc. at New York," as to aid in defence of New York. Handwriting of William Pitkin.

1693, Oct. 28. Account of Caleb Stanley, Commissary, of charges borne by Connecticut in war against French and Indians. Two pieces.

1693, Oct. –. Copies of correspondence with Governor Fletcher, of New York, about command of Connecticut militia. All but one of these are printed in Conn. Col. Rec., vol. iv. pp. 111–115.

1693. Drafts of answers to Governor Fletcher's claim to command Connecticut militia. Three sheets.

1693, Nov. 16. Agreement of sundry persons with Fitz-John and Wait Winthrop, as to settlements at Quinabaug.

169$\frac{3}{4}$, Jan. –. Copy of a petition from Gershom Bulkeley, and others, to Governor Fletcher, of New York, acknowledging him as Commander-in-chief

1694, Oct. 19. Governor Treat to Lords Commissioners of Trade; observations about Acts of Trade, etc.

1695. Attorney-General Sir Thomas Trevor to Lords Commissioners of Trade; opinion as to Narragansett. Copy.

1695? Petition to the King by Fitz-John Winthrop, Agent of Connecticut, about arms and ammunition.

1695, Oct. 25. Draft of Address to the King for supply of ammunition.

1696, March 30. William Cowper's opinion on Governor Fletcher's claim.

1696, April – Oct. Copies of correspondence with Governor Fletcher about aid to New York. Ten pages.

1696, Oct. 8. Address of Connecticut Assembly to King William on discovery of a plot to assassinate him.

1696, Oct. 28. William Popple, Secretary of Board of Trade, to Fitz-John Winthrop; asks for copy of Connecticut Charter.

1696, Dec. 12. Same to same; returns copy of Charter, and alludes to Governor Fletcher's complaints.

1697, April 13. Draft of memorial to Lords Commissioners of Trade, about command of militia.

1697, April 23. William Popple to Fitz-John Winthrop, enclosing copy of Duchess of Hamilton's petition.

1697, April or May. Council of Connecticut to Lord Bellomont, congratulating him on his arrival. Copy.

1697, May. Copy of petition of Z. Roberts on behalf of Bedford (now in New York).

1697, July 22. Orders and Instructions from England, to be observed by Governor of Connecticut, respecting Trade. Ten pages.

1697, Sept. 21. Copy of letter from Board of Trade to Lord Bellomont, about revolt of Rye and Bedford to Connecticut.

1697, Oct. 8. Complaint of settlers of Quinabaug to Wait Winthrop that they cannot get a minister, etc., on account of Fitch and Tracy, who monopolize land.

1697. Copy of Sir Francis Pemberton's opinion on the Duke of Hamilton's claim.

1697. Copy of John Post's testimony about Mohegan bounds.

1697. Copy of Act of Rhode Island forbidding settlement in Narragansett.

1697? Account of charges expended by Connecticut in defence of New York since 1688.

169⅞, Jan. 27. Copy of letter from General Assembly of Connecticut to Duke of Shrewsbury, about observance of Laws of Trade.

169⅞. Duplicate of letter from Governor and Council of Connecticut to the Lords Commissioners of Trade.

169⅞, March 21. Complaints of settlers of Quinabaug to Fitz-John Winthrop about Fitch and Tracy.

1698, April. List of vessels registered at the port of New Haven. Seven pages.

1698, June 13. Copy of unsigned letter to Secretary Allyn, desiring copies of records.

1698, June 17. Instructions to Connecticut Commissioners appointed to treat with Lord Bellomont about boundary lines.

1698, June 17. Private instructions to the same on the same subject.

Probably same date. A paper unsigned and undated, but in handwriting of Robert Treat, on the same subject.

1698, June 28. Samuel Mason to Fitz-John Winthrop, about Connecticut and Rhode Island bounds.

1698, June 29. Memorial of Connecticut Commissioners to those of Rhode Island, about boundaries.

1698, June 30. Reply of Connecticut Commissioners to those of Rhode Island.

1698, June 30. Letter from Connecticut Commissioners to Gov. Fitz-John Winthrop, reporting their proceedings.

1698, July 26. Commission of Daniel Wetherell to be Judge of New London County Court.

1698, July 27. Copy of Gov. Fitz-John Winthrop's proclamation to Judges, etc., about suppression of vice.

1698, August 9. Draft of Daniel Taylor's commission to be naval officer at Saybrook.

1698, August 17. Copy of Hue and Cry for apprehension of deserters, issued by Lord Bellomont, and endorsed by Fitz-John Winthrop.

1698, Oct. 13. Petition of ministers of Fairfield County to General Court of Connecticut, about their support.

1698, October 26. B. Fayerweather's bond as gauger, deputy-surveyor, and excise-man in Fairfield County.

1698, Nov. 30. Copy of Owaneco's protest, set on sign-post at Windham, about land claimed by him and by Abimeleck.

1698, Dec. 8. Proposals of Samuel Mason et al. to Rhode Island Commissioners, about boundaries.

1698? Copy of a declaration of Daniel Clark and Samuel Willis against James Fitch.

169$\frac{8}{9}$, Jan. 21. Proclamation of Governor and Council of Connecticut prohibiting entry on lands claimed by Owaneco and Abimeleck.

169$\frac{8}{9}$. Copy of R. Fenton's declaration about counterfeiting.

1699, March 31. Summons for witnesses against pirates.

1699, March 31. Copy of the examination of John Pierce, Thomas Edgehill, Edward Plumbe, and John Parrott, about pirates.

1699, April 3. Memorandum of cash taken from pirates.

1699, April 3. Proclamation of Gov. Fitz-John Winthrop about pirates.

1699, April 13. A second proclamation on the same subject.

1699, April 26. Complaint of Haddam men to Governor and Council of Connecticut.

1699, May 9. Proclamation of Gov. Fitz-John Winthrop about Scotch Darien Expedition.

1699, May 29. Summons to Elisha Cheesbrough about money of pirates.

1699, May 30. Complaint of Lieut. Thomas Clark and Ensign John Arnold concerning Serjeant Spencer's behavior.

1699, May? Bill for incorporating Quinebaug by the name of Kent. Handwriting of Major James Fitch.

1699, July 14. Earl of Jersey to Governor and Council of Connecticut about pirates.

1699, July 17. Summons to Edward Allen about money of pirates.

1699, August 18. Copy of warrant to B. Fayerweather of Fairfield to search for goods brought from on board Captain Kid.

1699, Sept. 18. Copy of protest by Selectmen of Stonington against Owaneco's encroachments.

1699, Sept. 30. Thomas Gullock to Gov. Fitz-John Winthrop; thanks for securing pirates.

1699, Oct. 3. Copy of survey of Quinabaug.

1699, Oct. 11. Testimony of Joseph Arnold and others as to Serjeant Spencer's mutinous conduct.

1699, Oct. 15. Draft of letter to Lords Commissioners of Trade, in handwriting of Gurdon Saltonstall.

1699, Oct. 22. Draft of letter from Governor and Council of Connecticut to Lords Commissioners of Trade.

1699? Oct. Copy of Address to the King about admitting appeals from Connecticut Courts.

1699. Capt. Thomas Gullock protests to Governor and Council of Connecticut that the pirates who robbed him of the ship Adventure, and who are now in New London gaol, should not be so well treated.

1699, Nov. 4. Captain Gullock's receipt for £620. 15, recovered from pirates.

1699, Nov. 7. Captain Gullock's order for delivery of a horse.

1699, Dec. 14. Draft of a letter from Council of Connecticut about Narragansett.

1699, Dec. 20. Petition of Joseph Pemberton et al. to Lord Bellomont, about Narragansett.

1699, Dec. Bill of Sheriff Prentts for support of pirate prisoners, £124. 13.

1699. Another bill of Sheriff Prentts for the same object, £10. 3. 6.

1699? A petition from pirates confined in New London gaol, unsigned.

$1\frac{6}{7}\frac{9}{0}\frac{9}{0}$, Jan. 18. Copy of Owaneco's deed of land in Quinabaug to Thomas Williams.

$1\frac{6}{7}\frac{9}{0}\frac{9}{0}$, Jan. 22. Copy of Owaneco's information to Governor and Council of Connecticut of a league of Indians against the English.

$1\frac{6}{7}\frac{9}{0}\frac{9}{0}$, Feb. 19. Summons to John Hallam and S. Allen to answer about harboring pirates.

$1\frac{6}{7}\frac{9}{0}\frac{9}{0}$, Feb. 20. Extract of letter from Lieutenant-Governor of New York to Lord Bellomont about pirates.

$1\frac{6}{7}\frac{9}{0}\frac{9}{0}$, Feb. 23. Summons to Nathaniel Niles and Daniel Reed to answer about money and goods of pirates.

$1\frac{6}{7}\frac{9}{0}\frac{9}{0}$, Feb. 24. Letter from Selectmen of Stonington about town-recorder.

$1\frac{6}{7}\frac{9}{0}\frac{9}{0}$, Feb. 26. Copy of a warrant from Governor and Council of Connecticut about a wreck at Fisher's Island.

$1\frac{6}{7}\frac{9}{0}\frac{9}{0}$, March 18. Account of what the Indians have received of James Corbin, supposed to relate to purchase of land in Windham County.

1700, June 25. Instructions from the Commissioners of Customs as to issue of Algerine passes.

1700, July 18. Daniel Wetherell to Andrew Belcher about a bill on London for Connecticut Council.

1700, July 29. Letter from John Tracy to Gov. Fitz-John Winthrop about scouts.

1700, Oct. 7. Copy of message and proposal of the Onnagongue Indians to the Five Nations.

170$\frac{9}{1}$, Jan. 18. Commissioners of the Treasury to Connecticut Collector about Algerine passes.

170$\frac{9}{1}$, March 4. Mr. Secretary Vernon to Governor and Council of Connecticut notifying them of fitting out of a French squadron.

170$\frac{9}{1}$, March 21. Instructions to Richard Edwards in case of George Denison at Rhode Island.

1701, April 22. Council of New York to Gov. Fitz-John Winthrop about deserters. Two pieces.

1701, July 18. Writ of Gov. Fitz-John Winthrop to arrest trespassers at Plainfield.

1701, Dec. 18. Order of Privy Council with regard to appeals from Colonial Courts of Admiralty.

1701. Copy of proposed Act for re-uniting to the Crown the government of several New England colonies.

1701. Copy of Sir H. Ashurst's memorial about Narragansett.

1701? Heads of articles against the Governor and Company of Connecticut.

170$\frac{1}{2}$, March 19. Unsigned petition of Pequot Indians to Gov. Fitz-John Winthrop for a sachem.

1702, March 27. Deputy-Governor Treat and Council of Connecticut to Lieutenant-Governor Nanfan, of New York, urging delay in the execution of Colonel Bayard.

1702, April 2. Bond for appearance of J. Rayner (supposed pirate) before Governor and Council of Connecticut.

1702, April 16. Daniel Wetherell to Secretary Addington of Massachusetts about running boundary lines.

1702, July 20. Daniel Taylor and John Clark to Gov. Fitz-John Winthrop about shot for Saybrook Fort.

1702, July 29. Record of Connecticut Council meeting at Saybrook; King's death, Massachusetts boundary line, etc.

170$\frac{2}{3}$, Feb. 20. Complaint of Thomas Richards to Council of Connecticut about a fugitive slave.

170$\frac{2}{3}$, Feb. 24. Record of Connecticut Council meeting at Saybrook; letters from England, orders for defence, etc. Two pieces.

170$\frac{2}{3}$. Secretary Kimberly to Gov. Joseph Dudley about boundaries.

170$\frac{2}{3}$, March 20. Secretary Addington to Gov. Fitz-John Winthrop about a convoy.

1703, April 6. Return from Lyme of ammunition on hand.

1703, May 8. Warrant to impress seven Greenwich men as soldiers.

1703, May 26. Copy of Massachusetts Act about boundary, attested by Secretary Addington.

1703, May 28. Robert Treat's testimony about Mohegan bounds.

1703, August 28. Names of Potatuck, Wyantenuck, and New Haven Indians.

No date. Names of Paquannuck and Derby Indians.

1703, August 31. Instructions to Capt. James Avery about scouting.

1703, Sept. 24. Order for Owaneco et al. to appear before Connecticut General Court in explanation of any wrongs alleged to have been done them.

1703, Sept. 27. Copy of commission as lieutenant to Manasseh Minor, of New London.

1703, Oct. 29. General Assembly of Rhode Island to Gov. Fitz-John Winthrop about Indians taken by their scouts.

1703, Nov. 7. Letter from Josiah Rosseter et al. to Robert Treat about representations to be made in England on behalf of Connecticut. See 6 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iii. pp. 162, 163.

1703, Dec. 17. Order of Privy Council as to appeal of Edward Palmes.

1703. Petition of Colchester to have a military officer, etc.

1703–4? Return from Stamford of ammunition on hand.

170$\frac{3}{4}$, March 3. Assistants at Hartford to Gov. Fitz-John Winthrop about sending Indians against the enemy.

1704, April 3. Major Burr's return of sixteen men impressed as soldiers in Fairfield County.

1704, April 4. Instructions to Capt. James Avery to go to Dunstable, etc.

1704, April 17. Nathaniel Stanley to Fitz-John Winthrop proposing expedition against Canada.

1704, April 24. Copy of information given to New York Commissioners of Indian affairs.

1704, May 13. General Assembly of Connecticut to Lord Cornbury, declining to grant money for fort at Albany.

1704, May 17. Samuel Partridge and William Whiting, about dismissing forces at Hatfield.

1704, June 10. Caleb and Nathaniel Stanley to Gov. Fitz-John Winthrop, transmitting letters.

1704, June 29. Richard Christophers and Gurdon Saltonstall to Gov. Fitz-John Winthrop about a watch to be kept at New London.

1704, Oct. 24. Plea of Joseph Johnson, defendant, against Fitz-John Winthrop, plaintiff.

1704. Copy of order to Richard Bushnell to warn Owaneco to attend General Court.

1704. Copy of paper about houses burned at Deerfield.

1704? Minutes of instructions to Major Whiting. Two pieces.

1704? Instructions to Connecticut Commissioners in the Mohegan case.

1704? Names of Pequots who went scouting with Captain Avery.

No date. Memorandum, in handwriting of Gurdon Saltonstall, about Narragansett papers.

170$\frac{4}{5}$, Jan. 9. Capt. Abraham Fowler to Committee of War at Hartford.

170$\frac{4}{5}$, March 24. Gov. Fitz-John Winthrop to naval officer at Saybrook about French privateers.

1705, April 12. Gov. Fitz-John Winthrop to naval officer at New Haven about French privateers.

1705, August 24. Copy of protest of Connecticut agents against proceedings of Court of Commissioners at Stonington. See "Mohegan Case," printed in 1769, pp. 32, 33.

1705? Original brief of Governor and Council of Connecticut in their appeal to the Privy Council on the Mohegan Case, with notes of counsel in London.

170$\frac{5}{6}$, Feb. 14. Lords Commissioners of Trade to Governor of Connecticut, instructing aid to Colonel Quary.

1706, June 13. Daniel Wetherell and Richard Christophers to Timothy Mather about Saybrook ferry.

1706, June 17. Copy of a letter from Johannes Schuyler et al. to Col. Samuel Partridge about movements of French and Indians.

1706, June 19. Orders of Connecticut Council about minute-men and beacons.

1706, August 13. Ebenezer Johnson to Gov. Fitz-John Winthrop, naming soldiers in New Haven County to be relied on in any emergency.

1706. Similar list of soldiers in Fairfield County, unsigned.

1706. Unexecuted marriage license for Isaac Arnold of Nassau Island, and Elizabeth Blackleach of Wethersfield, drawn up according to law of New York.

1706–1714. Copies of town votes of Groton. Five pieces.

170$\frac{6}{7}$, Jan. 20. John Southmayd et al. of Waterbury, to Committee of War at Hartford.

170$\frac{6}{7}$, Jan. 27. Copies of Quakers' memorial to Privy Council against Connecticut laws. Two pieces.

1707, August 14. Deputy-Governor Treat to New Haven constables about collection of rates.

1707, August 18. New Haven selectmen about collection of rates.

1712, Nov. 21. Protest of Wait Winthrop et al. about lands at Nawayanck.

1712, Nov. 21. A similar protest with more signatures.

1713, May 14. Complaint of Pequots to Connecticut General Court about lands at Nawayonk.

1713, June 11. Copy of summons to witnesses in case of trespass at Nawayonk.

172$\frac{8}{7}$, Feb. Letter and Address of Episcopalians of New London to the London Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Two pieces.

Manuscripts of which the State Library of Connecticut already possessed either the originals or duplicates, and which were therefore given to the Library of the Connecticut Historical Society at the desire of that Society.

163$\frac{4}{5}$, March 19. The Warwick Patent of Connecticut. A copy by Secretary Kimberly.

1644, Dec. The agreement with Colonel Fenwick for the purchase of Saybrook Fort. A copy by Caleb Stanley, Jr., certified by Secretary Kimberly.

1654. Copy of an Act of Commissioners of United Colonies. See Plym. Col. Rec., vol. x. p. 130.

1659, Sept. Several Acts of Commissioners of United Colonies. Copied by Daniel Clark, certified by John Mason. See Plym. Col. Rec., vol. x. pp. 232–234.

1663–1665. Copies of four short Acts of Connecticut General Court on one paper. Handwriting of Gov. John Winthrop, Jr. See Conn. Col. Rec., vol. i. pp. 419, 420, 433, 440.

166$\frac{5}{6}$, Feb. 22. Duplicate of letter from King Charles II. to Governor and Council of Connecticut.

1666, April 10. Copy by Secretary Allyn of a letter from King Charles II. to Governor and Council of Connecticut. See Conn. Col. Rec., vol. ii. p. 514.

—— Another copy of the preceding by Secretary Kimberly.

1666, May. Act concerning the bounds of Nameaug and Monheag. A copy by George Denison from Secretary Allyn's copy. See Conn. Col. Rec., vol. ii. p. 42.

1666, 1670. Two Connecticut Acts about Stonington, copied by Secretary George Wyllys. See Col. Rec., vol. ii. pp. 36, 43.

1671, Oct. Order of court for plantation at Quinebaug. George Denison's copy of Secretary Allyn's copy. See Col. Rec., vol. ii. p. 165.

1674, May. Act of Connecticut General Court about Mistick and Paucatuck. Certified copy by Secretary Wyllys. See Col. Rec., vol. ii. p. 227.

1674, 1693. Two short Acts about Stonington. Certified copy by Secretary Wyllys. See Col. Rec., vol. ii. p. 241, and vol. iv. p. 96.

1679. Imperfect copy of Acts of Commissioners of United Colonies. See Plym. Col. Rec., vol. x. p. 409.

1691, March. Copies of Records of New London County Court; Liveen estate. Two pieces.

1693, Sept. Several Acts of Assembly, copied by Secretary Allyn. See Col. Rec., vol. iv. p. 102.

1693, Oct. Proceedings of Commissioners at New York relative to aid to New York. Copy by Caleb Stanley, Jr., certified by Secretary Allyn.

169$\frac{3}{4}$, Jan. 29. Copy of order of reference to Lords Commissioners of Trade of complaint of Connecticut against Governor Fletcher.

1694, June 21. Copy of Queen Mary's letter to Connecticut about defence of New York. Handwriting of Fitz-John Winthrop.

1694. Duplicate account of Connecticut charges in aid of New York.

169$\frac{6}{7}$, Feb. 9. Order of Lords Commissioners of Trade about aid to New York.

169$\frac{7}{8}$, Feb. 23. Copy of letter from Lords Commissioners of Trade; prohibition to enter service of Foreign States.

1698, May. Copies of Acts of Assembly, certified by Secretary Kimberly.

1698, Oct. Copy of Connecticut Act about Pequots. Handwriting of Fitz-John Winthrop. See Col. Rec., vol. iv. p. 280.

1698, Oct. Order of Connecticut General Court to send printed law-book to England. Copy by Secretary Kimberly. See Col. Rec., vol. iv. p. 442.

1699, April 24. Duplicate of letter from Lords Commissioners of Trade to Governor and Company of Connecticut.

1699, Oct. Governor and Council of Connecticut about appeals to England. Copy by Secretary Kimberly. See Col. Rec., vol. iv. p. 300.

1699, Oct. Act of Connecticut Assembly about Massachusetts encroachments on Windsor lands. Copy by Secretary Kimberly. See Col. Rec., vol. iv. p. 301.

1700, May. Act of Connecticut Assembly about boundaries. Copy by Secretary Kimberly. See Col. Rec., vol. iv. p. 319.

1700, Oct. Copy of vote of Connecticut Assembly about sending letter to England. See Col. Rec., vol. iv. p. 337.

1701, May. Several Acts of Connecticut Assembly, copied by Secretary Kimberly. See Col. Rec., vol. iv. p. 348.

1703, Oct. Vote of Connecticut Assembly declining to comply with Governor Dudley's request for men. Copy by Secretary Kimberly. See Col. Rec., vol. iv. p. 444.

1703, Oct. Copy, by Secretary Kimberly, of Act of Assembly establishing Council of War. See Col. Rec., vol. iv. p. 442.

1703, Dec. 17. Copy of order of reference to Privy Council of appeal of Edward Palmes.

170$\frac{3}{4}$, Jan. 7. Duplicate of preceding order, and another copy of it certified by Secretary Kimberly. Two pieces.

170$\frac{3}{4}$, March. Copy of Acts of Assembly, by Secretary Kimberly. See Col. Rec., vol. iv. p. 445, etc.

1705, Oct. Copy, by Secretary Kimberly, of Act of Assembly about naval stores. See Col. Rec., vol. iv. p. 532.

1707, April. Copy, by Secretary Kimberly, of vote of Assembly declining to aid in Governor Dudley's expedition against Nova Scotia. See Col. Rec., vol. v. p. 18.

1708, May. Copy, by Secretary Kimberly, of proposals about Stonington train-band. See Col. Rec., vol. v. p. 23.

1713, Oct. Copy of Act of Connecticut General Assembly about Pequots. See Col. Rec., vol. v. p. 398.

Manuscripts immediately relating to Essex County, Massachusetts, and given to the Library of the Essex Institute, at Salem.

1637, June 21. A petition to the Governor and Council of Massachusetts from Richard Saltonstall and fifty-five others of the principal

inhabitants of Ipswich, Massachusetts, remonstrating against the reported intention of the Governor and Council to appoint John Winthrop, Jr., to be Captain of the Castle at Boston, thereby necessitating his removal from Ipswich. Printed in 2 Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., vol. iii. pp. 198, 199. Valuable for its autograph signatures, some of which are very rare, if not unique.

1637, Oct. 18. An agreement, about pasturing cattle at Ipswich, between John Winthrop, Jr., and his brother-in-law, Rev. Samuel Dudley.

1638, June 28. Original quit-claim deed by Masconomet, Sagamore of Agawam, to John Winthrop, Jr., of all his lands in and about Ispwich and Chebacco. This deed is certified by Secretary Edward Rawson, Feb. 15, 1682, to have been then compared word for word with the original record, at the request of Wait Winthrop. It is printed in Felt's History of Ipswich, p. 8.

1638–9. Original acknowledgment of Masconomet, Sagamore of Agawam, that he had received of John Winthrop, Jr., full satisfaction "in wampam peage and other things" for the land between "Labour in vaine creeke" and "Chybacko creeke," and that for the sum of £20 he relinquishes all his rights in the town of Ipswich. The body of this acknowledgment is in the handwriting of John Winthrop, Jr., and it is witnessed by Giles Firmin, Deane Winthrop, and others, but it is not dated. It is, however, mentioned in the proceedings of a General Court at Boston, March 13, 163$\frac{8}{9}$. See Records of Mass., vol. i. p. 252.

1666, March 28. Copy, or duplicate, of articles of complaint against the Rev. Thomas Gilbert, of Topsfield.

1684. Original deed of Pine Island, Ipswich; on parchment, with some interesting signatures.

Given to the Library of the Long Island Historical Society, at Brooklyn.

1664, June 10. Original deed of Tabacus, Sachem of Unquachang, to Gov. John Winthrop, Jr., of a large tract of land on Long Island. Dated at Brookhaven and witnessed by Samuel Willys and Richard Howell.

1664, June 9. A certified copy of the preceding, taken from "the Record booke of Brookehaven" by "John Tooker, Recorder," dated "Setawkett, June 9, 1664." There is apparently a mistake in the day of the month, as it is one day earlier than the date of the deed.

1680, March 2. A paper certified as having been examined by Secretary Mathias Nicolls of New York and endorsed "a copy extracted out of the records of Seatalcott," containing a copy of the preceding certificate of John Tooker," together with a copy of an agreement between the Sachem Tabacus and the inhabitants of Brookhaven, dated

June 10, 1664, and witnessed by Richard Howell and John Cooper. To this agreement is appended the copy of an affidavit of said Tabacus, witnessed by John Howell and John Young, that he never sold any land to John Scott.

1680, March 30. The original patent of Edmund Andros, Governor of New York, confirming to Fitz-John Winthrop the estate on Long Island conveyed by Tabacus to his father. Countersigned by Secretary Mathias Nicolls.

1701, Dec. 23. Letter from Secretary Clarkson of New York to Gov. Fitz-John Winthrop concerning the fees for passing a patent for the manor of "Groton Hall" upon Long Island. See 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. viii. pp. 378, 379.

No date. A large map entitled "Plan of the Manor of Groton Hall on Nassau, alias Long, Island in the Province of New York in America." Probably prepared for John Winthrop, F.R.S., nephew of Fitz-John Winthrop, during his residence in England, as there exists a power of attorney from him dated in London, Oct. 25, 1746, empowering his wife and sons-in-law, Joseph Wanton and Gurdon Saltonstall, to sell the estate, then estimated to consist of a tract about ten miles square.

Mr. Justin Winsor made the following statement respecting the early editions of the first letter of Columbus. There are several varieties of the original Spanish text known in manuscript; but not one of them is in Columbus's hand, or shows certainly his own language. It was not till 1852 that any contemporary printed edition of the Spanish text was known. In that year the library of an Italian nobleman was left to the Biblioteca Ambrosiana at Milan, and in it was found a Spanish edition; and this remained the only one known till within a year or so, when almost simultaneously two other editions were discovered. These are now, or were lately, in the hands of dealers respectively in London and Paris, — one inviting offers but naming no price, and the other asking 65,000 francs, or $13,000!

The letter was put into Latin in Spain, and the version was carried to Italy, and within twelve months eight different editions were issued in the shape of thin quartos or octavos in black-letter type,— five in Rome, two in Paris, and one in Antwerp. Bibliographers have not been able to agree upon their order of publication. The copy recently bought by the Boston Public Library has been claimed by Harrisse and others

to be the earliest of all; but the weight of testimony is not in its favor. Of these eight editions, the one printed at Antwerp is only known in a copy discovered not long since in the Royal Library at Brussels. A copy in the library at Turin is also unique. The British Museum has two copies each of two editions and an imperfect one of a third, of which the Lenox Library has the only complete copy. The Lenox Library has three editions. The library of the late John Carter Brown, at Providence, has four editions, and stands at the head of all collections for its variety of these issues. The Huth Collection, in London, which was formed by a rich banker, now deceased, has two editions. The great libraries at Paris, Göttingen, and Munich have one each. Two copies of the same edition as that recently sold are in the British Museum, and are the only other copies known. The library of the late Henry C. Murphy had two editions, according to the Catalogue, but one proved to be a fac-simile. They were bought by Mr. Charles H. Kalbfleisch, of New York. As many as ten copies are known of the Roman edition, which is, in the opinion of most bibliographers, the first; and two of these copies are respectively in the collection of the Duc d'Aumale, at Twickenham, and in the Public Library at Hamburg. A copy of this edition was bought at the sale of the Dr. Court library in Paris a few years ago by one of the Rothschilds for 7,000 francs. Quaritch, of London, held a copy two years ago at £280. Another edition has changed hands of late years at 5,000 francs. There may be, then, about thirty copies of these eight editions known; and of these not more than five or six are ever likely to come on the market.

The Hon. Robert C. Winthrop then rose, and spoke in substance as follows: —

I have no formal communication for this afternoon, Mr. President. But before presenting what I have in my hand, I may be pardoned for an off-hand word or two, suggested by your excellent introductory address. I desire to express at once my cordial concurrence in all you have said in regard to our Centennial Anniversary. You alluded incidentally, however, to our Alma Mater at Cambridge, — to the statue of John Harvard near the Memorial Hall. A beautiful statue it certainly is, and one which does great credit to the artist as

well as to the generous friend to whom we owe it; but I cannot help saying that I have always thought it unfortunate, to say the least, that the only statue on the grounds of an institution whose motto is *Veritas* should present a figure which is wholly fictitious, and an inscription which is historically false.

The College was certainly not founded, as that inscription states, in 1638. The Constitution of Massachusetts, adopted in 1780, expressly declares that it was founded as early as the year 1636. Accordingly we celebrated its Two hundredth Anniversary in 1836, and its Two hundred and fiftieth Anniversary in 1886. The College was founded by the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and ought always to be recognized as the child of the State. Young Henry Vane was Governor of Massachusetts at that time, having succeeded Winthrop in the Chief Magistracy for that single year. Winthrop was serving under Vane as Deputy-Governor; and Edward Everett, in presiding at our Two hundredth Anniversary, — as he did with inimitable felicity, — puts into Winthrop's mouth the motion for the foundation and endowment of the College, and an eloquent speech in its favor. But Henry Vane was the Chief Magistrate on the occasion.

I have never been so great an admirer of that interesting young man as some of our recent orators and biographers. But an unjust and cruel death has given him a halo of martyrdom, and an exquisite sonnet of Milton has embalmed his memory for all ages. The history of our University should not be deprived of such a name; nor, let me add, ought the somewhat checkered career of Vane to be shorn of the glory of having presided at the foundation of what is now the great university of our country. Meantime the name of John Harvard needs no borrowed honors. It has been given irrevocably to the whole institution of which he was the earliest benefactor. His bequest of eight hundred pounds in 1638 enabled our wise and pious ancestors, as the Constitution calls them, to carry on the infant College successfully, and we cannot hold his name in too much honor. But we can never forget that Harvard could not have left eight hundred pounds to the College as the contemporary records tell us, unless there had been a college already founded to be the subject of his memorable endowment. It was the known

existence of the College which led to the bequest, and not the bequest which founded the College.

Let me now proceed, without further delay, to the brief communication which I had contemplated making this afternoon. In the last Annual Report of the Council of this Society, which has been but recently printed in the latest volume of our Proceedings, an allusion was justly made to the long, long delay which has occurred in the preparation of a memoir of one of our most accomplished and valuable Resident Members, the late Hon. Francis C. Gray. There seems to have been a fatality in regard to this memoir. Assigned originally to his intimate friend, Mr. Ticknor, and since the death of Mr. Ticknor to Dr. Lothrop, and, I believe, to more than one other of our members, it has long been expected, often been promised, but never been forthcoming. Mr. Gray died, lamented by all who knew him, in January, 1857. A man so accomplished, so quick-witted, so genial, with such a marvellous memory and such an exhaustless fund of information and anecdote, has rarely lived among us. I was then President of the Society, and paid a tribute to his memory in announcing his death. Mr. Savage followed me in a most impressive account of his great abilities and accomplishments. By some accident the remarks of Mr. Savage as well as my own tribute were overlooked in making up our first printed volume of Proceedings. I have found, however, among my old papers, a cutting from a newspaper in which they were printed at the time, and I now present it *in memoriam rei*, and for such use as the Publishing Committee may see fit to make of it. It may at least serve to show that we were not unmindful at the time of the great loss which the Society sustained in the death of Mr. Gray; and possibly it may be instrumental in bringing forth the promised memoir.

Let me proceed in the next place to fulfil the request contained in the following note: —

Lexington, Mass., Feb. 6, 1890.

Hon. R. C. Winthrop, Boston, Mass.

Dear Sir, — To-day is the sixty-fifth anniversary of the death of Gov. William Eustis; and his niece, Mrs. Elizabeth Eustis Langdon Porter, desires me to offer through you, for the acceptance of the

Massachusetts Historical Society, the enclosed photographic likeness of Governor Eustis, copied from an original portrait painted by Stuart. Similar copies have been presented to the New England Genealogical and Historical Society in Boston, and to the Historical Society of Lexington. Mrs. Porter and myself trust that it is not putting you to inconvenience to hand the enclosed to the Society.

With our best wishes for your continued good health, I remain, with sentiments of respect and high regard,

Dear Sir, very truly yours, G. W. Porter.

William Eustis — a photograph of whose portrait, with his autograph signature, is thus sent to us by his niece — was no ordinary man. A surgeon in the army of the American Revolution, a member of the House of Representatives of the United States, a Secretary of War in the cabinet of James Madison, a Minister Plenipotentiary to Holland, and finally dying as Governor of Massachusetts, — his official career was certainly most notable. He was the last of our Revolutionary Governors, — Hancock, Bowdoin, Samuel Adams, John Brooks, and others having preceded him. Levi Lincoln and Marcus Morton and George N. Briggs followed him. I recall his election as Governor in 1824. There was no Australian method then. There was no separate voting in wards or districts. The whole voting of the city of Boston was in Faneuil Hall; and I remember well standing at the doors of the old Cradle of Liberty, with other boys of the Latin School, and distributing votes for William Eustis, though it was six years before I was old enough to have a vote of my own. I recall his fine appearance as Commander-in-chief, in the old Revolutionary buff and blue uniform, on state occasions, and particularly during the visit of Lafayette to Massachusetts. He was then more than seventy years old. I recall his death and funeral. His body was brought in from the old Governor Shirley mansion in Roxbury, where he had resided, and laid in the State House, where the Cadets did guard duty around it by night and by day. My father, then a member of the Massachusetts State Senate, was chairman of the committee for the funeral ceremonies, so that I was in the way of taking note of the arrangements. The militia of the Commonwealth were summoned from long distances to escort the procession, under the command of Gen. Theodore Lyman; and many of them were encamped on Boston

Common, then covered with snow, on the night before the funeral. The next day there was one of the earliest of those multitudinous military funeral pageants which have become so common in later years. All these details, I doubt not, and many more, will be found in the old "Columbian Centinel" and other journals of February, 1825, and I present the photograph without trespassing longer on the attention of the Society.

The report of the meeting held immediately after the death of Mr. Gray, to which reference is made in the foregoing remarks, appeared in the "Boston Post," Jan. 9, 1857. The part relating to Mr. Gray is as follows: —

"Massachusetts Historical Society. — At the regular monthly meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the President, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, after the usual reading of the record, announced the death of Hon. Francis C. Gray substantially in the following terms: —

"'The opening year, gentlemen, finds us with a freshly created vacancy in our little number, which, though not unexpected for many weeks or even months past, cannot fail to be the subject of sincere regret to us all. We are called on to remember, this morning, that death has deprived us of one of those who have been longest and most actively associated with us. The name of Francis C. Gray stood third on the catalogue of our living Resident Members, as recently revised and published in our last volume. He was elected on the 21st day of January, 1818, and had thus nearly completed the thirty-ninth year of his membership. I need not remind you that during this period he had rendered many and most valuable services to this Society, as a member both of the Standing Committee and of the Publishing Committee, and as a contributor of interesting and important matter to our Collections.

"'His discovery of a manuscript copy of the early laws of Massachusetts Bay, called "The Body of Liberties," and the elaborate and thorough elucidation of its history with which he accompanied its publication in the eighth volume of our third series, have hardly been surpassed in interest or in value by anything which our volumes have ever contained. His zeal and vigilance in vindicating the title of our Society to manuscript papers which had long been among our most cherished treasures, — as he most successfully and conclusively did on more than one occasion, — have created a claim upon our grateful remembrance, by no means less strong and enduring because the service at the time was the subject of no public record. Nor would we forget our obliga-

tions for the interest with which he entered into the recent purchase and improvement of our hall, and for his efforts and his example in raising the necessary funds for that purpose.

"'But it is not my province, on this occasion, to attempt any formal enumeration of Mr. Gray's services to this Society, or of his larger and more important benefactions to the community in which he lived. His numerous and generous contributions of time, of money, and of his own great abilities, in so many ways, to the cause of literature, learning, and science, will form the appropriate theme of those who shall be called to treat of him more deliberately hereafter. I may add only, in a single word, that as a man of elegant accomplishments, of vast and varied acquisition, of thorough, exact, and well-digested information, ready at all times to be communicated in private conversation or in public discourse, he has left no superior, and few equals, in this or any other community.

"'He died on the 29th of December last, at the age of sixty-six years. The Standing Committee would at once have issued a notice for the attendance of the Society at his funeral, had they not ascertained on inquiry that such a course would be in contravention to his own expressed wishes. The event proved, however, that no notice was necessary, and a large proportion of our number was found among the throng of friends who were present on that melancholy occasion. An opportunity is now presented for the Society to manifest their sense of the loss which they have sustained, and to provide for a suitable memoir of so accomplished and valued an associate.'

"Hon. James Savage rose and said, that in looking round the Society, it seemed to him we might not be able to designate so promptly a member to perform the usual service of preparing a suitable memoir of our late associate, as we certainly must be to adopt the vote he would first offer, — that this Society deeply feel the loss sustained, since our last meeting, by the death of Hon. Francis C. Gray. After the meeting had adopted the vote, he proceeded: —

"'Sir, we may well lament the deprivation of such a companion, to whose various acquirements in science, of whatever section, in art, whether useful or polite, hardly an equal could be found in any two of our remaining members. I have not heard of one in our country to be regarded as his superior in the aggregate of these riches, nor ever known any so distinguished in the universality of his studies. This distinction arose not solely from the number of degrees in the circumference of his knowledge, but equally from penetration towards the centre.

"'It just now occurs to my mind, that among the companions of Dr. Johnson, as in his biography by Boswell we learn, one scholar was by them frequently called *omniscient* Jackson; but the great moralist

put in the ready objection to that epithet, for the Governor of the Universe only could thus be honored. Yet even he would acquiesce in the phrase *all knowing;* and I may not seem presumptuous, perhaps, when, with highest esteem for one and another of our associates, no hesitation is felt in saying that, to a question in philosophy, law, history, political economy, letters, or any topic in which human society takes great interest, would an answer from Mr. Gray more surely satisfy an intimate acquaintance than one from any other gentleman. It would be received without appeal.

"'With these views, Mr. President, I submit what may appear a reasonable proposition, though diverse from our usual course; and I move that the nomination of one of our members, to write a just memorial for our Collections upon the late Hon. Francis C. Gray, be made by the President at some future meeting of the Society.'"

The Hon. MELLEN CHAMBERLAIN was called on by the President to give some account of the recent sale of the Aspinwall-Barlow library, and spoke in substance as follows:—

The sale of the Aspinwall-Barlow collection of books and manuscripts in New York City, on the afternoons and evenings of February 3–8, attracted attention on both sides of the Atlantic; and more particularly here in Boston, as the City Council had made a special appropriation of $20,000 for the purchase of books on American history not found in the Public Library. I attended this sale on behalf of the Library, and the President has asked me to give a running account of it.

Colonel Aspinwall, the projector of the library, Corresponding and afterward Resident Member of the Historical Society, was well known to its older members. He frequently visited our rooms, where I was introduced to him by Dr. Deane,—not long before his death, I think,—but nothing passed between us save the salutations customary on such occasions. As I desire to give some account of his library and its dispersion, it is a matter of regret that his memoir, successively assigned to three of our members whose death has prevented its preparation, remains uncompleted; nor from other sources have I been able to add much to what is already in print.

The larger part of Colonel Aspinwall's collection was made while he was consul at London, between 1816 and 1854, and remained in his possession until September, 1864, when that

which was most valuable, exclusive of duplicates, was sold to Samuel L. M. Barlow, of New York City. The part retained by Colonel Aspinwall was sold, after his death, at the auction-rooms of Leonard & Co., June 3 and 4, 1879.

The manuscript catalogue of the books sold to Mr. Barlow, now in the Public Library, contains 2,788 volumes, exclusive of maps and manuscripts; and the auction catalogue, 3,849, — from which it appears that Colonel Aspinwall's whole library, including duplicates, contained 6,637 volumes.

Mr. Barlow's purchase, wholly of Americana, was removed to New York City, — "two hundred or more of the choicest works" in the personal custody of his agent, and the bulk of the collection forwarded as freight. These last were deposited in the book-rooms of C. B. Richardson, on Broadway, to await the preparation of Mr. Barlow's house to receive them, and during the night of the 18th of September, 1864, were entirely destroyed by fire.

I have taken some pains, but not with entire success, to learn what particular books escaped destruction, and especially which of them have now become the property of the Public Library. There appeared, without date or imprint, a catalogue of Colonel Aspinwall's library arranged chronologically; and as the last entry is Irving's "Voyages and Discoveries of Columbus," published in 1831, it may be fairly inferred that the catalogue appeared not much later.

A comparison of titles, dates, imprints, and sizes found in this early catalogue with those appearing in the auction catalogue affords ground for conjecture, where they are the same, that they describe identical volumes. Of course it is possible that volumes appearing in the later catalogue are replacements of those in the first destroyed by fire; but this test gives at least approximate results. From such a comparison it appears that of the 771 titles in the printed catalogue, 229 escaped fire, and 542 were burned; and of those which escaped 2 were of the fifteenth century, 17 of the sixteenth, 114 of the seventeenth, 65 of the eighteenth, and 31 of the nineteenth century. Thirty-two of these, chiefly those printed before 1700, and by far the most valuable, were purchased for the Public Library.

When Colonel Aspinwall sold his library to Mr. Barlow, it contained 2,788 volumes, of which 2 titles were of the

fifteenth century, 42 of the sixteenth, 324 of the seventeenth, 1169 of the eighteenth, and 671 of the nineteenth century.

Had these catalogues been arranged in the same way, it would not be difficult to learn approximately the volumes burned; but the sale catalogue is chronological, and the auction catalogue alphabetical, which makes the labor of comparison disproportionate to the value of the results.

I have made considerable, but vain search for a contemporaneous account of the fire, and of the volumes consumed. There must have been such an account at the time, for I remember specially regretting the loss of the Boston edition of Jefferson's writings with marginalia by Coleridge. This would interest us now, as showing the opinions of the greatest English philosophical idealist who acknowledged the sincerity of phenomena, respecting the opinions and conduct of the greatest political idealist of any age who administered the affairs of an empire.

The portion of Colonel Aspinwall's library — chiefly foreign works and duplicate Americana — which was not included in the Barlow purchase was sold, as I have said, by Leonard & Co. in June, 1879. The time of the year was most unfortunate, — a time when many who usually purchased at such sales were either out of town or busily engaged in preparations to go. The sale was a sacrifice. I never witnessed a worse. The impression must have gone abroad that the catalogue contained the refuse, odds and ends, of Colonel Aspinwall's library. On the contrary, it was a rather choice collection of uncommonly well bound books in many departments of literature, and especially rich in seventeenth and eighteenth century colonial monographs and manuscripts.

Among the Americana, with the prices at which they sold, were Hakluyt's West Indies, 1555, $16; Ward's Simple Cobler, two copies at $13 each; Good Speed to Virginia, 1609, $15; Josselyn's New England Rarities, 1672, $16; Josselyn's Two Voyages, 1674, $15; Pynchon's Meritorious Price, $42 (sold at the Barlow sale for $480); Morton's New English Canaan, $63, another copy, $26; Lechford's Plain Dealing, three copies respectively at $41, $37, $32.75; Wood's New England's Prospect, $31; Hennepin's New Discovery, 1699, $23.50, another copy, $16.50; Savage's Account of the Late Action, 1691, $25.50; Mayhew's Experience, $3; Massachu-

setts Historical Society Collections, complete set, $75; Almon's Remembrancer, complete set, $64; Massacre of 5th March, the rare Boston edition, 1770, $4.38; Stith's History of Virginia, 1753, $13; Peters's History of Connecticut, $24.50; Beverley's History of Virginia, 1722, $9.50; Keith's History of the British Plantations, 1733, $11.25; De Quesne's Expedition to Ohio, 1683, $1; Cotton's Bloudy Tenent, $6; Whitbourne's Discourse and Discovery of New Found Land, $4.50.

The above are only a few of similar rarities which might be mentioned, and I am at loss to understand why some of them were not included in the Barlow purchase. The prices given above, though low, were not ridiculously low, — a fact owing to the presence of Sabin, the dealer in books from New York. The other books sold, in many cases, at half the cost of their bindings, or even less.

I attended on behalf of the Library, and bought 305 lots; but as it was not the policy of the Trustees at that time to purchase originals when they had reprints, none of those mentioned above went to its shelves.

For my own library I secured about a dozen volumes, among which was a copy of Scaliger's Poetics which had belonged to Pope, and contained two of his autographs. The price of this was $1.87. I also bought at thirty cents the joint venture of Coleridge, Lamb, and Lloyd in poetry, Bristol, 1797, usually quoted at a guinea. But this copy contained an original sonnet and other writing by Charles Lamb, though unknown to me at the time. It was a shot in the dark.

When it became known that the Barlow library was to be sold at public auction, the Trustees of the Public Library thought best to secure some portion of it, if possible. As a whole, the Public Library is one of the most symmetrical of large libraries. Its foundations were laid by men of wide erudition and sound judgment, and removed as far as possible from lopsidedness or provincialism. Their selections were supplemented from time to time by the Barton, Ticknor, Bowditch, Parker, Hunt, Thayer, and Congressional collections, which make the Library uncommonly strong in those departments. It is also a good working library for American history, but mainly in reprints. It bears no comparison with the Harvard College Library in original authorities; and aside from the Prince collection, which is only a deposit, it is weak.

This state of things does not reflect upon the earlier Trustees. On the other hand, it is greatly to their credit that they never applied the income of the trust funds, or the annual appropriation of the city, to any purpose which would divide the judgments of the people; and the exceptional richness of the Library in the departments above mentioned is due to the fact that all of them save the Barton collection were gifts, and that was purchased by a special appropriation.

To supply the deficiency in original Americana, for which neither the income of the trust funds nor the annual appropriation could be used consistently with good trusteeship, the Trustees asked of the City Council a special appropriation of $20,000. That sum was granted with a distinct understanding of its intended use, — the purchase of rare and costly works on America.

The desirableness of possessing such works in their original editions, I think I need not trouble myself to discuss in this presence. Making no account of the prestige given to a great library by the possession of the original sources of the history of the country in which it is established, and merely adverting to the encouragement given to historical research by access to original authorities, I think that no one who writes and that no one who reads history fails to observe how much more vital, stimulating, and satisfactory in many ways is an original authority than a copy or reprint. Its age makes it a part of the history which it records. For certain purposes the latest edition of an historical work, with its accumulated wealth of notes adding or correcting facts from new light, may be indispensable. And since history is always seeking and never coming to the truth, it is also doubtless true that the earliest history is more correctly read in the light of the latest history. But no eyes other than our own eyes can adequately trace for us the development of institutions from their germs; through no other eyes than our own can we recognize the signs of vital truth or the seeds of fatal error.

With these views the Trustees for some years past have sought to put the Library on a respectable footing in original authorities relating to American history. But this is becoming more and more difficult. Formerly when they ordered from foreign catalogues they obtained, on an average, five of every seven numbers; of late years, not two, and those the least desirable, — so great is the demand for them.

At the Barlow sale, however, were the needed books, and in the city treasury was the money needed for their purchase. This was put at the disposal of the Trustees. Such a conjunction of desirable circumstances was not to be overlooked. Of course the Trustees were aware that other parties were similarly desirous and equally able to make purchases, and that these facts would undoubtedly considerably appreciate prices. And if they could have carried forward the appropriation indefinitely and waited, say a hundred years, for such books as they lacked to appear from time to time in the market, perhaps they might have wisely waited. But all experience was against such a course, and no second conjunction of circumstances so favorable as those above mentioned could be reasonably expected.

Prices would rule high, and all that the Trustees could reasonably expect was that they would not be made so by fictitious bids. Of this there were no suspicions. Their purchases amounted to $20,274.

They endeavored to secure a fair share, — for to have secured all was impossible, — first, of books relating to the discoveries of America; secondly, of its settlements; and thirdly, of its growth and history, giving the preference to Massachusetts and New England history. Among other purchases was the Latin translation of the first document published concerning the discovery of the New World, and printed in 1493. This was the Columbus letter, for which they gave $2,900; and this, as I learn from the public journals, has given rise to two questions, — first, whether the book is very rare; and secondly, whether the price was not excessive. Those questions were duly considered by the Trustees. The pedigree of this copy is well known. It belonged to Colonel Aspinwall, and was in his possession as early as 1831. It is therefore presumably a genuine copy. It does not claim to be unique. The Trustees were aware, generally, of the number of known copies, and of their likelihood of coming upon the market. They also knew that the letter had been printed earlier in Spanish, and that other copies claimed priority of publication. Much of this the catalogue very frankly informed them; but they also knew these facts from other sources. They thus deliberately made the purchase at a price higher by a little than that at which they hoped to acquire it. This was on Tuesday. On Friday they were given to understand that they

could re-sell it at a very considerable advance; but they were in New York to buy books, not to sell them. They paid nearly $3,000 for the first Latin copy. They might have waited to purchase the first Spanish copy since offered to them at the Library at $10,000 as its lowest price. But they did not wait.

Besides the Columbus letter, the following are some of the principal works purchased for the Public Library: Appolonius, De Peruviæ inventione, 1567; Bergomas, Novissime Historiarum repercussiones, 1506; Cabeça de Vaca, La relacion y comentarios, 1555; Champlain, Les Voyages, 1613; Cieça de Leon, La Chronica del Peru, 1554; Creuxius, Historiæ Canadensis libri decem, 1664; Donck, Beschryvinge van Nieuw-Nederlant, 1655; Sir Francis Drake's The World Encompassed, 1653; Frobisher, Narratio historica, 1580; Garcilaso de la Vega, La Florida del Inca, 1605; Gardyner's Description of the New World, 1631; Gomara's Historia General de las Indias, 1553; Grynæus, Novvs Orbis, 1532; Hakluyt's Principal Navigations, 1589; Hawkins' Observations, 1622; Hernandez, Historia del Peru, 1571; Herrara, Novus Orbis, 1622; Las Casas, Original Tracts, 1552; Le Clercq, Nouvelle Relation, 1691; Pomponius Mela, Cosmographia, 1511; Monardes, Joyfull Newes, 1580; Carta del Padre Pedro de Morales, Mexico, 1579; Relation de la Levée du Siège de Québec, 1691; Sagard, Le Grand Voyage du Pays, 1632; Strabo. Geographia, 1512; Vespucius, Paesi Nouamente Retrouati, 1507; Xeres, Conquista del Peru, 1547, and Zarate, Historia del Peru, 1577; Anne Bradstreet, The Tenth Muse, 1650; Almon's Remembrancer, long sought for as complete; Child's New England's Jonas cast up, 1647; Clark's Ill News from New England, 1651; various rare tracts of John Cotton; Sir George Downing's Verscheyde Brieven Antwoorden, 1662; Eliot's Glorious Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians of New England, 1649; Eliot's Tears of Repentance, 1653; Eliot's Christian Commonwealth, 1659; Eliot's Farther Account, 1660; Eliot's Brief Narrative, 1671; Eliot's Harmony of the Gospels, 1678; Gorges Tracts, 1658–9; Gorton's Simplicities Defence, 1646; Gorton's Saltmarsh Returned from the dead, 1655; Higginson's New England Plantations, second and third editions, 1630; Hooke's New England's Tears, 1641; The Massachusetts Psalter, Indian and English,

1709; Mourt's Relation, 1622; New England's Faction discovered, 1690; Pynchon's The Jewes Synagogue, 1652; Savage's Account of the late Action of the New Englanders under Sir Wm. Phips, 1691; Shepard's New Englands Lamentation, 1645, and the Day Breaking, 1647; Capt. John Smith's True Relation, 1608, and Description of New England, 1616; Strength out of Weakness . . . Progress of the Gospel among the Indians in New England, 1652; Capt. John Underhill's Newes from America, 1638; White's Planters' Plea, 1630; Roger Williams's Key into the language of America, 1643; Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody, 1652; Experiment of Spiritual Life and Health, 1652; Winslow's Hypocrisie Unmasked, 1646, and the Danger of Tolerating Levellers, 1649; Wood's New England's Prospect, both editions, 1634, 1635.

The Trustees bid for other desirable works; but others were in attendance equally desirous of obtaining, and willing to pay more for them. Besides, no one party will be allowed to sweep the board with impunity. Moreover, the Trustees were obliged to carry forward to near the end of the sale a large but indefinite amount if they intended, as they certainly did, to bring home with them the volume of the Colony Records. Doubtless it would have been agreeable to them had the State found it convenient to relieve them from that necessity, and thus allowed them to purchase more books. But they fully appreciated the position of the State in the matter. There were three parties in the field for this volume; but before the bidding began the Lenox Library gracefully retired in the interest of the Public Library, which, as is well known, took the volume at $6,500.

Mr. Abner C. Goodell, Jr., read a paper, as follows, on the origin of the towns in Massachusetts, in support of the views presented by the Hon. Mellen Chamberlain at the January meeting.

At our last meeting I was gratified to hear Judge Chamberlain's criticism of the late Professor Johnston's theory of the emigration of towns from Massachusetts to Connecticut. Had not the subject been thus favorably introduced, I should have hesitated to express my views upon it here, from

a doubt I have as to how far it is proper for us at our meetings to enter upon the field of criticism; but since we have gone thus far, I ask your attention to some opinions on the general subject of the development of the town and State formed in the course of my researches into the legal and political history of our Commonwealth. I shall include some reference to the views of others which I deem unsound. This I have felt I could do more conveniently by incorporating in this essay the substance of a letter that I wrote a few years ago to a gentleman in Maryland who was investigating the subject of the relation of the Massachusetts town to the State, and who subsequently expressed his concurrence in the conclusions to which my studies had led me.

Among students, at home and abroad, of American history and politics, the opinion has generally been received without demur, that the towns were the foundation of our political system. The consideration of some prominent events which occurred just previous to the Revolution undoubtedly confirmed, if it did not beget, this opinion, which seems to have developed during the present century. The municipal machinery, which even during the colonial period had assumed substantially its present form, was devised gradually to meet the necessities or to suit the convenience of the people in the several plantations. Early in the provincial period this system was revised and adopted, without any material change, by the Province Act of 4 and 5 William and Mary, "for establishing townships, choice of town officers, and setting forth their power," [1] which survived the adoption of the Constitution, and which is the basis of our existing laws on the subject.

The town-meeting, which was the most interesting and important feature of this system, had been found convenient for the initiation and concert of political measures. During the earlier progress of the Revolution it had afforded admirable facilities for uniting and inciting the people, both by resolutions and by the election and encouragement of representatives to the General Assembly, who availed themselves of their parliamentary privileges to resist unpopular measures with the utmost courage and vigor. Any attempt therefore to undermine or destroy this system would inflict a severe wound not soon

[1] Province Laws, 1692–3, chap. 28.

forgotten. But the Act of Parliament, 14 George III., chap. 45, by the seventh section of which selectmen in Massachusetts were absolutely prohibited from calling town-meetings, except by leave of a governor appointed by the Crown, deprived the town government of the one feature which in the popular mind had made it most sacred. This blow was not only soon resented on the battle-field, but was long remembered as the most damaging assault, short of armed coercion, that could possibly be made on the liberties of the people. Undoubtedly, too, this parliamentary interference revived the memories of those earlier measures of tyranny under Andros, when by the abolition of the House of Representatives the people were deprived of the highest privilege which could be exercised in the town-meeting, — the choice of deputies to the General Court.

The sons of Revolutionary sires would be very likely to impress the receptive minds of strangers eager to understand the theory of our government, with the importance of the town system, under which the management of all local and prudential affairs was conducted by such simple methods that the average citizen might hope to make an acceptable town officer, and all citizens were permitted to have an equal voice in the town-meeting, — that school of politics and of declamation. Hence I suspect De Tocqueville, who was a faithful disciple of the American political philosophers, returned from the United States to his native Paris so impressed with the political importance of this fundamental institution of the New World that he declared "The township seems to come from the hand of God." This is one of his discoveries in political science which led him to abandon his profession, in order to devote himself to the work of disseminating his views of American Democracy in the treatise which is still his conspicuous monument. He informs us that "political life had its origin in the townships; and it may almost be said that each of them originally formed an independent nation. When the kings of England afterwards asserted their supremacy, they were content to assume the central power of the State. They left the townships where they were before; and although they are now subject to the State, they were not at first, or were hardly so. They did not receive their powers from the central authority, but, on the contrary, they gave up a portion of their independence to the State."

To-day we have the school of historical students to which Judge Chamberlain has alluded with appropriate words of commendation, who, having adopted the theory of De Tocqueville, are endeavoring, with no little ingenuity and with unsparing labor and admirable enthusiasm, to trace this idea of the township back to our remotest ancestry. The Johns Hopkins University appears to be the centre of this enterprise, and Professor Johnston belonged to that school. Nearly nine years ago Dr. Adams, of Johns Hopkins University, read a paper before the Harvard Historical Society, on the "Germanic Origin of New England Towns," in which he affirmed that, "in New England especially, towns were the primordial cells of the body politic." It was about a year later that Professor Johnston gave to the world his "Genesis of a New England State," in which he applied the same idea to the case of the Connecticut colonists, and expressed the views, subsequently incorporated in his contribution to the series of histories of American Commonwealths, which were criticised at our last meeting. Judge Chamberlain, no doubt correctly, traces this school to Dr. Edward A. Freeman as its founder; but there can be little question, I think, that the cisatlantic disciples of this school are indebted to Dr. Adams for direction in their lines of investigation and in their methods of treatment.

I shrink from uttering a word in disparagement of these devoted and accomplished workers in the field of history. Yet I cannot but feel that until the American student has mastered the historical data which our own records and literature afford, his time will be less profitably employed in the remoter lines they are pursuing than in recovering, analyzing, and comparing these data with a view to explaining coeval and subsequent events and institutions, or in revising the work of earlier writers of American history. I am not unmindful of the recondite researches in local and general repositories (not arranged or indexed, and otherwise more or less difficult of access) which these scholars have made, but it seems to me that their prepossession of a theory detracts from the value of their conclusions. It has certainly misled them in their interpretation of some simple events. In history as in other sciences, plausible theories, and assumptions more or less rash can never supersede the unprejudiced study and exposition of plain facts, drawn from sources whose trustworthiness is exactly

proportioned to their nearness and notoriety. While I defer to opinions derived from the exhaustive and critical study of materials which generally are not accessible at first hand to students in America, and am willing to accept them for all their probable value in view of the fact that the scattered sources of this fragmentary and uncertain information furnish at best but slight foundation for anything more positive than conjecture, I do so without the sense of satisfaction which attends absolute conviction.

Notwithstanding the high authority on which the contrary opinion rests, I am obliged to confess that I have not been able to find that a town, as a fundamental, fixed, political entity, was ever anything but a figment. Neither is it clear to me that the township is a complete integral constituent of the State. Indeed, in the Legislature of Massachusetts, which of all the departments of government comes nearest to the full proportions of the State, the town no longer enjoys a distinct recognition by representation. For several years past both branches of the General Court have been composed of representatives or senators elected from districts not coterminous with the old political divisions, and no one seems to have discovered that we have undergone a radical revolution in the change. Now, since the towns, as such, never had any control of the executive and judicial branches of the government, they bear to-day no more potential or necessary relations to the State than do other corporations or persons. Yet the State survives this change, seemingly unimpaired in its essential constitution.

Let me trespass upon your time by a brief review of the steps by which our town system has reached its present state.

The Charter of Charles I. (1628) contemplated, first, the establishment of a company of merchant adventurers to promote the settlement of this colony, and thereby to increase the trade of the realm; and, second, a local government, under the corporation, for regulating the civil affairs of the colonists.

At the head of the corporation was Matthew Cradock, "Governor of the *Company*"; which, in turn, appointed Capt. John Endicott as chief manager or governor of the "plantation," or actual settlers, — in other words, the *colony*.

At first Endicott seems to have held a position analogous to

that of master of a ship over his crew and passengers; but in the spring of 1629 he was regularly appointed governor, with twelve councillors or assistants, one of whom was to be appointed deputy-governor; and these thirteen, constituting "the Governor and Council of London's Plantation in the Massachusetts Bay in New England," were required to choose a secretary for the colony, who, with them, was to be duly sworn to the faithful performance of duty. To this body was formally intrusted the sole ordering and management of the colony; and they were authorized "to make, ordain, and establish all manner of wholesome and reasonable laws, orders, ordinances, and constitutions" not repugnant to the laws of England, "for the administering of justice upon malefactors, and inflicting condign punishment upon all other offenders, and for the furtherance and propagating of the said plantation, and the more decent and orderly government of the inhabitants there." The seal of the company and a copy of the charter were sent to them; and they proceeded with the work of legislation and all the functions of government.

Such were the conditions under which Endicott organized his little band of pioneers at Salem into a body politic; and under the régime thus established, the local governments would have continued, doubtless, had not the whole scheme been changed by transferring the charter and the seat of the corporation from London to New England. By this event the double government contemplated in the charter, and adhered to up to the time of Winthrop's arrival, ceased, and the company took the exclusive and sole management of affairs here,[1] instead of controlling it in London. This change had probably been determined upon from the outset; and Winthrop was chosen governor with the express purpose of coming hither and assuming the immediate government of the colony in accordance with this determination. Whatever nice questions may be, or may have been, raised as to the legality of this proceeding, the stubborn fact remains that the thing was practically accomplished, with the acquiescence of the local administration already in being here; and no serious objection seems to have been made, by any of the parties concerned, to the soundness of the theory according to which this change appears to have been made,—that the government of the plantation, under Endicott, was in the nature of an

[1] See note on p. 329, post.

agency, liable to be superseded, *ipso facto*, whenever the principal (the corporation) should choose to remove hither and take the immediate direction of affairs.

The colonial establishment under which, after his new appointment, Endicott and his council acted without a legislature chosen by the people, was not dissimilar to the system followed in the government of other English colonies at that time, and was substantially identical with the system under which Dudley and Andros managed the affairs of the colony nearly sixty years later. The governor and council made all the laws, and exercised at the same time complete judicial and executive functions.

When, however, the whole corporation was removed hither, the *freemen* — that is, such of the original corporators as came over, as well as others subsequently chosen to membership under the charter — exercised the right of suffrage given to them by the charter, and by the common law applicable to corporations. On this narrow foundation the fabric of our popular civil government was reared.

The determination of what should constitute qualification for membership of the corporation devolved upon the corporators, in the absence of an express provision to the contrary in the charter. This permitted the introduction of a religious test in the admission of freemen. Some years later the inconvenience of assembling all the freemen at the meetings of the General Court of the Company suggested the plan of sending proxies or deputies; and from this, in turn, sprang our system of representation.

Hence it will be seen that there was no need of a *compact* of government, such as the Plymouth exiles entered into. The Massachusetts colonists were members of the Church of England, although Puritans or low-churchmen. They were entitled, as their unforfeited birthright as well as by the express words of the charter, to all the rights, privileges, and immunities of Englishmen, — in short, to the protection of the common law wherever they went; while the Pilgrims, on the other hand, were refugees, expatriated abjurers, and liable to the terrible consequences of a *præmunire* if found in England. The emigrants from Holland, as individuals, could as well claim protection from the Stadtholder as from the English Crown, though certain to be denied it by both. In this

dilemma they furnished the world with that remarkable precedent of an original, written, social compact.

Englishmen, I have said, in theory carry with them the common law wherever they go. The shipmaster on the high seas maintains discipline, rightfully, among his crew and passengers; nor is that authority lost by the accident of shipwreck, unless he is thus thrown within the limits of an established government. If the castaways are outside of any settled jurisdiction, the master has a right to prevent anarchy; and if there were no appointed head, each individual would have the right of self-protection, and of combining with his associates for the purpose of securing that end even by the taking of life if necessary. It follows too that people thus situated may lawfully constitute a proper forum for deciding disputes and for ascertaining guilt, and may appoint agents for executing judgment. This applies as well to the little communities which were the foundation of the Connecticut commonwealth as to the Pilgrims, whenever new exigencies in their respective situations required the exercise of autonomic power.

No such extremity, however, was presented in the case of Massachusetts; for as we have seen, its form of government was authorized by the Royal Charter, conformably to the rule under which the Crown has ever claimed authority over its foreign dominions. The Connecticut towns in turn were held in leading-strings by Massachusetts until she recognized their ability to go alone.

As new exigencies arose in the government of the Massachusetts Colony, they had to be met by new expedients, until at length the government here became complex, and nearly resembled, in its machinery for making, interpreting, and executing the laws, for raising revenue, and for subduing its enemies, etc., the government of the kingdom from which it sprang.

In a certain sense what is commonly said about the towns antedating the county and the State is true, since the body of planters who settled at Salem, and those who removed thence to Charlestown formed the nucleus of the quasi-corporate communities to which those town names were afterward given; and it may be added that the government of Salem was instituted before Endicott was formally appointed governor, and that of Charlestown before Winthrop held his first General

Court, and that both of these plantations were in being before the establishment of counties. But in the sense in which the statement is generally made and understood, I think it cannot be said that the municipal antedated the general government.

We have seen that Endicott was at first virtually autocrat of the Salem Colony; next he was appointed governor, with a council or board of assistants. His authority in each of these positions was co-extensive with the territory of the colony. For Maverick at Winnisimet, for Walford at Mishawum, for Blaxton at Shawmut, and for Wollaston and Morton in their settlements, he prescribed rules of discipline as well as for his company at Naumkeag; and from them all he exacted deference and required obedience.

There were then no town-meetings; indeed, the name "town," although the word appears in our records even before 1630, was not affixed to either of these plantations until some years later; and though Salem is said to have been *incorporated* July 24, 1629, this is only because the name "Salem" is supposed to have been then substituted for the original Indian name "Naumkeag," — a change which, when made in the case of other plantations by the General Court in subsequent years, has been regarded as the date of incorporation.

Under Winthrop and the charter, the freemen of the colony met to choose deputies, after it had been agreed that they should be represented in the General Court by deputies; but this, and the procuring and keeping of arms and ammunition and of sealed weights and measures, and a few other unimportant matters were all the duties that the several plantations were required to perform; and for even these there was no provision as to assembling the freemen.

It was not until March, 1635–6, that towns were directed and empowered, by an ordinance of the General Court, to manage their local affairs and to choose town officers therefor. This was the beginning of the town-meeting proper. Up to that time the General Court had legislated on all local as well as general affairs; and even the constables who were the town executives (for at that time selectmen were not chosen) were appointed by the General Court.

Now, since the settlement of Wethersfield began in the winter of 1634–5, and that of Windsor and Hartford respec-

tively in the summer and autumn following, what sort of a political organization under the name of a town could Professor Johnston have imagined the founders of Connecticut to have transported through the wilderness? A political quasi-corporation, whose organization is so imperfect that it does not choose even a constable, affords a very slim foundation for the theory that the State came into existence by assuming the exercise of powers derived from it, or rather of which it divested itself in order to endue the new sovereign with life and form; and what a meagre, helpless abortion must have been the State thus dependent for existence!

Gradually in Massachusetts, as in other colonies, new town officers were designated by the Legislature, and new powers were given to, and new duties required of them and of the town, or rather of the body of freemen in the towns. In the management of town affairs the General Court also began to remove the barriers which from 1631 had excluded all but freemen from participation in all affairs of government; and before the Colony Charter had been superseded by the Charter of William and Mary, towns had become organized substantially upon the system to which they conformed up to the time of the adoption of the State Constitution; so that we see the town was really the creature and not the parent of the General Assembly.

The so-called incorporation of Boston is contained in the following legislative *fiat* of Sept. 7, 1630: "It is ordered that Trimountaine shall be called Boston; Mattapan, Dorchester; and the towne upon Charles River, Watertown." I do not know that any one contends that this ordinance conferred any new functions on the plantations named therein, or affected their relations to the whole colony. It simply gave each of them a new name, and it was long after this before they began to exercise the powers of corporations even in the management of their internal affairs.

In like manner the date of the supersedure of Endicott's government by Winthrop, August 23, 1630,[1] would seem more properly to mark the date of incorporation of Salem than the date usually given, since the former was the date of the first appearance of separation between the general government of

[1] There is reason for believing that Winthrop's Council did not wholly supersede Endicott's, until the new board of Assistants held their first recorded meeting. See Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. iii. p. 75.

the colony and the local government of the plantation, though really no change in the management of local affairs was then effected. This was really the first act of differentiation in the process of development of the town. From the beginning the town was absolutely the creature of the State, which could at any time change its name and its boundaries, alter its constitution, or abolish it altogether by a simple act of legislation.

The support of particular ministers in the plantations or towns was at first the business of the whole corporation at home. Then the colonial assembly here began to pass ordinances from time to time for that purpose as soon as the contributions of the church members (who were the freemen) appeared too burdensome, and it was thought equitable to apportion the charge on more than one plantation, or upon persons not church members.

But, as a rule, from the first the churches supported the ministers. After a while the rates for this charge were ordered to be assessed upon the towns by the county courts. Then a similar provision was made for building dwelling-houses for the respective ministers; and finally, except in the town of Boston, the support of an "able, learned, and orthodox" ministry became a town or parish charge, and so remained through all the vicissitudes of government until, in 1833, by the adoption of Article XI. of the Amendments to the Constitution, the third article of the Declaration of Rights was so modified as to secure exemption from this burden, to all who might choose to avail themselves of that privilege; and thus, after more than two centuries, the people were for the first time freed from enforced support of public worship, and the present voluntary system began.

Again, Professor Johnston's theory as to the peculiar influence of Connecticut in shaping our Federal system seems purely imaginary. The adoption of the Federal Constitution was the establishment of a perpetual independent State or sovereignty which the exigencies of our interstate and international relations rendered indispensable. The previous confederation had not only proved insufficient, but it could no longer exist without constant danger of dissolution which would expose the several States to destruction by external enemies. This was the central and prevailing idea of the framers. The idea of

federation was not new, neither was it derived from the peculiar constitution of Connecticut or of any other colony; and nothing is clearer than that the separation of the national legislature into two chambers was but an implicit acquiescence in the course which had been adopted in the legislative system of several States. This was a feature which by a natural and gradual process had developed into greater perfection by long experience under the analogous division into Council and Representatives or Burgesses, which runs back through provincial into remote colonial times.

Dr. Samuel A. Green then made the following remarks: —

In the early days of our colonial history burials were conducted with severe simplicity. A body was taken from the house to the grave, and interred without ceremony; and no prayer was made or other religious service held. Our pious forefathers were opposed to all ecclesiastical rites, and any custom that reminded them of the English Church met with stern disapproval. And, furthermore, prayers over a corpse were very suggestive of those offered up for the dead by the Roman Church; and to their minds such ceremonies savored strongly of heresy and superstition.

In "A Topographical and Historical Description of Boston," by our late associate, Dr. Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, it is stated on page 263: "The first prayer made at a funeral in Boston is said, on good authority, to have been offered by Rev. Dr. Chauncy, at the interment of Rev. Dr. Jonathan Mayhew, pastor of the West Church, who died on the ninth of July, 1766."

More than ten years ago,[1] as will be recalled by some of the members now present, Mr. Winthrop, at that time the President of the Society, quoted with considerable incredulity the statement given above, and expressed the opinion that "in some old diary, or in some old church record, or in some old newspaper, if not on the cover of some old sermon, there would be discovered earlier dates for sermons or religious exercises of some sort at funerals." Mr. Winthrop's fore-

[1] See Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., vol. xvii. p. 167.

sight in this matter is clearly shown by the following extract from "The Boston Weekly News-Letter," Dec. 31, 1730, which gives a much earlier date for such exercises than is mentioned by Dr. Shurtleff: —

"Yesterday were Buried here the Remains of that truly honourable & devout Gentlewoman, Mrs. SARAH BYFIELD, amidst the affectionate Respects & Lamentations of a numerous Concourse. — Before carrying out the Corpse a Funeral Prayer was made, by one of the Pastors of the *Old Church*, to whose Communion she belong'd: Which, tho' a Custom in the Country-Towns, is a singular Instance in this place, but it's wish'd may prove a leading Example to the general Practice of so christian & decent a Custom."

Dr. Green also stated that, in the absence of the Cabinet-keeper, he had received from Mr. Richard C. Humphreys, executor of the will of the late William T. Carlton, of Dorchester, the articles bequeathed to the Society by Mr. Carlton, and read a clause from the will, dated March 11, 1886, as follows: —

"*Seventeenth.* I give and bequeath to the Massachusetts Historical Society of said Boston my Halberd given to me by Saml. Blake Pierce, brother of the Rev. John Pierce, Jr., of Brookline, dec^{d}. The Sen. John was accustomed to carry said Halberd officially on 'training days'; it has been but a few rods from where I am now writing (my residence) for more than One hundred (100) years, and there can be no doubt of its authenticity; I also give to said Society a small pocket compass owned and carried by the old surveyor Blake of said Dorchester dist^{t}."

Mr. Henry W. Haynes read a paper as follows on

The Historical Character of the Norse Sagas.

The subject of the erection of a statue in this city to Leif, the son of Erik, as the discoverer of America, has twice been made the occasion of comments before this Society within a few years.[1] I should not therefore have referred again to so trite an affair, if the motives that inspired such comments on our part had not recently been made the occasion of such remarkable criticism as I do not remember to have ever seen passed upon any body of men whose function it is to discover and to record the truths of history.

[1] Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., vol. xviii. p. 79; 2d series, vol. iv. pp. 12, 42.

Rev. Dr. B. F. De Costa has just published a second edition of a work entitled "The Pre-Columbian Discovery of America by the Northmen." In that portion of his general introduction designated "The Present State of the Discussion," he has seen fit to quote certain words used by me in stating the conclusions reached by a committee appointed by this Society "to consider the question of the alleged discovery of America by the Norsemen." My language was: "There is the same sort of reason for believing in the existence of Leif Ericson that there is for believing in the existence of Agamemnon; they are both traditions accepted by later writers." Dr. De Costa goes on to remark upon this, that "it is sufficiently evident that local feeling, which often vitiates the studies of the most accomplished men, enters into this singular declaration. It serves no special purpose beyond proving a feeling of irritation on the part of men accustomed to have every utterance received with deference, but who have discovered a certain inability to control public opinion in connection with historical monuments. The people have moved on and left them behind" (pp. 58, 59).

Now, as I wrote the offensive paragraph I must beg leave to disclaim personally any "feeling of irritation," as well as to deny "the soft impeachment" of being "accustomed to have [my] every utterance received with deference." I can assure my critic I have found the contrary quite as likely to happen. As I read this charitable imputing of motives, I could not help wondering why the advocacy of the discovery of America by the Norsemen should generate such an excess of heat as it does in certain quarters. I was entirely innocent of any intentional disrespect when I ventured upon the unlucky comparison of Leif Ericson with Agamemnon. All my life long I have been a believer in the existence of Agamemnon, and I have even felt a good deal of admiration for "the king of men, the godlike son of Atreus." But I seem to have done something wrong, for in the judgment of my critic "the notion that any one of these Icelandic characters is to be viewed as mythical or in the category with that of 'Agamemnon' appears simply preposterous" (p. 151). However, as I turned the pages I found I was not the only one who has fallen under the reverend gentleman's condemnation, for I read: "This is another passage upon which Bancroft *absurdly* depended to

prove that the locality of Vinland was unknown" (p. 185). *Bona verba quæso!* I suppose I must endeavor to put up with being called *preposterous*, when the veteran historian of the United States is written down as *absurd*.

We are informed in Dr. De Costa's preface that the work was prepared more than twenty years ago, and that "time has only served to strengthen his belief in the historical character of the Sagas" (p. 6). I cannot help wondering whether the learned author has ever heard, during all this long period, of the new science of prehistoric archæology, which has come to be recognized as having somewhat to say upon precisely such a question as whether there is any actual proof that the statements in the Sagas that the Norsemen discovered America possess any historical character whatsoever, or whether they only afford a presumption of such discovery; whether, in fact, any archæological evidence *has ever been discovered* to confirm the truth of the details regarding such alleged discovery as are found in the Sagas. It seems somewhat strange for such an argument as the following to make its appearance at this day in what purports to be serious historical discussion: "It is not improbable that such remains *may yet be discovered* on Mount Hope Bay, or in regions on the Massachusetts and Maine coasts" (p. 148). One would suppose the neighborhood of Newport and Bar Harbor to be a sort of *terra incognita*, if he did not know that our learned author once compiled a guide-book to the latter unexplored country. But I find even more about the supposititious kind of evidence looked for: "We have a right to expect some relic, a coin or amulet, perhaps, that *chance may yet throw* in the antiquary's way; or some excavation, it may be a trench, conduit, cellar, or incipient fortress" (pp. 70, 71). Evidently our author has no faith in the neighboring city of Norumbega, although he refers elsewhere, apparently with approval, to the ancient fish-pits discovered by Professor Horsford on the banks of Charles River (p. 128). But in all soberness we would ask what sort of reasoning is this which argues not from what *has been*, but what *may be* discovered?

It is plain that Dr. De Costa feels the need of some archæological evidence to reinforce the poetical fictions of the Sagas, for he rehashes the exploded tales about "Dighton Rock" and "The Old Stone Mill at Newport." Of the one he says, "The

old rock is a riddle"; and of the other, "That structure [that is, the mill at Chesterton, in England, the prototype of the one at Newport] also might have belonged to the class of towers of which one at least was built by Northmen in Greenland. All is, therefore, in a measure, doubtful." It is true he professes not to attach great importance to these as pieces of evidence; but why then devote five long pages to discussing them? Is it because he desires to befog his readers; or is he unable to comprehend the point at issue, and understand what is meant by the weight of evidence and the sufficiency of proof? He would seem to belong to the class of writers by whom *numerantur sententiæ, non ponderantur*, when we find him gravely referring to Abner Morse's "Traces of the Northmen in America" (p. 71). In the judgment of Dr. De Costa, "marvellous statements and occasional contradictions *in nowise detract from the historic value of the documents themselves*" (p. 64). Accordingly, he explains away the familiar story about Tyrker, the foster-father of Leif, having found grapes in Mount Hope Bay, upon which he became "quite merry," in the following literal fashion: "There is nothing in this to indicate that Tyrker was intoxicated, as some have absurdly supposed. In this far-off land he found grapes, which powerfully reminded him of his native country, and the association of ideas is so strong that when he first meets Leif, he breaks out in the language of his childhood, and, like ordinary epicures, expresses his joy" (p. 102). After such a piece of special pleading as this we are quite prepared to find our learned author standing up stoutly for the Uniped, in such words as these: "We do not say how far the Saga-writer employs his fancy on the Uniped, yet he is quite excusable, considering the weakness of modern writers" (p. 133). There is an old maxim often quoted in regard to witnesses to matters of fact, *Falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus;* but evidently this would not give Dr. De Costa any trouble.

I will quote a few of the additions to knowledge with which he has enriched his latest notes, premising with the statement that he appears to have given ready acceptance to Du Chaillu's theory about what he calls "the Viking Age," and the pretended Scandinavian origin of the English, with which Freeman has made such effectual and amusing work in the last number of the "Contemporary Review." Dr. De Costa is pleased to prepare us for what is to come by the information

that "in reality we fable in a great measure when we speak of our 'Saxon inheritance.' It is rather from the Northmen that we have derived our vital energy, our freedom of thought, and, in a measure that we do not suspect, our strength of speech" (p. 8). Let me begin with his instruction in geology. It seems that critics have cavilled at certain statements to be found in the Sagas, that their heroes were mounted on horseback in Greenland. In reply our author first puts in pleas in abatement, — that in "modern times there has been nothing to prevent the people from keeping such animals" (p. 91); or "they probably had at least diminutive horses, or ponies, in Greenland, like those of Iceland to-day" (p. 113). But apparently these do not quite satisfy him, for he goes on to enlarge in this wise: "Horses could be kept in Greenland now, only with much expense. It appears that anciently it was not so. Undoubtedly there has been more or less of change in climate during the last thousand years by the procession of the equinox. Geologists find evidence that at one period a highly tropical climate must have existed in the northern regions" (p. 93). This is the only time I have ever seen geological evidence of the climate in the tertiary ages invoked to substantiate an alleged change of climate within the comparative yesterday of a thousand years ago, except by our author in a subsequent passage. There is a statement in one of the Sagas that certain persons "saw a great number of men riding toward them"; upon which Dr. De Costa has this comment: "The language may indicate that they were horseback, though it is not conclusive. At the period referred to there may have been no horses in America. They were introduced by the Spaniards after the discovery by Columbus. At least, such is the common opinion. This statement is made without reference to the proofs offered of the existence of the horse at an earlier period, the remains of which are said to be found" (p. 175). Unless Dr. De Costa means to imply by this the possibility that tertiary animals may have been in existence at the time of the Sagas, we are at a loss to understand why he should have made any reference at all to them; and we wonder whether he imagines that the Scandinavian or Irish heroes may have been after all riding upon bisons. But natural history does not seem to be our author's strong point. He makes the assertion that "only

two quadrupeds, the fox and the moose, are indigenous" in Iceland (p. 20); whereas the fact is that there are no moose in Iceland at all, and the reindeer has only been introduced from Norway within about a hundred years. In his botany also he seems to be equally out of the way, for he quotes with approval the remarkable statement that "at Pittston, Me., trees three feet in diameter and with six hundred annular rings were found associated with brick-work which, so far as appearances went, antedated the trees" (p. 71). I think a botanist would have told him that the rings are not a safe criterion by which to determine the age of trees, and that the trees of Maine, such as the pine and the spruce, do not live to the age of six hundred years. I find another remarkable statement of our author, that "the self-sown wheat," or "corn," often mentioned in the Sagas as having been met with in Vinland, does not mean *Indian corn*, or *maize* (p. 123). But it is perfectly well known that *wheat* is not indigenous in America; and if there is any truth at all in such stories, nothing but maize could have been intended. Upon another vexed problem in botany, raised by the Sagas, he differs entirely from the leading champion of Leif's discovery in this community. I refer to the often quoted *husa-snotru*, made of *massur-wood*. Dr. De Costa thinks that it was "a bar for securing the house-door" (p. 155); but Professor Horsford glories in his discovery that the word signifies "house-scales," and that "mösur-wood" means the burrs or excrescences occasionally found growing upon certain trees, and he bursts out in the exultant pæan, "I have not only reached the heart of the problem, but I can feel its beat."[1]

I have, however, reserved for the last Dr. De Costa's most startling discovery, which is nothing less than that "we have in the Sagas four words which may be the oldest known words of human speech," or as he supposes, the speech of the glacial man. To substantiate this notion he quotes from a private note of Prof. Max Müller: "There is nothing in the language of the Esquimaux to prevent us from assigning it to an antiquity as high as that of the supposed glacial man" (p. 135). Now, as some very learned and distinguished anthro-

[1] The Discovery of the Ancient City of Norumbega, by Eben Norton Horsford, p. 24.

pologists have endeavored to demonstrate from certain anatomical peculiarities in the oldest known type of human skull that the glacial man had not developed the organs of speech, we are naturally led to scrutinize closely the grounds upon which Dr. De Costa bases his grand discovery. According to the story in the Sagas, Thorwald, Leif's brother, and his party had an encounter with some Skraellings, who killed Thorwald with their arrows. Dr. De Costa argues that this people were Esquimaux and not Indians, because "Abbott's researches show, beyond question, that the Indian was preceded by a people like the Esquimaux, whose stone implements are found in the Trenton gravel" (p. 132); and that inasmuch as "the Skraellings were still in the stone age" they must be regarded as the descendants of that glacial man whose stone implements have been found by Dr. Abbott. Now, as Dr. Abbott's conclusions are disputed by many prehistoric archæologists who find no proof whatever of the Esquimaux having been descended from the race whose palæolithic implements are found in the gravels at Trenton, and as every one knows that the Indians used stone arrow-points when first discovered by Europeans, even if we admit the truth of the story that the Northmen actually had such an encounter, there is nothing to show that the Skraellings differed in respect to their weapons from other natives; much less that they were the representatives of the glacial man, who, if he lived at all, it is agreed must have lived many thousand years ago, and who is not believed to have been sufficiently advanced to have invented so complicated an implement as the bow and arrow. Yet such flimsy arguments as these, grounded only upon an unproved supposition of Dr. Abbott, are sufficient for Dr. De Costa to lay claim to the most wonderful discovery in philology of our day.

But while thus taking exception to Dr. De Costa's excursions into the domain of science, I do not feel quite satisfied with his conclusions in his chosen field of history. In fact I feel somewhat inclined to question whether he can have actually studied the authorities he purports to quote, when I find him asserting that Olaus Magnus — archbishop of Upsala, in Sweden, and a well-known antiquary, whose "Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus" was published in 1555, — "wrote in 1075" (p. 104); or when I notice that he says of the two

well-known examples of Viking vessels that have been discovered in burial-mounds in Norway, where they had been used as coffins for the chieftains over whom the mound had been heaped, that "they were scuttled and sunk. The changes in the coast finally left them imbedded in the sand" (p. 38). Then he makes the assertion that Runes existed among the Northmen in the seventh century (*Ibid.*); while Prof. George Stephens, of Copenhagen, the recognized authority upon Runic inscriptions, has shown that the oldest written Icelandic dates from about A. D. 1200. But of all the remarkable statements to be found within the compass of Dr. De Costa's little volume, the following is the most novel: "The Irish, doubtless, mingled with the Carthaginians in mercantile transactions, and from them they not unlikely received the rites of Druidism" (p. 17). It certainly will astonish ethnologists to be informed of this wonderful transmission of a Celtic institution through a Semitic source.

These will be, I think, quite sufficient examples of the manner in which "the truths divine" of the Sagas have "come mended from the pen" of Rev. Dr. De Costa. If he had not stopped short in his quotation of my language, and had added what immediately follows, "There is no more reason for regarding as true the details related about Leif's discoveries than there is for accepting as historic truths the narratives contained in the Homeric poems," I should have had more reason for understanding the motive of his assault upon the report made to this Society. The little clique devoted to the cult of *The Norse Discovery of America*, which they are striving by every means, legitimate or otherwise, to impose upon the minds of the rising generation, on the ground that "Boston is a singularly appropriate place for a monument to the Northmen" (p. 109), cannot forget or forgive the sober, weighty words with which our late lamented member Dr. Deane expressed what I believe to be the judgment of this Society upon the question of *the historical character of the Norse Sagas:* "It might, perhaps, be over-bold to contend that these half-poetical recitations of a story-teller are fictions, like the poems of Ossian; yet to elevate them to the dignity of historical relations in all their details, and to place implicit reliance on the data given as to time and place, seem to me unwarrant-

able. They are shadowy and mythical in form, and often uncertain in meaning."[1]

Mr. Edwin Lassetter Bynner was elected a Resident Member.

A new serial containing the proceedings at the Special Meeting in commemoration of our late associate, Charles Deane, LL.D., and at the regular meetings in December and January, was ready for distribution at this meeting.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN, in behalf of Mr. AUGUSTUS T. PERKINS, who was absent, communicated a memoir of the late Thomas Coffin Amory.

[1] Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., vol. xviii. p. 81.

MEMOIR

OF

THOMAS COFFIN AMORY, A.M.

BY AUGUSTUS T. PERKINS.

Mr. Thomas Coffin Amory, a counsellor-at-law, and a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, came from a family very well known in Ireland as the Amorys of Bunratty, whose records extend far into the past. For our present purpose, however, we need go no farther back than to the father of the emigrant, thereby establishing a point difficult to fix in many American families.

Thomas Amory, the ancestor of whom we speak, was born in Limerick in Ireland in the year 1682. He was taken by his father, Jonathan Amory, first to Antigua, and thence to Charleston, South Carolina. He was sent back to be educated in England, and was put under the care of his cousin Thomas Amory of Bunratty. He returned in 1719 to Boston, and there married Rebeckah Holmes in 1721, and died in 1728.

He came from a younger branch of the family of Amory of Bunratty, whose principal seat was the fine old castle of that name, which, although built in the time of Henry VIII., is still standing in good preservation, on the west side of the river Shannon, at the end of the bridge leading to Limerick, that city being only a few miles away.

There was to be seen in the year 1865, in a small room in the lower part of Bunratty Castle, the arms of the family done in stucco. Although much defaced, the coat was still discernible, showing a Barry of six; on a chief of the first, a Lion passant. No crest was visible at that time.

Thomas Amory (2), son of Thomas (1) and Rebeckah Holmes, was born in Boston in 1722. He graduated from

Harvard College in the class of 1741. He married Elizabeth, daughter of William Coffin, and died in 1784.

Jonathan Amory, son of Thomas (2) and Elizabeth Coffin, was born in Boston in 1770. He married Mehitable Sullivan, daughter of Gov. James Sullivan, and died in 1828.

Thomas Coffin Amory, son of Jonathan and Mehitable Sullivan, was born in Boston Oct. 16, 1812, in his father's fine old mansion, still standing on the corner of Park and Beacon Streets; and he continued to reside there with his family, until the year 1835, when they removed first to Temple Place, and finally to Commonwealth Avenue, where he died August 20, 1889.

The homes of his childhood were certainly luxurious; and his summers were passed either at his father's place at Nahant or at Brookline, or on the beautiful estate of Mr. Nathaniel Amory in that part of Watertown which is now included in Belmont, lately the residence of Mr. John Perkins Cushing.

At the age of ten years he was sent to the famous school at Round Hill, Northampton, then under the care of the learned Dr. Cogswell; and there he remained until he was fourteen years of age. Thence he returned to his father's house in Park Street, where he was prepared for Harvard College by those two most accomplished gentlemen, Charles Chauncy Emerson and Louis Stackpole; and he graduated from Cambridge in the class of 1830.

About this time, in the company of our formerly well-known member, Mr. Francis C. Gray, he made his first visit to England, where, from their excellent letters of introduction, they had the pleasure of visiting Wordsworth, Southey, and Sir Walter Scott in their own homes, — always delightful reminiscences to the young Bostonian.

Upon his return from Europe, he began the study of the law, under his uncle the Hon. William Sullivan, and joined with him in the care of the property of the family; and his journals at this time show how much interest he had in his profession, in society, in general literature, and to a certain extent in the politics of the day. He was in Washington at the time of the inauguration of President Van Buren.

In 1843 he made a voyage to Cuba, returning by the way

of Charleston, South Carolina, where he had the pleasure of meeting some of his distant relatives, who treated him most courteously.

In 1832, finding among his father's papers certain old wills and letters giving almost all the facts of the emigration of his ancestor to this country, he began to take that especial interest in his family history which ever retained so strong a hold upon him.

In the year 1853, in company with his two sisters, he made a second visit to Europe. I had the good fortune to be a fellow-passenger with them, and his sisters were delightful companions. There were on board with us Mr. William Appleton, Jr., Mr. Charles Thorndike, and Mr. Charles H. Appleton, also my friend Mr. William Amory Prescott. The steamer was the "America," Captain Lang, of twelve hundred tons' burden, then considered a vessel of wonderful size. There were also a number of English army officers on board, together with a very clever Fellow of Oxford, a Mr. Turner, whom I made a friend of by presenting him, at the end of the voyage, with my copy of the poems of Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, — a gentleman of whom he had never heard before, but whom he afterward very much admired.

One day Mr. Amory and this Mr. Turner entered into a discussion on our Revolutionary War, of which Mr. Turner knew somewhat. The English officers — all well-educated men, but quite ignorant of the history of that war — gathered about, evidently anxious to learn. Mr. Amory was then about forty years of age, quick and alert. He answered all questions and cross-questions with such promptitude and good temper, and delivered to us so interesting a lecture on the outbreak of the Revolution, that all present were greatly interested; and at the request of the English officers he continued from time to time to instruct us, so that by the end of our pleasant voyage of twelve days we all felt and said that it was good fortune to have been thrown into the society of so able and so agreeable a gentleman. The Englishmen were evidently surprised at his knowledge of his subject, and his tact in handling it.

It must have been before this, however, that he had studied hard on the biography of his grandfather, a very noted man in his time, the Hon. James Sullivan. This work was published

in the year 1858, and Mr. Amory was thereupon elected a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

In the same year he was chosen an Alderman of the city of Boston; and in the year 1859 he was elected a member of the Legislature of the State of Massachusetts. In a very well considered article on Mr. Amory, the author of which I cannot discover, the writer says: "During the war he rendered magnificent service to the city in his position on the Board of Aldermen." He gave great assistance in the building of our City Hospital. He was President of its first Board of Trustees, and he delivered the oration at its dedication. He was strenuous in his endeavors to oblige the City of Boston to purchase the ferries; and this he finally accomplished. His reports on county relations, ordinances, primary meetings, weights and measures, street widening, city charities, State aid to volunteers, the police force, and the methods of supplying soldiers for Massachusetts were published, and remain a monument to his love for the honor of our city and of our State.

The prompt and determined action of Mr. Amory during the draft riots of the year 1863 did much toward quelling the turbulence of the mob. Indeed he risked his life in order to prevent an outbreak, for which he was violently assaulted. His admirable physical courage stood him in good stead on this trying occasion, and he escaped without serious injury.

He took great interest in the erection of the Charity Building in Chardon Street, and rendered all possible assistance in thus enlarging the usefulness of an admirable department of our City Government.

As a student of history he was unwearied, and spared neither pains nor hard work in his efforts to publish the truth as he saw it.

His family for generations in this town have produced men well known for honor, probity, courage, and good conduct, as well as for unusually sound judgment in the affairs of life; and I think those who knew Mr. Thomas Coffin Amory well, will acknowledge that he was inferior to none of his kin in any respect. Without possessing the remarkable elegance of deportment and charm of manner which was so marked a characteristic of his elder brother, Mr. James Sullivan Amory, he still had about him all the signs of a well-bred man of the

world, — self-poised and confident, wherever he was. No one who ever met him could mistake him for anything but a well-read, well-nurtured gentleman, with just a lingering suggestion of what is now called old times about him, not unpleasant to many of those of a younger generation.

He took great interest in all that was connected with our Trinity Church, and as an officer and a member gave of his time and means with the greatest liberality.

To sum up the character of Mr. Amory, I think I may say, without fear of contradiction, that he was a brave, honest, liberal, patriotic, well-educated Christian gentleman; and can we say anything much better of any man?

Mr. Amory's publications are: —

The Life of James Sullivan, with Selections from his Writings. Boston, 1859.

The Military Services and Public Life of Maj.-Gen. John Sullivan of the American Revolutionary Army. Albany and Boston, 1868.

The Transfer of Erin, or the Acquisition of Ireland by England. Philadelphia, 1877.

The Life of Admiral Coffin. Boston, 1886.

The Siege of Newport. Cambridge, 1888.

Charles River: A Poem. Cambridge, 1888.

Miscellaneous Poems. Cambridge, 1888.

Also the following pamphlets: —

Gen. John Sullivan: A Vindication of his Character as a Soldier and a Patriot. From the Historical Magazine for December, 1866. Morrisania, N. Y., 1867.

The Military Services of Maj.-Gen. John Sullivan in the American Revolution vindicated from recent Historical Criticism. Read at a meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, December, 1866. With additions and documents. Cambridge, 1868.

Master Sullivan of Berwick, his Ancestors and Descendants. No date.

Old Cambridge and New. Reprinted from the New England Historical and Genealogical Register for July, 1871. With additions. Boston, 1871.

Our English Ancestors. Boston, 1872.

A Home of the Olden Time. Boston, 1872.

General Sullivan not a Pensioner of Luzerne (Minister of France at Philadelphia, 1778–1783). With the Report of the New Hampshire Historical Society vindicating him from the charge made.

Blackstone, Boston's first Inhabitant. Boston, 1877.

Memoir of John Wingate Thornton, A. M., LL.B., with a list of his publications. Printed for private distribution. Boston, 1879.

Memoir of Hon. William Sullivan, prepared for early diary of Massachusetts Historical Proceedings. Cambridge, 1879.

Centennial Memoir of Maj.-Gen. John Sullivan, 1740–1795, presented at Independence Hall, Philadelphia, July 2, 1876. Reprinted from the Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography. Philadelphia, 1879.

Was Gov. John Leverett a Knight? Reprint from the New England Historical and Genealogical Register for July and October, 1881. Boston, 1881.

The Siege of Newport, August, 1778. Reprinted from the Rhode Island Historical Magazine for October, 1884. Newport, 1884.

Daniel Sullivan's Visits, May and June, 1771, to Gen. John Sullivan. Reprinted from a paper read to the Massachusetts Historical Society, March, 1884. With additional comments. Cambridge, 1884.

Memoir of Hon. Richard Sullivan. Reprinted from Vol. IV. of the Memorial Biographies of the New England Historic Genealogical Society. Cambridge, 1885.

William Blaxton. Collections of the Bostonian Society, Vol. I. No. 1. Boston, 1886.

Class Memoir of George Washington Warren, with English and American Ancestry, together with Letters, Valedictory Poem, Ode, etc. Boston, 1886.

Address at the Dedication of the City Hospital. (City Document.) Boston, 1865.

Report of the School Committee of the City of Boston, 1867. (City Document). Boston, 1868.

Also a paper on the Amory Family in the New England Genealogical and Historical Register, 1856.

MARCH MEETING, 1890.

THE stated meeting was held on the 13th instant, at the usual hour; the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair.

After the reading of the record of the last meeting and of the list of donations to the Library, the President announced the appointment of the following committees: To prepare and publish a selection from the Belknap Papers, Mr. Charles C. Smith, Mr. Josiah P. Quincy, Rev. Dr. Edward J. Young, and Rev. Octavius B. Frothingham; to examine the Treasurer's accounts, Mr. Samuel F. McCleary and Mr. Thornton K. Lothrop; to examine the Library and Cabinet, Rev. Edmund F. Slafter, Mr. Arthur Lord, and Mr. Edward Bangs; to nominate officers for the ensuing year, Hon. John Lowell, Mr. Abbott Lawrence, and Mr. James M. Bugbee.

The PRESIDENT then said: —

At our last meeting I made reference to the fact that our Society had come very near to, if it had not already reached, the close of a century of its existence and activity. What was then said was prompted with a view to suggesting the question whether the Society was disposed to make any formal recognition of that fact. I would now offer the whole question to the debate, the decision, and the action of the members.

The facts as regards the origin and its date of the Society for guiding our view of its birth and its age, as already stated, are these: The five and afterward the eight lovers and laborers engaged in the study of our history who procured the incorporation and obtained the charter of the Society in the opening of the year 1794, had previously been associated for the object, holding meetings and gathering materials for their work. The volumes making the beginnings of our Library, which had thus passed from individual to associated ownership, contain on a book plate the words "Established in 1790." Circulars and appeals preceded the publication of the first volume of the Collections of the Society, which bears on its

titlepage the date 1792. In December of the preceding year measures were instituted by the Society for the celebration by it of the fourth centennial of the Discovery of America, in October, 1792. These were all prior to our incorporation. Among the series of meetings noted on our records was one, Jan. 24, 1791, attended by the eight faithful associates, which, for reasons not given, it was agreed should be regarded as their "First Meeting." May we not, therefore, take that as the date of our birth, and as beginning the existence which is now so near to rounding a century?

The Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP said that he fully concurred with the President in regarding the 24th of January, 1791, as the proper date to be commemorated in any centennial celebration of the formation of the Society; but in view of the uncertainty of the weather in January, he did not think it important that any observances of that event should be held on that precise day; and on his motion, it was voted to refer the whole subject to the Council, with a request that they should report at the next meeting.

Mr. WILLIAM S. APPLETON then submitted the following paper on

Augustin Dupré, and his Work for America.

While in Paris in the early months of 1888, I had the good fortune to be of some use in securing for the Boston Public Library a group of objects which may be called the Dupré collection. They had come from the family of the great medallist Augustin Dupré, and relate wholly to his work done for America or Americans, especially Franklin. I have been allowed to have some of the most interesting and most portable for exhibition here to-day, and will give some description of the collection, with a short account of the artist.

Augustin Dupré was born at St. Etienne near Lyons, Oct. 6, 1748, the son of a shoemaker. St. Etienne was the seat of the royal factory of arms; and as Dupré entered in youth the employ of a gunmaker, this turned his artistic tastes and faculties in the direction of engraving on metal. At the age of twenty he walked to Paris, where he found the same employment, and soon distinguished himself by his beautiful work on sword-hilts, gradually becoming also an engraver of dies for

medals. He lived at Auteuil, not far from Franklin at Passy; and his French biographer says that his acquaintance with Franklin began in their morning walks to Paris, which one can readily accept as probable. The diplomatic philosopher undoubtedly drew from the artist's lips an account of his labors and aspirations, and was easily convinced of his ability as already shown in his works. Duvivier was at that time the principal engraver of the royal mint, and as such was employed to design the medal voted by Congress to Washington for the evacuation of Boston, — a medal of admirable workmanship, but without the least suggestion of imagination or genius. Dupré undoubtedly felt he could do better, and Franklin gave him the opportunity.

I shall speak more particularly of Dupré's American medals later; but his merit had made him Medallist of the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture, and an assistant engraver for the mint, when a decree of the National Assembly of April 9, 1791, ordered a competition for designs for a new coinage. Dupré came out victorious over all other contestants, among whom were Duvivier, the artist of the medals of Washington, De Fleury, William Washington, and Howard, Gatteaux, the artist of the medals of Gates, Wayne, and Stewart, Andrieu and Droz, also medallists of repute. July 11, 1791, Dupré was named principal engraver of the mint; and so continued till displaced by Bonaparte in 1803. Dupré's beau tiful designs of 1791 for the pieces of twenty francs and five francs were again adopted by the short-lived Republic of 1848–1852, and are familiar to all on the coinage of France of the last twenty years, — a remarkable instance of national appreciation and popularity. Dupré did not receive the cross of the Legion of Honor till 1830. He died at Armentières, Jan. 31, 1833.

His work for America and Americans comprises seven medals, — the Libertas Americana, 1783; the Greene medal, 1787; the Morgan and Jones medals, 1789; the Diplomatic medal, 1792, and two medals of Franklin of 1784 and 1786. The collection now in the Public Library contains something relating to nearly all of these. The Libertas Americana has been the object of unbounded admiration ever since it first appeared. Some extracts from Franklin's letters concerning it may be read in Vol. XI. of the Proceedings of this Society, page 301.

The conception of the young American Republic as the infant Hercules, whom France in the armor of Pallas covers with her shield, the legend being "NON SINE DIIS ANIMOSUS INFANS," of course took immensely in France; and the genius of Dupré wrought out this idea in shape so beautiful that the medal must always rank among the choicest productions in its own department of modern art. In the Dupré collection are proofs of both sides in gold on a white ground.

Of the medal to Gen. Nathanael Greene there is nothing in the collection, and but little relating to that of Paul Jones. Of the medal to Gen. Daniel Morgan there are the hubs for both dies, and Dupré's study in wax of the battle of the Cowpens for the reverse. This design excited the special enthusiasm of Dupré's French biographer, M. Charles Blanc of the Institute, who wrote thus of it: "Le combat de Cowpens, livré en Amérique par Daniel Morgan, a été le sujet d'une médaille qui semble frémir sous le mouvement des cavaliers qui bondissent et des fantassins qui fuient dans un fond, creusé par les plis imperceptibles du métal, et où la fumée du canon va s'évanouir." Nothing more need be said.

The Diplomatic medal, with its legend, "TO PEACE AND COMMERCE," was till a few years ago a numismatic mystery, which was however wholly cleared up in the "American Journal of Numismatics" for 1875. Thomas Jefferson ordered the medal in 1790 in a letter to William Short, then Chargé d'Affaires of the United States to France, in which he also suggested the design, which was afterwards carried out by Dupré. The dies were finished in 1792, and two medals were struck in gold, — one for the Marquis de la Luzerne, and one for the Comte de Moustier; six impressions were also struck in bronze, some of which are confidently believed to have been destroyed in the great fire set by the Communists of Paris in 1871. One specimen in bronze is in this country. In the Dupré collection are the original dies of both sides, — one slightly cracked, the other so badly broken as to be useless. There is also Dupré's model of the reverse in clay, one of the two most precious gems of the collection, carrying out Jefferson's idea of "Columbia (a fine female figure) delivering the emblems of Peace and Commerce to a Mercury." We must admire the inspiration of Jefferson as perpetuated by the graver of Dupré, when we see the beautiful Columbia in the

guise of an Indian Queen, placing in the hands of Mercury for universal distribution a horn, filled with grain as a token of the crops to feed the world, crowned by the olive-branch as an offer of the principles of peaceful arbitration.

Concerning the medals of Franklin facts are few. I do not find that Franklin makes any mention of them in his letters, nor is it known who ordered them. Certainly Franklin himself did not. Dupré designed two large medals with the same head of Franklin, — both well known to collectors, and evidently ordered by some enthusiastic admirer. In the Dupré collection are the obverse die and two proofs of a small medal of Franklin, not known, I think, in finished state. There is also a proof from an oval die with the arms of a family of Franklin, which it is possible was ordered by the old philosopher turned diplomat, though one must regret that he should appear to have asserted a claim to bear them; but such weakness may almost be called a national failing. The two large medals have the same head, the reverse of the medal of 1786 being simply a wreath, while that of 1784 has the beautiful figure of a Genius, each bearing the well-known inscription, "ERIPUIT CŒLO FULMEN SCEPTRUMQUE TYRANNIS." The Dupré collection also contains what to Bostonians must be its most precious object, — Dupré's sketches in pencil, dated 1783, with the first ideas of the medal with the Genius. The obverse is to all intents an original portrait of Franklin, with the legend "BENJ. FRANKLIN MINIS. PLEN. DES ÉTATS UNIS DE L'AMÉRIQUE MDCCLXXXIII.," which was changed on the medal to "BENJ. FRANKLIN NATUS BOSTON. XVII JAN. MDCCVI." The reverse differs slightly from the medal as struck; but the inscription is far inferior, being "JE VOLE À L'IMMORTALITÉ," for which the Latin was substituted, as just mentioned.

Most of the objects I have described are strictly unique in the full meaning of that often misused word, since there was no occasion ever to make a duplicate or repetition of them, except in the case of the broken dies. It is possible that this was done, though the statements in the published correspondence relating to them are somewhat confusing. There are other objects of less interest in the collection, as the engraving of the fight between the "Bon Homme Richard" and the "Serapis," evidently sent to Dupré to guide him in drawing the ships for the reverse of the medal of Paul Jones; and a head of Jones

in bronze too large for the medal as struck, as if Dupré had originally designed a larger medal. There are also proofs of both sides of the medal to Washington for the evacuation of Boston, by Duvivier, which we may agreeably suppose to have been presented by the senior artist to Dupré. The authorities of the city of Paris were desirous to secure the collection; but M. Hoffmann, the dealer from whom it was bought, preferred that it should come to this country, where there can be no more proper place for it as a whole than Boston. And I think that we may rejoice that it is securely placed in the Public Library, which is indebted for it to the patriotic interest and liberal views of our own librarian.

The Rev. HENRY F. JENKS communicated a diary kept in 1760, during the French and Indian War, by his great-grandfather, Capt. Samuel Jenks, which covers the same period as the diary of Sergeant David Holden, already printed by the Society.[1]

Samuel Jenks was born in Lynn, Mass., March 12, 1732. He learned his trade (that of a blacksmith) from his father, and wrought at it successively in Chelsea (on Point Shirley), — where the journal following shows that he was residing in 1760, when he started on the campaign which it records, — and in Medford, Newton, — where his son William (H. C. 1797, and member of our Society for many years) was born, — and in Boston. In the "Boston Directory" of 1789, the first published, his name appears, — "Jenks, Samuel and Son, blacksmiths and bellows makers, at the sign of the bellows, Gardner's Wharf, Ann Street"; and in that of 1796, which appears to have been the next one published, his residence is given on Cross Street, where he was known to have been living in 1787, when the same son entered the Boston Latin School. He died at Cambridge, June 8, 1801.

"He was twice," says his son,[2] "engaged in military expeditions, being in the Canadian campaigns of 1758 and 1760, in the latter of which he was the youngest captain in the provincial army; and the late Governor Brooks assured me that the instruction which he derived at Medford from my

[1] See 2 Proceedings, vol. iv. pp. 384–409.
[2] N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg, vol. ix., July, 1855.

father's experience and military knowledge was of essential service to himself at the opening of the Revolutionary contest."

In the "Mercury and New-England Palladium," of Friday, June 12, 1801, was published the following obituary: —

"Died at Cambridge, on Monday, Samuel Jenks, Esq., aged 70, late of this town, a captain of the provincial service of 1760, and an active officer in the campaign of 1758. In the character of this upright and worthy man were combined those qualities which render piety amiable and virtue engaging. His mind was enlightened and candid. The leisure of a laborious and useful life was employed in furnishing it with various information. Convinced of the truth and importance of the Gospel, he was a rational, sincere, and practical Christian, and experienced in the closing scenes of life that peace of mind and hope of future happiness which it alone can confer. — As a friend, a brother, a husband, and a father, he was tender and affectionate. As a citizen, he was blameless, and governed his whole conduct by the strictest rules of equity. He was a lover of order and good government, and an ardent friend to his country. To society he has bequeathed an exemplary pattern of honesty, integrity, and Christian meekness; to his children a rich legacy, — the inestimable treasure of an unblemished reputation."

I have added a few foot-notes referring to parallel passages in Sergeant Holden's journal.

Samuel Jenks, his Journall of the Campaign in 1760.

Point Shirley, May the 22[d], 1760. Then set out on a campaign for the total reduction of Canada.

Wednsday, 28[th] *of May.* Arivd at Albany to the camp; found my company incamping in good health.

Thirsday, 29. Sent a letter home by the post. Rec[d] orders to be ready for command up the river & to leave my tent standing.

Fryday, 30[th] *of May.* Rec'd orders from Genrall Amherst to proceed to Fort Miller with a number of battoes loaded with provisions & a com'd of 50 men.

Monday, June 2[d], 1760. Onloade the battoes at the rifts above half moon, & proceed with emty battoes to Still Water.

Tuseday, 3[d] *June.* Rec[d] 240 barrells flour & drew 2 days allowance to carry to Fort Miller.

Wednsday, 4[th] *June.* Ariv[d] at Fort Miller at night & landed the provisions, & am here stationed for the transportation of provisions from hence to Fort Edward.

Thirsday, 5th. Drew five days allowance to bring my men up to the time of others on station draw.

Fryday, 6th *of June*. Capt Smith arivd to releive me & for me to proceed forward with my own company. This day proud wet, & a sorry party of the Massachusetts troops arivd We were hurried in transporting the provisions & battoes across the carrying place.

Saturday, 7th. Continued at ye station in giting over battoes & provisions.

Sunday, 8th. Orders for my company to proceed with the party that is ready for Fort Edward; myself to tary till Colo Thos arives for my orders to proceed. This day my company put of in battoes for Fort Edward, & I have recd orders to follow them in the first boats.

Monday, *June* 9th. Imbarqud on board Capt. Dunbars battoe for Fort Edward; arivd there before night; found my company incampt on the plain; went to view the fort, which I think is well built, but not well sictuated for to stand a seige.

Tuseday, 10th. Recd orders to march to Lake George, & marcht of about 10 oclock A. M. in one colum. Arivd at Lake George, & incampt before night.

Wednsday, 11 *June*. Remaind incampt; went to view the works; drew 2 days allowance to carry us to Ticondaroga.

Thirsday, 12 *June*. Sent a letter home by Mr Dix. . . . This morning struck our tents, & decampt at revaloe beating, then marcht down to ye battoes & imbarqud for Ticondaroga. The wind blowing hard a head, we put a shore at a small distance from ye fort on ye east side ye lake; the wind abateing, we set off & came to the first narrows on a small island & stopt to cook, haveing come 12 miles. The land on each side is exceeding mountainous, & abounds with vast number of rattlesnakes; our people killd 6 or 8 on this small island. Then put of, as soon as the rear came up & refresht themselves, to another island near Sabbath Day Point, & campt.

Fryday, 13th *June*. We got our breakfasts; then the Colo gave orders to put off for Ticondaroga. Got there about three oclock P. M. & landed, & the Colo went with a small escort to the fort & returnd; gave orders for the troops to march & incamp at the saw mill about a mile from ye landing, which was accordingly done; here all the officers that had never been on this land had to pay their entrance.

Saturday, 14th *June*. Remaind incampt at the mills. Here great numbers of the camp ladys came down from Crown Point on their way to Albany; sum of them interceding to be taken back. Here we are like to draw arms, haveing marcht all the way hither without. Expect to march for Crown Point to morrow, having detacht Lieut. Pope & 12 men to tarry at Ticondaroga with Lt Colo Miller, who has a detachment of 300 men to stop there.

Sunday, 15th *June*. This morning we drew our arms & six cartriges a man. After delivering out the arms & ammunitision we imbarqu^{d} on board battoes, 32 in each, for Crownpoint; set off, & pas^{d} by the fort at Ticondaroga, which is very pleasantly scituated on y^{e} Lake Champlain, & commands the Narrows and the entrance of South Bay. Here lay the Great Reddoe & 2 sloops waiting for a wind to proceed to Crown-point. It being late in the day, we could not reach Crownpoint. The Col^{o} ordered the regiment to incamp near a block house, which is 2 miles from the main fort. The land on each side this lake is level, & looks like good land, & all looks pleasant & agreable.

Monday, 16th *June*. Decamp^{t} early this morning, & arivd at Crown-point; landed above the fort, & incampt. This day it raind & thundred prety much in y^{e} forenoon. Went to view the works, which I think, when finished, may be justly stil^{d} the strongest place the English has on the continent. Here, I bleive, is our station for this campeign, for there is an immense sight of work to be done before these forts are compleated.

Tuseday, 17th *June*. This morning I was ordred off with 200 men across the lake in order to git sum spruce. Cap^{t} Brewer of the Rangers went to pilot us; when we got a shore we march^{t} with front, rear, & flank guards. Return^{d} without any molestation from y^{e} enemy; brought a fine quantity of spruce. The commanding officer on the station gave us his thanks for the service we had done.

Wednsday, 18th *June*. This day I was off duty. At the evening we espy^{d} a fire [1] made on the west side the lake about 6 miles down. Imediately a party & sum of our pequit gaurd was sent in 2 battoes & a whale boat for to discover who they be. As Rogers is out with a large party tis supposed it is sum of his returning.

Thirsday, 19 *June*. This day, Major Skeen, who went out to se wat the fire was made for, returned about 9 oclock A. M., & brought in 2 of our men that run away from the French; they had been without provisions 6 day, living on strawberrys & roots. About noon we discover^{d} several boats coming up the lake from toward St Johns, which proves to be sum of our people that have been in captivity; there is about 130 in all. They bring us the agreable news of the French being obliged to raise the seige of Quebeck in the greatest confusion, with the loss of 3,500 men, & all their arteliry, & all their camp equipage, & that the country is all in confusion.

Fryday, 20 *June*. This day the train are carying the shott & shells in great numbers out of the fort down to the wharfe, in order to ship on board the vessels; & great numbers are at work in preparing car-

[1] See Sergeant Holden's Journal, 2 Proceedings, vol. iv. p. 392.

triges & other necessarys for the expedition which I bleive will be formd her against the fortifyed island & St. Johns. This day I wrote several letters to be ready to send by sum of the prisioners that are going home to New England. This after noon a whale boat was sent off with dispatches to Major Rogers, &c.

Saturday, 21 *June*. This day proud rainy. We spent the day in our tent writeing letters & disputeing sum points of concequence. At evening we drank to our wives & sweethearts, &c.

Sunday, 22d *June*. This day provd very pleaseant. I was of duty. Should be glad to have some news from home to amuse my self. No regard is paid in general here to sacred time. This day I heard a band of musick at the commanding officers tent while they were dineing, which was very delightfull, tho in my opinion not so seasonable on such days of sacred appointment.

Monday, 23 *June*. This day was very rainy & wet. I kept in my tent most of the day. Toward night it cleard of. Sum of Major Rogers party arivd from a scout. At nine oclock in ye evening the Major came in himself, & 26 French prisioners with him, taken about 3 miles from St. John's Fort. He has destroyd a small pequited fort & several houses, & a great quantity of provisions. This was effected without any blood shed or fireing a gun.

Tuseday, 24. This day fair & pleasant. I had the care of a 100 men to work in the King's Garden, which is the finest garden I ever saw in my life, having at least 10 acres inclosed, & mostly sowd & improud. This day one of our pretenders to a commission was whipt — a 100 lashes at post for disobeying orders & insolent language.[1]

Wednsday, 25 *June*. This morning Capt Harris's company came up to ye incampment; brings no news or letters. This day, about 9 oclock A. M., a flag of truce arivd from Canada. There is a general officer in the flag of truce, & they was sent down directly to Genl Amherst, who we hear set of 3 days agon from Shenaetada.[2] I hear, by Capt Harris, that Mr. Saml Berry is stationed at Fort Edward; is got so far promoted as to have a second lievtenancy with Capt Henry Brown.

Thirsday, 26 *June*. This day I took a quantity of stores of Mr. Forsey in order to supply my men. I recd a letter from Boston with Lievt Richardsons commission in it. Went directly to the sutlers to wett it, so it might wear well withou cracking. Several battoes arivd here with provision from Ticondaroga. The weather clear & pleasant.

Fryday, 27 *June*. Today Colo Ingersoll & Major Willard & 4 capts & 300 men, were sent up the lake in order to cut timber to finish

[1] Sergeant Holden's Journal gives the name of John Bunker. 2 Proceedings, vol. iv. p. 393.

[2] Probably Schenectady.

the works.[1] To day I am of duty; went to see the detachment imbarque. This day the prisioner that were sent hear by the enemy went off for New England & N. York.

Saturday, 28 *June*. To day I detacht 7 men of my company to go in the artelery under the command of Cap^{t} Jones. Went out to walk round to see the land; could see where the Indians used to carry our people in order to burn. I am told great numbers of them have been caried there to suffer to satisfie their insatiate loue of blood & cruelty. At night we followed the old custom of drinking to wives & swetthearts.

Sunday, 29 *June*. To day the weather is quite pleasant, — a rare thing in this part of the word. I see no regard paid to this day, without it is to put more men on duty. Can hear no news from home at all, no way.

Monday, 30 *June*, 1760. This day I have the pequit guard. Sent the Liev^{t} & 36 men across the lake to git sum bark for the hospitall. The weather showrey. I wrote a letter home, having an oppertunity to send it directly to Boston. To day 2 men belonging to our troops was caryed to the hospital, being taken with the small pox.[2] I am in hopes it wont spread, for all possible care is taken to prevent it, the hospitall being 2 miles off the incampment; & our colonels have not had it; so they will, I trust, take the more care that it dont spread.

Tuseday, 1st *July*, 1760. This day am off duty. This morning the brigg came up the lake from a cruize. She is a fine looking vessell, & it seem much as if I were at home, seeing a brig come in & come to anchor. We are mending the battoes, & every thing looks likely we shall move forward in about 20 days. To day my First Lev^{t} & Serg^{t} Martin & 3 privates my company went down the lake to relivee the regular troops stationd down there in the sloops. There went about 60 of the Provincials & Rhoad Island troops in the party. To day Ens^{n} Newhall of my company is on duty at drawing timber in to the fort. He has command of 80 men.

Wednsday, 2^{d} *July*. To day I have the care of 280 men to work in the fort. To day Joseph Eaton of Cap^{t} Harts company died senseless, & in the evening one of Cap^{t} Jackson's men at roll calling answerd to his name, but before they had done he was dead. Col^{o}. Willard came to camp to day from New England. . . .

Thirsday, 3^{d} *July*. To day I am off duty; went to view the works. There is a setler here has not obey^{d} the genr^{l} orders, but sold his liqours to the soldiers, & several of the regulars got drunk, & one of them broke open a markee & was whipt one thousand lashes. His liquors

[1] Col. Joseph Ingersoll and Major Caleb Willard. Holden's Journal makes a trifling difference in the numbers sent. See 2 Proceedings, vol. iv. p. 393.

[2] Ibid.

were seized & taken out of his store, to the number of one pipe of Bristoll beer & 3 quarter casks of wine, & stove to peices, & all the liquor lost; & another sutler for the like offence had 5 or 6 casks of liquors stove in like maner. So we have wine & strong beer running down our street.[1] In the evening we had very sharp thunder & lightning. The clouds run very low. I was never so sensible of the thunder being so nigh in my life. We have rain here almost every other day, otherwise there would nothing grow, for the ground is almost all clay, & in two days time if it be clear sunshine, it will bake so hard that no grass can grow.

Fryday, 4th *July*, 1760. To day I was ordred to hold a court martial at my tent, my self president, for the tryall of Peter Jones a private in Capt Martin's company, confind by Capt Abial Peirce for denying his duty & insolent language. The members, being 4 lievts, were assembled. The prisioner was brought, & the crime read. He pleaded ignorance of the facts aledged against him, as also his being in liquor & knew not what he did. Capt Peirce was then cald, who proud the fact by Capt Hart, who was present & heard him deny & abuse Capt Peirce. The prisoner's own officer then came & said that the said Jones was very apt to be depriv[d] of his reason by the smallest quantity of spiritous liquor. The prisoner was then sent back to the guard house. The court after having debated and considred on the nature of the crime & the mans constitution, they resolv[d] he should receive 50 stripes on his naked back with a cat nine tails. The result being carry[d] to the commanding officer, he approud of it as just & right. There was myself & 2 other of the court had never been on court martials; we went & was shod according to custom. This evening at releiving the pequit the s[d] Jones rec[d] his punishment. To day Brigadier General Ruggles ariv[d] here from New England.

Saturday, 5th *July*. This day was very sultry, hot. I took a walk round the incampment. There came in 6 Oneida Indians,[2] & brought in one scalp. There is a rumer in camp that there is 300 Canada Indians a comeing to joyn us, being discouraged with the bad luck the Monsiuers have. I hear like wise that our General Murry at Quebeck hangs all without distinction who were in the capitulation last year at the surender of Quebeck, & that have assisted the French at the late attempt on that fortress. To day I heard that Col° Montgomery has had a skirmish with the Cherokee Indians, & kill[d] 100 of them, & burnt 3 towns. At night we concluded by drinking to wives and sweet hearts, which is as duly obseru[d] here as any of our duty. There is one more

[1] See Sergeant Holden's Journal of the same date. One of the sutlers was named George Morris. 2 Proceedings, vol. iv. p. 394.

[2] These Indians are mentioned by Sergeant Holden, Ibid.

of Cap^{t} Harts men dead to day. Through God's goodness, I hant lost one man of my company yet, nor is any of them sick; it is a general time of health in camp. Can hear no news from home. Yesterday was in company with the Gentlemen Commissioners from old York, who are well acquainted with my relations there, who were all well when they set off.

Sunday, 6 *July*. To-day it is extreame hot. I took a walk about 2 miles in the wood to see the carpenters; returned & wrote 2 letters to send home. We have no appearance of any divine worship in our camp, & I can see no defirence in regard to the day. I spent most of the day in my tent writeing & reading. Ens^{n} Newhall is on duty drawing timber. I hear 2 of our New England men are dead of the small pox at the hospitall, & I hear that the French will give up Montreal without fighting any more. The news about Col' Montgomery is confirm^{d}.

Monday, 7th *July*. Took a walk down to the landing. Return^{d} to breackfast, & rec^{d} a letter from my brother Jenks, dated 9 June, 1760, with the agreable news of their being all in health at that time. To day I begun to build me a booth, but before it was finished I had orders to move to the right of the incampment, being in the first battallion of Brigadier Genrael Ruggles's reg^{t}, & so must move my booth or loose all my leabour. There is eleven companys in the first battallion, & 10 in the second. Colonell Richard Saltonstall comands the first battallion under the Brigadier.

Tuseday, 8 *July*, 1760. This morning we were alarm^{d} about 6 oclock by the enemy, who fell upon a party of Major Rogers' rangers, just by their incampment on the other side the lake, all in sight of our incampment, & they have kill^{d} one on the spot & wounded six more, who are brought over to the hospitall. I have been down to see them, & 4 of them are mortally woundid, — 2 shot through their bodys, & 1 shot through his head, the other through both thighs; the 2 others may, with good care, git well. It was a very affecting sight to see the poor creatures lay weltering in their blood & fainting with death in their countenance.[1] Immediately Major Rogers with his rangers ran out of their breast work & pursued the enemy, who are almost all French, but very few Indians among the party. Tis suppos^{d} there was 300 in their party, & the regular light infantry & severall large partys of regulars to intercept them; & a sub of our troops & 25 men was sent down to the sloops to give them inteligence. It was a bold action, right in plain view of our forts & camps, & but a little way from Major Rogers incampment, & on the same side the lake; we have seen part of the rangers return, but what news I cannot learn. The same day we were setled & regimented, & I am in Col^{o} Salton-

[1] See Holden's Journal of the same date, 2 Proceedings, vol. iv. p. 394.

stons battalion, which is the first in the regiment, commanded by Brigadier General Ruggles. We then struck our tents & incampt on the right of all the Massachusetts troops. Both the brigadiers battallions, — Col° Tho^{s} regiment on the left & Col° Willard in the center. Those captains belonging to the first battallion, after our being rank^{d}, all went to the sutlers & drank to our better acquaintance, & then returnd, mutually satisfyed with our lots; & I am exceedingly rejoyc^{d} that it was my lot to fall amongst such agreable officers.

Wednsday, 9 *July*. This day am off duty, & have built us a fine booth. At the door of my tent, the weather extreame hot. Took a walk after dinner. Can hear no news in camp, only disputeing of rank amongst officers, & whiping sutlers & soldiers. At evening had a letter from L^{t} Richardson, who is well, but not content with his station. Major Rogers is return^{d} without overtakeing the enemy; the wounded men are all alive yet, but I dont think they can live long.

Thirsday, 10*th July*. This day is very sultry, hot. I am off duty, building me another booth. Ens^{n} Newhall is on a court martial. I let the president hold his court at my tent, because his had no booth finish^{d} for his conveniency. I find this climate vastly hotter than I ever expected. I think it has been much hotter this 6 or 7 days than I ever knew so many together in New England. Two of the wounded men of the rangers is dead; & Jacob Hallowell, that was wounded in Rogers' fight before, is also dead of his wounds.

Fryday, 11 *July*, 1760. Continues very hot & dry. I am on duty, & Ens^{n} Newhall with me; we were drawing timber out in the wood; have 100 men; & we all cary our arms out since the enemy fell on Rogers's working party. To day I rec^{d} a letter from my own partner, the only one I have rec^{d} from her since I left home, dated 8 June, & one from Brother Nathan, dated 9 June, with the most agreable news of their being in health. L^{t} Pope came up from Ticondaroga, & brought these letters & a number of others from New England. Expect soon to move forward.

Saturday, 12 *July*, 1760. Continues extreame hot & dry. To day I found that James Casey & Wm Delarue had got orders on the sutler & forged my name to them & taken a considerable up. I immediately sent them under guard, & acquainted Col° Saltonstal of their crime, who advised me not to send their crime in as forgery, because then they must come to a general court martial & be try^{d} for their lives, & it is death by the martial law for a soldier to counterfit his officers hand; but told me to send in their crime as ill behaviour & insolent treatment, which I accordingly did, & by that means hope their lives will be saved by trying them by a regimental court martial. To day Mr. Furnance, our brigade major, ariv^{d} from New England. I sent 2 letters

for home by Serg^{t} Fullinton, of Cap^{t} Harris's company, who has orders to go to Albany. At night we drank to wives & sweethearts, & so concluded the day. More news of going forward.

Sunday, 13 *July*. This morning I went to the sutlers & searched all my orders, & found that Henry Bony & Jacob Hasey had orders on him that was counterfit. I immediately sent the gent^{s} under guard, & the Brigadier ordred a court martiall on them; but I got him to put it off untill to morrow. To day L^{t} Richmond confind a regular to our guard for abusive language, & just as our pequit was releivd & gone to their tent, there came about 40 of the granadiers with clubs & forced our quarter guard & took away the prisoner. The guard pursued as fast as possible, & pequit was turnd out, & all pursud, & recovered 2 of the mob; they fird 2 guns at the granadiers; I beleive wounded sum. This affair put the whole of the line in commotion; all the regular regiments were turnd out in an instant & drawn up in order, supposeing it was an enemy; how ever, we were soon in quiet. 2 of the offenders was securd, & will no doubt meet with a punishment adequate to their crimes. I can see no distintion paid to the day except the flags flying & more men put on duty, & almost always sum develish pranck playd, &c.

Monday, July 14th. This day, about 7 o'clock A. M., there was a regimental court martial held at the presidents tent, who was Cap^{t} Chadbourn; after the prisoners was brought & exam^{d}, Casey & Delaru confesed they were guilty of the facts, but the other 2 pleaded not guilty; but Hasey own^{d} he saw Delarue sign his order, but it appeard Bony knew nothing of his signing his. The court sentenced Casey 250 stripes, Delarue 150, & Hasey 50; which the Brigadier approu^{d} off as just. At releiving the quarter guard, these fellows was brought forth & rec^{d} their punishment.[1] I ordred the serjants to turn out all my company to see them go through the opperation, to deter any from such vile practises. I had rather lost 20 dollers than such affairs should a happned in my company. Ens^{n} Newhall has been on com^{d} up to Ticondaroga today. L^{t} Richardson sent of for stores which I sent him. Heard a rumor of Esq Goldthwaits comeing up pay master of our troops; I fear too good news to be true.

Tuseday, July 15. The weather continues extreame hot & dry. I have the care of a 100 men for to make fachines & gabions & erecting a fachine batery in ord^{r} to practise the men as Lord Louden did at Halifax. I had an easy tour, for I went out at 5 o'clock in the morning & return^{d} @ 8, & then went out again at 5 in the afternoon & return in at gun firing. We have continual whiping of sum or other in

[1] The record of this and the preceding two days amplifies the account of Sergeant Holden, under date of July 14, 2 Proceedings, vol. iv. p. 394.

the line. To day Col° Saltonston told me my friend Esqr Goldthwait was certainly coming up to pay of our troops.

Wednsday, 16 *July*. To day am of duty. Got sundry of stores of Mr. Hobbey for my company. We had news in camp that there was 12,000 French comeing up the lake, & that they had taken our 3 sloops that are cruizeing down the lake, — camp news, I beleive. To day I read a New York paper of the 30 June, & find the news exactly true that ye prisones brought in here the 19th of June conserning the raising the seige of Quebeck. In the after noon went to se the train practise in throwing shells. They hove 12 in all; it was a pleasant sight to see them flying in the air. Our people has caught two fawns alive in the lake, & there is plenty of them in these parts.

Thirsday, 17th *July*. To day am off duty. The weather continues hot & dry. I spent most part of the day in my tent a overhawling orders & settling accounts, & seeing that my companys tents well barked over the bottom, according to Brigadier General Ruggles order. In the afternoon walkd round the camp to pass away time & to divert our selves. Hear that Genl Amherst set off from Oneida Lake the 9 instant for Oswago, & expect to move forward in about 12 days from here. To day Ensn Newhall is on pequit.

Fryday, 18th *July*, 1760. Very hot & no signs of rain, which is very much wanted here, for if it continues such weather a few days longer, all the fine gardens we have here will be intirely dryd up, & all the fruits perish. This morning Capt Hart & I went to view the fachine battery, which is a most finished & looks very beautifull. Returnd & have been calculating how far we are from home, & find it by the best judges 190 miles to Boston by No. 4. So then I am nearer home than when I was at Albany, altho I have traveled a 100 miles from Albany. To day the train are practiseing their mortars in throwing shells, & our troops have drawn 6 rounds pr man in order to fire at a mark. In the afternoon we had a fine refreshing shower. Cleard up & quite cool & pleasant. There was two of the regular officers fought a duel with pistols. They made 2 tryalls, but did not wound neither. This evening we was drawn up on the parade & had prayers performd by a chaplain[1] from New England. He is the only one of that cloath that has joynd us yet.

Saturday, 19th *July*, 1760. This morning went to see the train practise throwing of shells. They made several very good shotts. Returnd & went to view the fachine battery. This day about 500 troops went across the lake to git spruse; nothing meterial hapned. This day there is a post arived from Oswago. At night we concluded by drinking to wives & sweethearts, which is as constantly observd as any duty we have in camp. Pleasant weather to day.

[1] See Sergeant Holden's Journal, 2 Proceedings, vol. iv. p. 395.

Sunday, 20 *July*. To day am off duty. It has been my luck as yet not to be on any duty of a Sunday. To day I wrote a letter to send home, & spent most of the day in my tent writeing & reading. The weather very hot; much hotter than is used to be in New England. At night we had prayers in the camp. No news from home, which is the scarcest of any thing in camp; for we have ladys enough in town, & they are walking out with the regular officers to take y^e^ evening air every night.

Monday, 21^st^ *July*. To day I have the care of a party of men to work in the fort drawing the timber up on the walls. Was very agreably entertaind on the works by the company of a regular officer who lately came from captivaty in Montreal, & reading the Spectator. Towards night the brigg[1] came down from Ticondaroga, haveing been up to clean & grave. The weathr prety pleasant. I have a bad boil on my right wrist, which is very troublesome.

Tuseday, 22^d^ *July*. The large English sloop has come down last night, & all things preparing to proceed down the lake. Went this morning with Cap^t^ Hart & Ens^n^ Newhall down to the wharfe to see the shiping & the preparations going on. In returning to camp Ens^n^ Newhall is taken very ill with a vomiting. I immediately by his desire got the docter to come to him, & he has gave him sumthing which I hope by Gods blessing will cary off his illness. Went after diner to view the fachine battery. Rogers's men are practiseing at shooting at marks. We have very hot dry weather, the days much hotter than in New England, but the nights are as cold as we have in September, for I can not lay warm in my blanket towards day, but in the day can hardly bear any cloaths on. By the best information I can git we shall move forward in first week in August. We are preparing all things necessary to forward the opperations. This evening Ens^n^ Newhall is much better.

Wednsday, 23^d^ *July*, 1760. This morning there is a general court martial, held at Brigadier General Ruggles tent, himself presedent, for the tryall of all prisoners that are brought before them. L^t^ Richmond of Col^o^ Thomas's reg^t^ is brought on tryall, confind by the com^d^ officer Col^o^ Havertin for disobedience of orders. This morning Ens^n^ Newhall is got prety comfortable again; he has had a very sharp turn, but hope is out of danger of being sick. In the afternoon had a letter from Leutenant Richardson from on board one of the sloops that are down the lake, with news of their being all well that belong to me I prepared a quantity of stores to send them down, but am inform^d^ they are ordred up; so I defer^d^ sending them. The brigg has been firing 2 rounds to clear her guns. The train & rangers & all the troops except the provincials are practiseing.

[1] See Sergeant Holden's Journal, 2 Proceedings, vol. iv. p. 395.

Thirsday, 24th *July*, 1760. To day am off duty. Went to see where they have been throwing bombs. They have measurd out a 1000 yards, & set stakes at every 50 yards with the number on them. Here is one of my men that was stationed at Ticondaroga, come up with a setler who has brought up a very fine mistress with him. On their passage they fell into disputes. At length he struck her, which inraged hir so that after several fits & efforts jumpt over board. This coold her courage, for her sweetheart held her under water untill she was amost expiring. They then took her in, stript off her cloaths & drest anew, & so the fray ended. I wish it were the fate of all these sort of ladys that follow the army. She apeard prety likely & was very well drest. This day proues rainy, which is very much wanted in this dark corner of the earth. At night 2 of our sloops came up from a cruize. I hear Lt Richardson is on board one of them.

Fryday, July 25th, 1760. Went this morning on board the sloop where Lievt Richardson & part of my company is. Found them all in good health. Brought the lievtenant on shore. The news in camp is that Genl Amherst, attempting to go down a falls, was attact by the enemy & lost 1000 men & is now comeing back to go this way. I likwise heard the French had blown up the fortifyd island & gone, & that Genl Murry had laid seige to Montreal, & that it is a establisht peace at home, &c.

Saturday, July 26th, 1760. This day off duty; the weather rainy. I kept cheifly in my tent. Ensn Newhall remains ill. Lt Richardson on shore, wee all practiseing drinking to wives & sweethearts, & I am warnd this evening to go on command to Ticondaroga to morrow for provisions. A regular captain commands the whole detachment. Nothing occourd to day remarkable.

Sunday, 27th *July*, 1760. This morning was on the parade at revaloes beating for go with the detachment to the mill for provision. It raind prety much, but the wind is fair. We set off about 7 oclock A. M.; had a fine gale all the way, but much rain. Got there about noon. There was about 500 in the party. We could not git boats enough for the whole, so came back 10 in battoe. We rendavousd at Ticondaroga fort. I went to view the fortifications. They are advantageously built & very strong & pleasantly scituated. We all set of again about 5 oclock P. M. The weather is cleard up quite pleasant & calm. We all made the best of our way for our station. I arivd about nine oclock at night at my tent. This is the first Sunday I have been on duty up here. There was divine service performd in camp to day. But I have not had the luck of hearing one sermon since I left home. I hear to day that the recruits raised in our provinc are on their march. Query, will they arive before December.

Monday, 28th *July*. This morning went down to the landing for to

see the boats vnloaded. The weather is fair, serene, cool, & pleasant, with a fine breeze to the westward. I spent most of the day in walking round the fort landing & places ajacant. The fleet is fiting out with all expedition & makes a very fine appearance. I hope we shall soon pay Monsiuers a vissit at the Ile aux Noix. No extraordinaries hapned to day.

Tuseday, 29th *July*, 1760. To day am off duty. Lt Richardson has saild again down the lake on a cruize to releive the other sloop. To day there was a large pekerell found on the shore. It measurd 4 feet 5 inches in length & waid, as is reported, 35 lb. Towards night the sloop that was stationed down the lake came up. Most part of this day I spent in walking round the camp & forts. There is a party sent to carry provisions to the Hamshire troops.

Wednsday, 30th *July*. To day am off duty. Spent most of the day in the tent in writeing and posting of my accounts. This after noon a droue of cattle came from No. 4. At the evening wrote a letter to send home by the drovers. Ensn Newhall is got quite well again. No news from home, altho there comes plenty of letters in camp, yet none for me.

Thirsday, 31st *July*. To day wrote letters & made up 2 packquets for my men to send home to New England. Have spent part of the day with Capt Hart in his tent & several other gentlemen disputeing on the carrage & deferent disposition of the fair sex. This afternoon the Hamshire troops are arivd. They were obliged to quit the road & come forward because the could not git a supply of provisions that way.

Fryday, 1st *of August*, 1760. This morning I awoke & found my tent all flood with water, — about 4 inches over the floor. I got a number of my men to dig a trench to drean of the water. To day have ye care of a party of men to take the number of battoes that are assind to our battallion. We recd 80 battoes for all the Massachusetts troops, & brought them to a convenient place & sunk them for to keep them tight, & set a guard over them.

Saturday, 2d *August*. To day am off duty. There is about 120 seamen draughted out to go on board the brig [1] & sloops ; they are this day saild on a cruize down the lake. Its said they are to take post at an island 7 miles a this side Ile aux Noix, & a rumor prevails that we shall send a 1,000 men down there to incamp till the whole arives. Ā evening we followed the delightful custom of remembering wives & sweathearts.

Sunday, 3d *Augt*, 1760. I find tis the Lords Day by the flags flying, as its the only visible sign of the day amongst us. Went to view the Hamshire incampment & the mark that is made to fire cannon shott at. The weather very hot to day. Capt Aaron Willard arivd from No.

[1] The name of the brig was "Duke Cumberland." See Sergeant Holden's Journal, 2 Proceedings, vol. iv. p. 395.

4. I hear the recruits are on their way up here a this side Albany. To day divine service was perform^{d} at our perrade by one of our chaplains.

Monday, 4th *Aug^{t}*, 1760. This morning lowery & rainy. I am of duty to day; spent my time in tent writeing & reading & posting of accounts. I have 12 of my men detacht this morning to go over the lake to cut timber. In the after noon it cleard up quite pleasant. As I walk^{d} out to amuse my self down to the landing & round the incampment, I heard of the approach of the recruits; hope to have news from home by them. I expect them here this week.

Tuseday, 5th *August*. I understand that Mr. Farrington has agreed to ride as post to New England, to carry letters at six pence, Yorke currency, a peice; he purposses to make 2 trips this campeign. I wrote several letters to send by him. I went over the lake to see Rogers's incampment which is very pleasant. There is a fine hospatall rais^{d} to day for our troops. The afternoon spent in walking out, & riteing in my tent. Have nothing extraordinary to day.

Wednsday, 6 *Aug^{t}*, 1760. To day am off duty; went to see the artelery practise at fireing shott. To day, about noon Esq^{r} Goldthwait ariv^{d} from New England; he is, as I understand, pay master gen^{l} of our troops. He brought me the most agreable news I have heard in camp; that is, I mean the news of my wife & freind being in health. I rec^{d} 3 letters, — one from her, one from brother Jenks, & one from brother Nathan Sergant.

Thirsday, 7th. To day am off duty; spent most of the day in camp. I hear the recriuts are all on their way up here; sum of the officers are arived all ready. We have orders to be ready to imbarque a Sunday next for St. Johns. I hope to be able in short time to give a good account of sum part of Canada if its the will of God, & my Col^{o} orders me to move on with the troops. No extraordinaries to day. Shiping shott & shells.

Fryday, 8th *Aug^{t}* To day wrote a letter, & sent it in Mrs. Goldthwaits by Mr. Farrington, who set of to day for Boston, & is to return immediately after his business is done. Mr. Goldthwait intends to begin paying the soldiers tomorrow morning. This evening all the detachments are comeing in, except those all ready gone forward, in order to prepare them selves for to imbarque.

Saturday, 9th *August*, 1760. This morning all my men rec^{d} one dollar a peice that desir^{d} it, to git them sum necessarys to carry with them down the lake. I have been packing up mine & giting sum stores for me on the lake, if I am ordred. It is not known who goes or stays as yet. At night we drank to wives & sweethearts. I hear L^{t} Col^{o} Hawkes is to tarry behind.

Sunday, Aug^{t} 10th, 1760. Orders to be ready to imbarque tomorrow

morning. I spent most of the day in packing up my things. I left my coat & jackett & all my writeings with Esq^r Goldthwait & one johannas in cash, to be kept till I return ; or if I am not to return, to be sent home. I lost 2 of my best shirts to day by a washer woman.

Monday, 11^th^ *August*. This morning at 10 oclock A.M., we struck our tents & marcht down to the battoes, in order to imbarque for S^t^ Johns. The Brigadier led the whole of the Massachusetts troops. At noon we sett of in three colums ; the wind blood prety fresh a head. We rowd till about sunsett when the signall was made to form to the left, or west, shore, & then we landed and the pequit made the guard. We have come about 6 miles.

Tuseday, 12 *Aug^t^* The morning very calm, only a small breeze to ye southward. We set off in order about sunrise ; I had very hard lodging on the barrells in the battoe last night. After roweing about 3 or 4 miles, the wind came right ahead, so that the Ligoneir was obliged to anchor the rest of the fleet. Kept along until the wind blood prety fresh ; orders came to cross the lake to the east side, where we all came to land in a bay called Button Mold Bay, where we are to tarry all night. Here Cap^t^ Shores [1] got his dismission from his Majesties service to return to New England.

*Wednsday, Aug^t^* 13^th^, 1760. We tarry^d^ in the morning a while for the Ligoneir to come up ; set of about 8 oclock A.M. Haveing come about 18 miles from Crown Point, we passed through the Narrows, which is very mountainous on the west side, but very plain, flat land on the east. We proceeded forward till about noon, when the wind sprung up quite fresh ahead ; we kept on untill about 4 oclock P.M., when we landed on the west side the lake. We are now about 28 miles from Crown Point. Here we have news from the brigg & sloops ; they have had a brush with the Monseiurs, & droue them back to the island. I lodged much better last night than y^e^ night before.

Thirsday, 14^th^ *Aug^t^* This morning the wind came fare & the Ligoneir came up. We put of about sunrise, & stood along down the lake with all sail spread, & made a fine appearance. We kept on till about 11 oclock A.M., when the wind blood quite hard, & raind very much. We were obliged every one to shift for themselves ; a prodigeous sea & hard wind obliged us to make a harbour on y^e^ north side of an island called Scuylers Island. We have lost 7 rangers [2] by the cannoe spliting, & 2 of the recruits fell over & was drownd ; one kill^d^ by accident, & there is several battoes missing, I fear in bad circumstances. We came to day about 45 miles.

Fryday, 15^th^ *Aug^t^* This morning is lowrey, & the wind prety fresh,

[1] See Sergeant Holden's Journal under date of August 13, 2 Proceedings, vol. iv. p. 397.

[2] Ibid.

but fair; we set off about sunrise and made all sail, as much as we could suffer, a prodigeous sea going. The land is all flat & level, hardly any hills or mountains to be seen, & what is at a great distance. Expect to be amongst bad neighbours before night. God grant we may behave ourselves like men, & play the man for the city & people of our God, & let him do as seamest him best. I lodged these two nights past very comfortablely in my battoe; most of the troop lodged on shore by large fires.

Saturday, 16th *Aug*t. We set of from an island called Ile a mot;[1] it is about 18 miles to the fortifyd island from here. I lodg in the battoe very comfortable. It was about the dawning of the day when we put of; after rowing across a large bay we formd the line, 2 boats abrest. I beleive the whole reachd 4 miles, & made a very beautifull appearance. The weather quite pleasant with a small breze in our feavour. Thus Providence seems to smile on our proceedings. After entering the Narrows, which is not more than a musket shott across, & very intricate, the enemy's schooner & reddow came out to meet us, but was droue back. We formed for landing in about a mile & ½ from the enemy's fort, with all our battoes a brest, to land on the east shore. As soon as the signall for landing was made, we all rowd right to shore, & landed in extreme good order without any molestation at all. The Ligoneir redows[2] & prows kept a fire on the enemys fort & vessells, to feavour our landing; after which we marcht up & formd a line, & set out our pequits. The land we marcht through exceeding wett & mirey. I went sum times almost up to my middle in mud & water, & obliged to run most of the way to keep up with the front. We then set about makeing a breast work which was compleated in a little time, as the men are in high spirits. The vessell keeps fireing on the French; but Monsiuers are not so complesant as to answer them, which we impute to their want of men or ammunition. We haveing a little rum, we made sum toddy to keep up the custom of Saturday night health.

Sunday, 17th *Aug*t. I lodged last night on the ground without my blanket, only a few bushes to cover me, & as wett as could well be, but through Divine goodness rested very well. No enemy to molest us in our breastwork, which was kept well mand all night. One of our redows going to reconitre the forts was fired on by the enemy, & Capt. Glaye[3] of the Royall Artelery was killd, & 5 or six more lost their legs. One of these unfortunate men belongs to my company, & has his leg cut off; I hear he is like to recover. The rest of the day spent in fixing a shed to lodg under. I have not had my cloaths of since I left Crown

[1] Ile a mot is Isle La Motte. See Sergeant Holden's Journal, 2 Proceedings, vol. iv. p. 397.

[2] Probably radeau, mentioned Ibid.

[3] Clagg, according to Sergeant Holden's Journal, Ibid.

Point; am obliged to lay with my arms and ammunition all on, to be ready in case of need.

Monday, 18th *Augt*, 1760. Last night I had the pequit, & kept one quarter of it standing centry at a time all night. I had 2 subs who took care of the pequit, & I lay in my bower till break of day, & slept comfortablely; in the morning was ordred out to cover a party of fasshine makers in the woods, about ½ mile from the breast work. The enemy have fired several cannon to day at our people, but done no execution. We have taken possission of a point of land right opposite the island, & within muskett shott of the fort where we are erecting batterys. At night was releivd by Captt Barnard.

Tuseday, 19th *Augt* Last night I had my tent set up, & lay like a minister all night; this morning we had orders to pack up every thing for to moue on to the Point to cover the batterys. Marcht off about 11 oclock A. M., through extream bad way, to the Point, & built a fine breastwork in front, & begun one in the rear. The enemy heard us incamping, & they kept firing cannon at us, but hurt none of the men, tho our camp is not half cannon shot from the enemys fort, & nothing to hinder but only the trees, & them not very thick.

Wednsday, 20th *Augt*, 1760. Last night raind sum. I lay in my tent all night without any molestation. The enemy have not fired a gun all night. This morning there came one of the enemy to our people, & what storey he tells I can not learn, I hear it so many defirent ways; but by all I think the enemy very scant of men on the island. In the afternoon they fired very briskly on our men, but did no great dammage,— ōly wounded one man with a grape shot slightly. We go on briskly with our batterys, & hope in a few days to give Monsiuers a salute; for they begin to grow very quarelsome of late, & wont let us live in peace by ym.[1]

Thirsday, 21st *Augt* Last night it rained prety much. However, it did not hinder our people from working on the battery. To day I am ordred to assist the engineer; I have a party of 150 men, 2 subs, 4 sergts in carrying timber to the batterys; there is 800 of the provincials of us on fatigue in building batterys to day, under the care of Colo Saltonstall. The enemy kept a constant fire on us most part of the day, firing 12, 9, & six pound shot & langrege; they wounded 10 men, 5 of which, I beleive, mortally, the other not bad. I escaped my self very narrowly several times. I think it very remarkable that the enemy have not killd great numbers, when we are so much exposed. Our redows have fired several shott on them to day.

Fryday, 22d Last night just as I had got to bed, being much fatigued, the whole army was ordred to arms immidiately, haveing dis-

[1] Compare the entries for 19th and 20th August with those of Sergeant Holden's Journal for the same date. 2 Proceedings, vol. iv. p. 398.

coverd a large party of the enemy set off from the island in battoes & putting over towards us. After we had put out all fires in camp & man^{d} the breast work, there came orders to return to our tents, except the pequit; for the enemy, finding they were discovered, ruturn back without fireing a gun. However, we lay in readiness to receive them if they should attempt it again; & about an hour before day, a regular centry, supposeing he heard sum of them, fired his peice, as did 3 or 4 more, which alarmd us again, & all turnd out and man^{d} the breast work, waiting for them. In a few minutes, the cap^{t} of the pequit, thinking he saw a man without the lines, challenged it 3 times, & nothing answering, fired his peice: & sum body at the same time gave the word to fire, when the whole of our battallion mostly discharged their peices, which spread almost the line, it being impossible to stop our men from fireing, altho there was no enemy near us. We soon found our mistake, & returnd to our tents. We have got a fine breast work, both in front & rear, & have cut all the trees & cleard them out of our camp to prevent our being hurt by the limbs falling that are shot of by y^{e} enemys cannon. This morning we are clearing a road through our camp to draw cannon across below the enemys fort, to erect a battery on a point of land in order to cut off all communication between them & St. Johns. We have landed all our morters & got them up to the bomb-battery, & are gitting the cannon on shore & drawing them to the batterys, & hope to have three batterys opened by night. I hear a scout of our rangers have taken 4 prisoners this morning. Nothing meteral has hapned to day; the enemy have been prety quiet, & hant fired abowe 5 or six cannon to day & a few small armes, & done no damage, as I can hear. There was a man of Cap^{t} Harriss taken up for dead, — hurt by a tree falling on him.

Saturday, 23^{d} *Aug^{t}*, 1760. Last night we had no molestation from the enemy. Our batterys are almost compleat, & the brig has sent on shore to git fasshines to hang over on her sides, so as to atteck the fort at the same time the batterys are opened. The enemy have kill^{d} & scalp^{t} one of our men last night where we first landed; a party of our rangers fired across to the island last night & kill^{d} 4 of the French. I hear the batterys opening will be preceeded first by all the drums beating a point of war, next by a band of musick, followd by all the provincials singing psalmes. About 3 oclock P. M., all our batterys was opened & gave the French a fine salute, which Monsiuers did not return; the artelery kept playing constantly, & did great execution. A little while after, one of our soldiers fired his peice; Col^{o} Saltonstall immediatly ordred a court martial on him, which fell to be my tour of duty. I, immediately after the members was assembled, held it at my tent. I ordred the prisoner to be brought, who pleaded ignorance of the guns being charg^{d}; on y^{e} whole the court sentenced him 40 stripes,

which was approud of by Col° Saltonstall. But when he was stript & brought to y^e^ post, the Col° was so good as to forgive his punishment.

Sunday, 24^th^ *Augt.* This morning I wrote a letter & sent it to Crowwn Point to Esq^r^ Goldthwait, to acquaint him I was well, & desireing him to write that I was so in his letter. I had no sleep last night, for our people was cuting away the boom, & the enemy would fire volleys of small arms on them, & then our battery would return it with grape shott, & the morters was kept going all night, which made it seem that the elements was all fire & smoak. Our people has almost efected cutting away the boom. The French has not fired a cannon since our batterys was opened this morning. 9 of the French battoes was seen going off towards St. Johns, & 2 more went last night, so I believe the enemy will all leave y^e^ island shortly.

Monday, 25^th^ *Aug^t^*, 1760. Last night I had the pequit. In the evening Ensn. Warren of Cap^t^ Jones company was shot in his back by a muskett ball; the ball lodg^d^ in his body. A serj of y^e^ Massachusetts had both his hands shot away at the same time, & several more wounded. One of my company has rec^d^ a ball in his arm; the ball was cut out, the bone is not hurt. I kept up all night walking round our battallion to keep the centry right; for if any disorder happens, the blame would lay on me. The night quite pleasant & bright moon shine; the battery would fire a round about once an hour & throw shells about as often. In the morning I sent a serj^t^ & 8 men to carry Ens^n^ Warren to y^e^ hospitall, who I dont think will live 24 hours longer; he has been a very good officer & bhaved well. About 9 oclock we heard a great number of small arms fireing down along the lake side, & sum cannon. Immediately all the pequits was turnd out to assist Major Rogers, who it seems had engaged the French vessels. We all marcht out, our Provincial pequits serv^d^ as front, rear, & flank guards to the regulars. I went with my pequit in the advance guard. Just as we had joynd the party already out, the fire ceased; & we halted and set out centry, for we suspected the enemy had a large party on the land sumwhere near us. In a few minutes a regular officer brought us the joyfull news that the French great redow,[1] thir brigg, & sloop had struck to us; we then marcht down to the point of land where the cannon was, & saw the vessells al laying there under English coulours. We have not lost a man in this affair, altho the action was very sharp & no batery for the cannon to play behind. Monsuirs has no vessell now on the lake except a row galley & battoes. We have killd a feild officer of theirs who was on board, & have taken their commodore & about 20

[1] Sergeant Holden's Journal says, "one rideau, one topsail schooner, and a sloop."

men prisoners. These prisoners inform us that we kill[d] 180 of their men that day. We opened our batterys beside the wounded. They are very short of provision & ammunition, & can git no releif, now we have got their fleet; for we cut of all communication between them & S[t] Johns. In our marching into camp we met our comodore & a large party of sailors going down to man our new fleet. In the evening sum whale boats was carryed across to cut off the enemys retreat; & this night sum of the brigs cannon was carry across to put into the French vessells.

Tusday, 26[th] *August*, 1760. This morning we have news by an express from Gen[l] Murrey, who writes that he has been joyned by 2 regiments from England & by the garisson of Louisbourg, & that he intends the first fair wind to sail & invest Montreal, & desires us not to think hard if he reaps the glory of takeing Montreal, & that he has provisions enough for all three of the armys. We likewise hear that Gen[l] Amherst was 3 days agon within 30 miles of Montreal, & we have heard cannon fired several times at a distance that way. Gen[l] Murry was incampt at a place cal[d] Sir Ells,[1] & the express was 9 days a comeing here; so by all curcumstances I beleive Montreal actually invested by Gen[l] Murrey. We are makeing up a party of the best men for the woods to go with Major Rogers; where they are destin[d] I cannot yet tell. This afternoon a party of the provincials was ordrd on board the French prizes; Cap[t] Hart went out of our battallion & 3 of my men. Just at night we opened a new battery down by the lower end of the island.

Wednsday, 27[th]. Last night nothing worth notice hapned. This morning we had smart firing on both sides. The enemy have playd their cannon brisker to day than they have done any time before, but done no execution of any valve. A soldier of mine going with a dollar in his hand to the sutlers & a nine pound shot strake his hand, which only grazed the skin, but lost his dollar, & one of y[e] Hamshire men wounded, which is all they have done, as I hear. About 3 oclock P. M. we was alarm[d] by a sudden explosion.[2] At first we thought that the enemy had opened a larg battery, but we was soon inform[d] that a number of our shells & sum powder at the 12 gun battery took fire by sum accident unknown; about 30 shells burst by this means, & 3 men kill[d] out right & several others wounded. The enemy have kept a very smart fire all day, but done us no damage worth notice. All this we take as their last words.

Thirsday, 28[th] *August*, 1760, *M*[d]. This morning we found that the enemy had deserted & left y[e] island. Immediately the granadiers & light infantry went over & took possession of that fortress. I hear

[1] Perhaps Sorel.

[2] See Sergeant Holden's Journal of the same date, 2 Proceedings, vol. iv. p. 399.

that the French commander has left orders that no provincial, ranger, or Indian be allow^{d} to go on the island; which orders I think is going to be follow^{d}, for several of our officers endeavouring to go across, haveing got liberty of the Brigadier, were prevented by the regulars, which is look^{d} upon a very high affair, when we have done most part of the fatigue dureing the seige, & our men have been more exposed than they, must now be denyd the liberty to go & se what they have fought for. This day I have the care of a 100 men in order to draw the cannon out of our batterys down to wharfe & git them on board the vessells, in order to follow the enemy, who ran away to Saint Johns; we have got all of them down except one hoit & all the shott & shells & platforms; & this day our brigg & sloop passed by the island, haveing cut away the French boom that lay across. I hope soon to be able to give an account of Saint Johns. There is sum gent^{l} officers that are very breif about to day to see the batterys & island that was poorly all the while the siege lasted.

Friday, 29th *August*. This morning lay in my tent till eight oclock, being very much fatigued last night with my days work. I hapned to hear of a gent^{l} going to New England. I immediately wrote a letter to my partner at home, & sent it in one inclosed to Esq^{r} Goldthwait, who told me that if I sent so he would inclose it in his & so send it home, which is the surest way I have to send. In the afternoon had all my things pact up in order to imbarque for St Johns. I hear Gen^{l} Amherst is got nigh to Montreal, & we shall soon be there, if the enemy dont hinder us.

Saturday, 30th *Aug^{t}*, 1760. This morning about day break I got up to git my baggage on board in order to imbarque for S^{t} Johns, & struck our tents ½ an hour after revaloes beating, & marcht down to y^{e} battoes, & set of about 10 oclock A. M., & passed by the French island we have taken. There was their grand dival & row galley, & our small reddows & prows went with us; we carry none of our heavy artilery nor any of our 13 inch mortars, only the feild peices & royals & sum hoits. When we were got about half way down, sum of our leading boats discovered sum enemy on the shore. Immediately the light infantry row^{d} right to shore & landed against them, but they fled & got clear. When we turnd a point of land near St Johns, we espyed a great smoak at a great distance & one not so large prety nigh us, which proues to be St. Johns, which the enemy have abandon^{d}, after seting fire to the fort & buildings;[1] the other is thought to be Shamble,[2] six miles further down the river. We landed & form^{d} without any opposition. This

[1] See Sergeant Holden's Journal of the same date, 2 Proceedings, vol. iv. p. 400.

[2] Probably Fort Chambly, mentioned by Sergeant Holden, Ibid. See also his Journal under date of September 7, Ibid., p. 401.

place look pleasanter than y^e^ island. Just before night we were ordered to pitch all our tents, & all to lay on our arms with our ammunition all on, being now in our enemys country amongst them where they live. This evening the rangers brought in three prisoners, who informs that they have had a battle 8 days since with Gen^l^ Amherst, but in whose feavour it turnd could not tell. Major Rogers has lost 2 of his men to day & one officer wounded, & the enemy are gone to Montreal; thus Heaven aparantly fights for us, & therefore it is our duty to acknowledge its the hand of Divine Providence, & not done by any force of ours or arm of flesh.

Sunday, 31^st^ *August*. This morning its loury & rainy, but we are all at work & throwing up intrenchments & forming lines; we have a battery every convenient distance along the lines which, when finish^t^, I dont think 10,000 men could force. We have got 16 prisoners[1] this morning. Just now orders came for us to leave off intrenching, as the army is going to march very quick. I then went to see the recruts, where I was well entertained; but what I most prize is, I there found a letter from my brother Jenks, which was to me as cold water to a thirsty soul in this howling & enemys country. To day one of our sloops came down from Isle-aux-Noix, & the row galley taken there & several other boats. We got the cheif of the artelery on shoer. By the best information I can git we took about 60 peices of cannon on the island & sum morters, a great number of shott & shells, & 500 barrells of powder & 100 barrells of pork & 200 of flower, & 30 head of cattle, & other warlike stores. So we may see what is to be depended on about the Frenche not haveing any ammunition or provisions. Had the enemy behaved like men, they could a stood out a month longer, but it plainly appears they are intimidated & Heaven is against them.

Monday, the 1^st^ *of September*, 1760. This morning we struck our tents at a quarter of an hour after revaloes beating in order to imbarque for Shamble. We did not let off till 3 oclock P. M.; we took up all that time in giting the artelery & camp equippage on board. We then put off & went down, & prety bad falls about a mile long; we got to the place where Rogers took his prisoners last spring, call^d^ S^t^ Thesis, where we stoop^t^ & incamp^t^ close by the fort, haveing come about 6 miles from S^t^ Johns without any molestation from the enemy. There is a small village of the French here; & their women & children are here, but the men are gone.

Tuseday, 2^d^ *Sep^t^*, 1760. This morning we are intrenching. Col^o^ Ingersolls & Col^o^ Whitcombs regt. are come up; they could not git over the fall last night. I went to view the fort,[2] which was a very

[1] Holden says 17. 2 Proceedings, vol. iv. p. 401.

[2] See Sergeant Holden's Journal under date of September 2, Ibid., p. 400.

prety peice of work as any of the French works I have yet seen, but Monseirs have set fire to it since Rogers left it. I hear that 10 of our men drove a 100 French before them & took 5 prisoners & kill[d] one; it plainly appears they are struck with a panick. Just now we are ordred to leave off intrenching till further orders, for tis supposd we are going to march further. To day, I am ordred to take the pequit at night.

Wednsday, 3[d] *Sep[t]*, 1760. Last night I lay out with the picquit to keep them alert, now we are in an enemys country. I lay down under the breast work to git a little sleep. I could not help thinking what lodging I have exchanged for this, which is not half so good or convenient as we generally provide for our swine at home; however, I rested a little. Who would not be a gentleman soldier to lay thus abroad & venture their lives, & when they are at home to be slighted by the generality of mankind. Our rangers keep bringing in the best of the inhabitants, as they take their choice of them; they also inform us the ladys are very kind in the neighbourhood, which seems we shall fare better when wee git into the thick setled parts of the country. By all I can learn the Indians are all left the French, & will not fight at all, & the inhabitants seem inclined to come in & give up their arms & submit to the Crown of Great Brittain. We are preparing a party to go & take Shamble, which is about 6 miles below us on this river.

Thirsday, 4[th] *Sep[t]*. Last night I had my tent pitcht & fixed so that I lay quite well. This morning about revaloes beating the party going to Shamble set off, consisting of about 1,000 men & several peices of cannon & royals, the whole under the command of Col[o] Derby. We are at work at compleating our breastworks, which is almost compleated. The French about here are busy in giting in their harvest, & sum of our men are helping them; so we are very good neighbours at present. Major Rogers says he heard cannon & plattoons firing yesterday for an hour or two very brisk & smart, so we may expect soon to know the fate of Canada, or our army; & to day sum of our officers being out to se the village, heard a constant firing of cannon toward Montreal, so would fain hope Gen[l] Murry has got the better of the French, which if he has, we shall soon, I hope, be moueing homeward, for it begins to be cold nights, & our oznabrig tabernacles is but poor shelter for this cold climate.

Fryday, 5[th] *Sep[t]*, 1760. Last evening we had the agreable news of the surender of the fort at Shamble prisoners of war. There was about 60 French regulars in garison there. Our people took sum of the inhabitants, — women & children, — & placed them before their royall, & so fired over their heads, which answerd instead of faschine batterys. After fireing 2 or 3 shells, they hoisted English colours & submited, but wanted the honnors of war, which Col[o] Derby would not

comply with, threatening them that if they delay[d] any longer he would put all to y[e] sword. We also have news that Gen[l] Murry has had a feild battle with the enemy 3 days agon, near Montreal, & has given Monsiers a worse dressing than they have yet had in America, & there is an express come from Gen[l] Amherst, who was got below all the falls, & has good water now all the way to Montreal; so we are waiting impatiently for news from these armys. About 80 of the French was brought in to camp last night from Shamble. This morning we heard a haavy peice of cannon fired a defirent way from those we have commonly heard, which is suppos[d] to be the morning gun fired at Gen[l] Amhersts army. We also learn that Mons[r] Levy came over to Laparee[1] with a battallion of regulars, & orders to take the army we had driveing before us, & to assemble the Canadians a this side the river, & give us battle; but on the aproach of the other army he was ordred back, & the rest we had before us to joyn against Gen[l] Murry, who is able now to give a good account of them, if we are not misinform[d]. O, how aparently does Divine Providence interpose in our feavour! Altho I bleive if he had come it would a have been to their own cost. God be praised, we are in a condition to receive them. Our men are animated & in high spirits, & fine lines thrown up & redoubts with cannon in front; & above all, I trust God on our side; therefore we fear them not. Altho an host incamp around us, we will not fear.

Saturday, 6[th] *September*,[2] 1760. Last evening sum of the militia officers of the French came in, & a party of rangers belonging to Gen[l] Murry. The French came to submit to the Brittish septere, as all have now on the south side of the river St. Lawrence. We have orders to prepare all things to be in readiness to march, I suppose to joyn Gen[l] Murry. I hear this morning that Gen[l] Amherst & Murry joyns armys to day. I am in hopes to see English coulours flying on Montreal yet, for expect soon to march there. To day I have been out about a mile out of camp to git sum blackberrys, & got as many as I could or dare eat. I saw sum of the French women, & they are drest much as those brought from Nova-Scotia. They have sum very prety children as ever I saw any where in my life. I can not find in my heart that I could kill such innocents, altho they have done it many a time on our fronteirs. The country men come in daly with their waggons to carry our provisions & camp equippage to Shamble. This I look on as a forced obedience to us.

Sunday, 7[th] *Sept*[r], 1760. This morning have news of Gen[l] Amherst langing on the island of Montreal. We had an express from him last night. There is about a hundred of the French waggons come in this

[1] Probably La Prairie.

[2] Birthday of my father's first son, Samuel. — *Note by William Jenks.*

morning to cary our baggage & provisions to Montreal. It looks quite strange to see these Canidians helping our army along to destroy the only place of refuge the miserable creatures have left in their country, which must according to human reason soon fall into our hands.[1] We have got horses to draw our artelery which consists of about 20 as fine brass peices as ever was brought into the feild. There is 60 of the ablest of the invaleads put out to garison Shamble, & the rest we leave here on an island right opposite of our now incampment, under care of Major Emery of the Hamshire troops. The provincials begin to be very sickly. 2 of our battallion died yesterday, & several officers & soldiers are very sick in our reg^{t}. I desire to bless God I am enabled to go forward with the army, & have not mised 1 tour of duty yet. This afternoon we marched of for Montreal, & got as far as Shamble, & halted a while. The fort look quite beautifull out side. I ded not go in because it was contrary to orders. There is a fine church just below the fort, the first I have seen in this country. There is great numbers of the inhabitants come takeing their oaths of ———, & they are very helpfull in carrying our stores, artellery, & baggege. There is near a 100 waggons of them, & the finest horses for draught that I ever saw in my life any where.

Monday, 8th. Last evening we set out from Shamble, & marcht on through a fine, pleasant country, thick of inhabitants; sum of them look^{d} very easey & chearfull, others lamenting the fate of their country. Our army marcht in as sevill a manner to the inhabitants as if they had been in our own country. We kept on our march till near midnight in the dark, & waded over 2 rivers & got to an old shed. It rain^{d} very hard, & we put in here, & I set up all night, for had not room to lay down & got no rest, being wett & very tired. This morning we set out again before sunrise, & it was extreme bad walking occasioned by the rain last night. Our baggege is not come up. I could git no refreshment of no kind, altho never more wanted, I being very ill & weak by a continual flux following this several days. We marched on very fast & waded over another river, & kept on without any sort of sustenance of any kind, vntill about noon, when we arived to a village opposite Montreal, I went into a French house determined to git sum refreshment or stay till the waggons come up. I got sum sower milk, & drank very hearty of it, & then the master of the house came in & asked if we would eat any soup, which I told him we would. They then set before us a fine dish of it; & sum pegions stew^{d} heads & all on, I here made a fine feast. Had not I met with this nourishment, I could not a held out to march ½ mile further. I then set out for the reg^{t}, who had got about 2 miles start. We have marcht about 14 miles to day through a fine country for land but not for improve-

[1] See Sergeant Holden's Journal of the same date, 2 Proceedings, vol. iv. p. 401.

ments. We have passed by a great many crosses on the way. Just as I joyn^{d} the reg^{t} I saw Col Vaverland[1] put of to go over to Gen^{l} Amherst in a whale boat who call^{d} to shore & told us that the city had surrendred this morning, & that we had done fighting. It seems Gen^{l} Amherst had 3 skirmages with the enemy yesterday & beat them out of their intrenchments. Had they held out a little longer all three of the armys would a laid seige to them, but I desire to bless God we have all Canada now under our command without any more blood shed.[2]

Tuseday, 9th *Sep^{t}*, 1760. Last night we set up our tents, & I lay very comfortable. Have got such refreshment as made me feel much better. I have joyn^{d} with Cap^{t} Bailey, who tents with me. This morning I got up about an hour by sun, & went to view the city & country. Could see Gen^{l} Amhersts camp about 2 miles above the city. This city makes a very beautifull appearance & very fine buildings & beautifull improvements. They look so at a distance. The river is about 2 miles across, & we right opposite the city. I then took a walk after breakfast, with several gen^{l} officers of our battallion down along the river about 4 miles. We went below Gen^{l} Murrys incampment, which is about a mile below the city. Could se great part of the fleet comeing up the river. We went below 1 frigate. This river lies about N. N. E. & S. S. W. & the city lies along by the waters edge & a large mountain on the back. There is no sort of fruit in none of these towns but thorns. They have fine land, but live mesirable to my view. This moment one of Cap^{t} Baileys men was found almost dead. Before they could call the docter he died. He had not complaind before, but had eat very freely of pork & cabbage, which kill^{d} him. This afternoon L. Richardson ariv^{d} with an express to Gen^{l} Haverland, & brought me three letters, — 1 from my wife, one from brother Sergant, & one from Esq^{r} Goldthwait with the agreable news of their being in health, &c.

Wednsday, 10th *Sept.* Last night I got me a quart of milk & boyl^{d} it for my supper; then went to cabbin & lay very comfortable till morning, when we had orders to strike our tents, in order to march for Crown point, which was accordingly done, but we did not march till noon, when all the provincials marcht off under com^{d} of Brigadier Gen^{l} Ruggles. All the regulars stays bhind. It was extreme hot, & we marcht very fast. I thought I could not hold out, but through good Providence I was enabled to stant it till we came to incamp.

Thirsday, 11th *Sep^{t}* Last night I lay without any tent, or any thing to cover me with, except a few bushes; & it rain^{d} very hard in the night, & we were as wet as water could make us. I slept but little. In the morning marcht off for Chamble through very bad way. I got a

[1] Gen. Sir William Haviland.

[2] See Sergeant Holden's Journal of the same date, 2 Proceedings, vol. iv. p. 401.

little milk on the way. We arivd about noon, & halted here. I found that a Rhod Island officer had taken a tent from my men; I made application to the field officers for redress, but could get none. I then made a regular complaint to the Brigdr for the tent, & likewise for satisfaction of him & another officer of same regt Immediately the tent was returnd, tho with regret, & what other satisfaction I am to have I know not yet.

Fryday, 12th *Sept*, 1760. Last night lay on the ground without any tent; a great dew & very cold in the night; however past the night prety comfortably. I have been in to veiw the fort, which is very neat & beautifully built, tho not strong. I hear one of my men are dead that I left at St Therese, Benja Wentworth; he died the 11th instant. The ladys come very thick to market, — some with one commodity, & sum with other; however I can not fancy them at no rate. They bring cheifly squashes & turnips & sum cabbage & carrots. I went with a number of gentlmen to view the church. We got the sexton & leave to go in; which was very curious to see their immages & other instrumts of worship. Returning, went into a French house & got sum bread & milk, which they took no pay for. This part of the country is very pleasant & delightsome. I could fancy to live here had I my partner & friends here. I went in the afternoon to the sutlers, where I saw mankind in their proper hue, when they give a loose to their appetites. To see men, yea such as is stild gentl, git drunk, & then they are stout & must go to fighting.

Saturday, 13th *Sept*, 1760. Last night was prety cold. I lay but poorly, & I am in a poor state of health, which dont agree so well together. This morning I went out to git sum breakfast. Returnd; could git none, which still added to my affliction. This morning our boats arivd. I had sum refreshment. About 2 oclock P.M. marched of for St Therese; arived by sunset, & incampt on the ground we formerly had done. Got sum tea for supper. Id no stomack to eat.

Sunday, 14th *Sept.*, 1760. Last night I lay very comfortable, & slept well. About daybreak struck our tents to imbarque on board battoes for St. Johns. Our men break out very fast with the small pox. I am greatly afraid it will spread in the army, altho al the care we have taken to prevent it. We set off about 8 oclock A.M., wind ahead; arivd at St Johns about noon. Here I got sum refreshment, set off again about 3 oclock P.M. for Isle aux Noix, the wind blowing hard against us, & rough waterr.

Monday, 15th *Sept.*, 1760. Last night got to Ile aux Noix about 8 oclock. I lay on board the boat. About day break I went in to the fort to se after the sick I left behind. Found them all alive. English is very ill; but took all the sick with me. This fort I will not attempt to discribe for desire it may be erased out of memory for ever, for its not

fit for any person to live in, or even to behold. After we had drawn provisions for 4 days to cary us to Crown Point, set of about 9 oclock A.M., the weather rainy & wind ahead. However, we are pressing forward for Crown Point, in hopes to live better & cheaper; passed by a floating battery built on 2 battoes by the French. We put forward until about sun set, when we went ashore opposite Isle a Mott, haveing come about 30 miles to day. I am sumthing better than I have been this several days. We are cooking all our provisions in order to keep forward without any stop.

Tuseday, 16th *Sept*, 1760. Last night I lay very comfortablely. We set off as soon as we could discover any appearance of day. The wind is now favourable at last; we made as much sail as we could, & to keep in order, which was in 3 colums, 2 battoes a breast. The wind freshen[d] up; we run at a great rate, the weather prety cold & clear. We kept forward till about 11 oclock at night, when we halted on the east shore about 5 miles from Crown Point, haveing run by computation about ninty miles to day.

Wednsday, 17*th Sept*, 1760. Last night I lay very well on board the battoe. We set off this morning about day break, & was obliged to keep in sight of the shore, it being very foggy & cold withal. We ariv[d] about 7 oclock in the morning, & landed & got the sick into the hospital; went up & was kindly rec[d] by the officers we left behind here. I got a good breakfast, better than I have had since we imbarqed from here. I found M[r] Goldthwait well, who recd me gladly, & informed me he had a line from home, dated 2[d] Sep[t], with news of all being in health.

Thirsday, 18th. To day have been about to see what has been done since we have been gone. It looks as if I had got most home again, haveing come further since I left Montreal than it is to go home from here. To day Esq[r] G. is paying off sum men part of their wages. I wrote 3 letters to send home, — 1 for my girl, 1 for brother John, & 1 for brother Nathan, &c. Directed them to brother Jenks, at Medford. I hear now that Allen Newhall is going home.

Fryday, 19*th Sept*, 1760. Last night was very cold. I lay but pooly. This morning Ens[n] Newhall undertook to make us a cabbin to lodg both together in. This day I wrote several letters more to send home, & had a mans things prized by L[t] Knolton, L[t] Foster, Ens[n] Hankerson. They valued them at 7/6 L. M. He died at S[t] Therese. I have been out to walk, in order to git clear of the smell of the camps. I went into the hospital to see the sick, which was a very affecting sight, being about 40 poor creatures.

Saturday, 20th *Sept*, 1760. Last night it was reported that the Hamshire[1] and Rhoad Island regiments intended to desert. Immediately a

[1] Sergeant Holden refers to this episode under date of the 19th. 2 Proceedings, vol. v. p. 403.

guard of 1 capt., 1 sub, & 60 sergants of the Massachusetts, & sum regulars, to prevent their escape was peraded. They was kept on watch all night. Those brave fellows did not attempt to desert, but expect they will soon do it if they are so inclined, & fine character for soldiers. This morning M^r^ Newhall set off for Lynn by the way of Albany. At evening we came to the former custome of drinking to wives & sweethearts, & so concluded y^e^ day.

Sunday, 21^st^, 1760. To day am off duty. I spent most of the day at L^t^ Burrells house; it rained for the most part of the day. No sign of Sunday, except the flags being hoisted. Our chaplains haveing given us one sermon & prayd 2 or three evenings, which is all we have for about 20£ L.M., paid by the province per month to chaplains for preaching. A very ill use I think is made of that money; & 1/8^d^ cut out of every doller paid to the soldiers. Who would not fight for such a court?

Monday, 22^d^ *Sept.*, 1760. This mornīg I have a 100 men vnder my care to work in the trench. Carry stones. I am in a poor state of health, & were I at home I should keep house. To day about 80 battoes set out for St. Johns to bring Gen^l^ Amherst & sum of his troops that are comeing this way. I have 2 or three men I am afraid have deserted, as I cannot find them. This day rainy in the forenoon, but pleasant in the afterpart of the day.

Tuseday, *Sep^t^* 23^d^. This day am off duty, & I am determined not to go on again till I am better in health, for a great many officers in camp have refused that were more able than I am at present. However feel sumthing better this morning than I did yesterday, & am in hopes to git well so as not to miss any tour of duty when its my turn. To day I walked about 5 or 6 miles, in order to keep out of the smell of y^e^ camp.

Wednsday, 24^th^ *Sept.*, 1760. This morning I lay in bed till eight oclock, being not for duty, & not so bright as I could wīsh. The most that is going forward in camp is confining, & holding court martials. To day its showrey. Just before night L^t^ Richardson arived here from Isle Noir with several of my men with him. To day Jacob Hasey of my comp^y^ was taken ill w^th^ y^e^ small pox. I hear all the artelery is just got here. Sum of the Royal Scotch arived her last night from Lapararee[1] on their way to Hallifax.

Thirsday, 25^th^ *Sep^t^* This day lowery & rainy. I am off duty. In the morning the Ligoneir & Grand Dival[2] arived from Isle Noir, & most part of the artelery & several companys of regulars. I & Cap^t^ Hart have bought us a horse that was taken prisoner at Isle Noir, for to

[1] La Prairie.

[2] Sergeant Holden gives the name "Grand Deoble." 2 Proceedings, vol. iv. p. 403.

carry our packs through to N° 4. I have a cow sum of my men brought me from Isle Noir; they give me her milk till we move from hence. To day Wm. Densmore of my company was carryed to y^e^ hospital, being ill with y^e^ small pox.

Fryday, 26^th^ *Sep^t^*, 1760. To day am off duty. Joseph Tucker of my company is carryed to the hospital, being ill with the small pox. This is y^e^ 4^th^ I have sick with the small pox, & am afraid it will not be all, for one or 2 more complain. The men in camp begin to die very fast, & its very sickly; there is about 1,200 men of the provincials now returnd unfit for duty, & great many more taken sick almost every day. This evening L. R. W. o^ds^ v^th^ a^st^ ——

Saturday, 27^th^ *Sep^t^*, 1760. This day is prety pleasant for the season. I went with Cap^t^ Hart to find our horse, which we fear^d^ had got lost. After traveling about 2 or 3 miles, found him. To day Corp^l^ Bradford of my company came from Ticondaroga, & brings news of L^t^ Pope being sick, & that Tho^s^ Hoole of my comp^y^ is dead; but the time when he died he cannot tell. Just before night arived a regiment of Highlanders from Montreal on their way to their winter quarters, which is to be at Hallifax, as I hear.

Sunday, 28^th^ *Sep^t^*, 1760. This day is very rainy & stormy. I spent most of the day in my tent. In the afternoon went down to y^e^ landing to see the Highland Reg^t^ & the Royall Scotch Reg^t^ embarque for Ticondaroga, & they are to make the best of their way to winter quarters. Our camps be now very sickly; there is not above a third part of the men now in camp that are fit for duty, & there dies more or less every day.

Monday, 29^th^ *Sep^t^* This day very rainy & cold. I am off duty, & spent most part of the day in tent, for it was exceeding bad walking out, being nothing but mud & water, & very stormy. Joshua Chever has come into our mess. Nath^l^ Henderson is come up the lake sick with a flux. Seven men died last night in the provincials, & they will most all die if this weather holds, & they fare no better. I spent most part of the afternoon in L^t^ Burrills house, as he has a fine fire place.

Tuseday, 30*th Sept.*, 1760. Last night Timothy Townsend of my comp. died in hospital, & this morning was buryed. I have care of 80 men to git the cannon out of the Ligoneir, & hawl up the battoes & boards, that was drove and houe on the shore last night in the storme. About 2 oclock was dismissed. I returnd to camp & made report to the Brigadier of my days work. It now comes on rainy & stormy, & I fear will be bad again to night. About 4 oclock P.M. a gent^l^ brought me a number of letters, wherein I found 4 for me, — 2 from my spouse, one from brother Nathan, & one from brother John, — all dated in Aug^t^, with the agreable news of their being in health, & a small peice from brother Jenks with news, &c., which is as cold waters to a thirsty

land. After perusing them I went to cabbin; we lodg well a nights, & thats all.

Wednsday, the 1st *of October*, 1760. This day I am off duty; the weather wett & lowrey. The most part of the day we are obliged to set in the cabbins with our feet wrapt in our blanketts to keep them warm; & here we sett talking & disputing of maters in love & matrimony & other diversion to pass away such tedious weather, & to bring our campeign to an end, as all we have now to do is only fatigue & nothing to be got nor nothing more to be fought for in America; so I don't think any ways out of character to wish an end to our fatigues, for no honnour is to be got at fatigueing.

Thirsday, 2d *October*, 1760. To day its sumthing more pleasant than has been for these several days, altho it looks angry & lowery yet. I have been out to look for our horse & cow, which were missing; the latter is found, but the former I fear is lost or stole. I have had several walks with Capt Hart & Ensn Newhall, to find our horse, but they were all fruitless. Almost all the artelery is got on shore & drawn up on the bank, which I beleive will be vseless in this country for ye future.

Fryday, 3 *October*, 1760. The weather is quite pleasant & agreable. I have been out to walk to find our horse, & found him. Returnd I heard that Jacob Hasey of my company is dead of the small pox, & one more not like to live. To day Genl Johnson arived here from Montreal, on his way home. Genl Whitmore's regt is arived, & they are to garison this place this winter.

Saturday, 4th *October*, 1760. To day am off duty. The weather quite pleasant & warm. I took great satisfaction in walking round the incampment & fort to see the works. Several vessels came up the lake. Colo Havaland is arived, & a lord that commands Whitmores regt I am in hopes that we shall have good weather now, so that the fort may be got forward before cold weather, that we may git forward to our province before winter.

Sunday, 5th *October*, 1760. This is a very fine day; I am apt to think its a weather breeder. I spent most of the day in walking to take the air & helping Capt Harris, who has been sick aboue a fortnight, & to day has got out to ride a little in order to git strength. Ater sunsett we had a sermon preacht on the parade by one of our chaplains from Psalms 63–3. This is the only one I have heard from our chaplains. He stood 8 minutes by the watch.

Monday, 6th *October*, 1760. Yesterday 3 of my men deserted, viz., Wm. Critchett, Benja Hallowell, & Michal Conoly, & Ebenr Osgood & Wm. Dinsmore is dead. My company begins to grow small by death & desertion. I have been out this morning, & there is vast numbers of pegions flying & geese. To day Joseph Hasey & Jno Conore arived here from Isle Noir in a very bad state of health. I fear Hasey will not recover. This day spent in visiting.

Tuseday, 7th *Octob*r, 1760. To day I am off duty. Fine plesant weather. I went out to walk as usual in order to git a better air than we have in camp, which is almost infectious; such numbers of sick & dead men allways in camp. I hear that the Rhoad Island regt has got the spotted fever amongst them, which is as bad in an army as the plague, as the regular docter says. Great numbers desert every night.

Wednsday, 8th *Octo*br, 1760. To day I have care of a party to work in the fort. At noon Joseph Hasey of my company died. He is the 7th man I have lost in six weeks past, & I fear he is not the last, for have several dangerously sick now. To day the prize row galley came up the lake with men that are discharged, as I hear, as did ye Grand Dioble.[1] To day the sick are mustered, in order to send sum home for New England.

Thirsday, 9th *Octob*r. To day am of duty. I wrote several letters home, — one to my wife, one to brother Jenks, — as I hear several of my men are to be sent home as invaleads. Last night I heard a number of wolues on the other side the lake. To day 2 of Colo Thos men were brought in, haveing deserted, to take the event of their folley.

Fryday, 10 *Octob*r, 1760. This day Ezra Pratt & Nathn Winn of my company set off for New England, haveing got their dismission, & Wm Pratt went to help the sick home. To day I recd a letter from Point Shirley with the confirmation of good news. Ensn Newhall of my company is quite ill. I have taken a great satisfaction to day in walking out without the camp to take the air. I hear Genl Amherst is expected here soon.

Saturday, 11th *October*. To day am off duty. The weather quite agreable & pleasant, which is a great feavour to the sick that set of yesterday in perticular & to the whole army in general. In the afternoon I heard that the putrid fever is brook out at the old fort, & all men are forbid going into it on any account. The evening I went & spent in Capt Baylys tent, where we concluded by drinking to wives.

Sunday, 12th *Octob*r, 1760. To day morning great numbers of brants was seen flying over the camp. The weather quite pleasant & agreable. I walked out to gain a good air. Returnd & read over all my letters. Ensn Newhall remains very ill. No regard to sacred time is paid here except a flags flying on ye fort, altho this moment I hear we are to have a sermon, so I must dress to go to meeting, — a rarity up here.

Monday, 13th *Octob*r, 1760. To day am off duty. It looks like a storm; I fear a long one. I have taken several walks about to divert myself. Last evening I spent very agreably with Esqr Goldthwait, who informd me of Mrs. Hoole's death. I am almost impatiently wishing the arival of Genl Amherst, for I understand that all ye invaleads will be sent home on his arival.

[1] The Dival of 25 September.

Tuseday, 14th *Octobr*, 1760. To day it is very rainy. There is no men on fatigue. The weather is so bad I have kept in my tent almost the day in disputeing & other diversions to pass away such dull weather, as its very vncomfortable in camp. I hear a number of letters is come from New England, but cannot find any for me. I hope soon to live without this desire of letters.

Wednsday, 15th *Octobr*, 1760. This morning I hear Genl Amherst is arived, which I find true. Last evening was in very agreable company. To day is cleard up & is fine weather. I am off duty. I spent the day in walking with several gentlemen whose company & conversation was quite agreable. At evening I had sum things prized that blonged to one of my soldiers that is dead, & I assisted other gentl on ye like ocasion.

Thirsday, 16th *Octobr*, 1760. I hear that all the inveleads are to be sent home immediately, which rejoyces me much, & that we all are to follow in about a fortnight, so hope by God's blessing soon to injoy my friends again in New England. To day I have been settleing about my soldiers things that are dead. I have lost 8 this campeign, but am in great hopes that I shall lose no more, as it now begins to be more healthy in camp.

Fryday, 17*th Octobr*, 1760. To day I have care of 112 men to work on fort. I had a smart dispute with the cheif engineer. To day I saw Mr Baldwin from New England. I have had a very pleasant tour of duty to day. I dont expect to have aboue 2 or 3 at furthest more this campeign. I hear there is great numbers of letters on the way; may I have the pleasure of receiveing sum.

Saturday, 18th *Octobr*, 1760. To day am off duty. I spent the [day] writeing & walking out round the camp to pass away the time, altho I confess that time is the most precious of all things when a person has the injoyment of his friends company & conversation; altho I have the society of social gentlemen, yet that is not so satisfactory here as else where.

Sunday, 19*th Octobr*, 1760. This day is very stormy & cold. I have wrote several letters home & intend them to be the last this campeign without sum extraordinary happens. I spent most all of the day in Capt Bailey's tent reading Milton. Ye evening I spent very agreably with Esqr Goldthwait, who tells me he soon intends for New England.

Monday, 20*th Octo*, 1760. To day am off duty. The weather clear, but now begins to be cold. I have been a walk to take the air out of camp. I hear that the invaleads are to be reviewd tomorrow by Docter Monro.[1] No news from home since 23d Sept. I heare also that the rangers are to be dismised directly.

[1] Sergeant Holden gives his name "Mun Row." 2 Proceedings, vol. iv. p. 404.

Tuseday, 21st *Octobr*, 1760. To day the weather cloudy & cold; likely for snow. I am off duty & have been to see the sick reviewed by Dr Monro, who I think is indued with much more patience than I should have; altho they are my countrymen, yet great numbers of them are a scandall to ye profission of a soldier.

Wednsday, 22d *Octobr*, 1760. Last night it snowd, for this morning the ground looks white, which makes me think of home to git a better house to lodg in than this, which is made of oznabrigs, — a very poor habitation for the inclemency of the season. Ensn Newhall has Dr Monros approbation to go home. I hope soon to follow, for am tired with this campeign.

Thirsday, 23d *Octobr*, 1760. To day am off duty. Its a very cold frosty morning, & the invaleads are prepareing to pass the lake to go home by No. 4,[1] the whole vnder command of Major Gerrish. I bleive the party consists of 500, sum so bad that I think they will never reach New England. There 2 or 3 broke out with the small pox in camp, & it keeps breaking out every full & change of the moon & not above 1 in 3 that has it lives.

Fryday, 24th *Octobr*, 1760. To day I have care of a party to work in the fort. I marcht them into the fort & stayd a while, but found my self so ill that I could not stand it. I gave charge of the party to 2 subbs that was with me & returnd to camp. I fear I am going to have a fit of sickness, for am very bad seized with a cold. To day Ens Newhall set out for home.

Saturday, 25*th Octobr*, 1760. This morning, blessed be God, I find myself much better. I hope it will go off without a setled fever, which I much feard yesterday. I have returnd my self sick, the only time I have been returnd so this campeign. I am not very zealous now for duty time. I think we ought to be dismised to git home before winter.

Sunday, 26th *Octobr*, 1760. This day I am sum better, but not so well as to be fit for duty. Esqr Goldthwait I hear has recd instructions from home to [stay] till the camp breaks up, so am like to have his company a while longer. I can hear no news at all from home. It seems they have forgot me.

Monday, 27th *Octobr*, 1760. This day we have built us a chimney to our tent, for we can no longer stand to live without a fire. To day Genl Amherst set off for Albany, & now I fear we shall be kept till ye last of November, for ye command is left to Haverland, & I know he delights to fatigue ye provincials.

Tuseday, 28th *Octobr*, 1760. To day am much better of my cold. The weather now looks winter like, & it is constantly snowing on the mountains to the N. W. of us. I spend most of my time in gossopping

[1] See note, 2 Proceedings, vol. iv. p. 404.

from one neighbour to another to pass away the tedious hours till we can be set at liberty, &c.

Wednsday, 29th *Octobr*, 1760. This is a pleasant, altho a frosty morning. Our lads has been bringing a house for them to cook in. Can see the snow on the mountains. Looks as if it wer 3 or 4 feet deep. I beleive we shall soon have a share of snow here, for it has got to be a nigh neighbour.

Thirsday, 30th *Octor*, 1760. To day prety pleasant for the season. Colo Thomas is arived from Isle Noir, after demolishing all the works & fortifications on that almost infernal island. I pray it may never have any inhabants on there any more forever, without its owls & satyrs or dragons of the deserts, but be bloted out of memory to all ages.

Fryday, 31st *Oct.r*, 1760. To day its very pleasant weather, & the commanding officer keeps all the troops on fatigue, so eager are they to git all they possibly can out of us before they dismis us. I think this parallell with ye devils rage, when he knew his time was short to plague mankind in; so I know their time is short like their masters. To day Esqr Goldthwait set off for Albany.

Saturday, 1st *November*, 1760. Last evening I saw Phineas Douglas, & he tells me his brother Joseph is gone home lame, & that his friends was all well lately. To day I have care of 100 men to work in the fort; the weather blustring & cold. I kept with the party about half ye day, & the other officers the rest. At evening it raind prety much.

Sunday, 2d *Novm*, 1760. This morning the weather quite clear & pleasant. I understand that we shall tarry till ye 20th instant, without we should git the barracks done before, & that we shall all be gone off by then whether they are done or not. To day I spent in my tent in reading & writeing. No sign at all of Sunday now, for the flag is not hoisted at all.

Monday, 3d *Novm*, 1760. To day the weather pleasant for the season; can see the tops of the mountains all covered with snow all round. I beleive we are in a warm climate compared with those mountains. I have been all round the fort twice to see how the barrack goes on. I am in hopes they will be done by ye 10th or 12th of this month; so hope to have our freedom again in short time.

Tuseday, 4*th November*, 1760. To day am off duty; the weather pleasant for the season. To day Colo Hawk & a party with him set out for No 4; they are to make a bridge over Otter Creek. I hear Major Gerrish got through to No 4 with the loss of but one or 2 of his party. The party of 80 sent by Major Hobble to Albany, I hear 70 of them are dead; & another small party sent that way since, I hear 18 of them are gone the way of all flesh. So frail a creature is man!

Wednsday, 5th November, 1760, *Powder Plot.* This day all the carpenters that can work on the barrocks was ordred to assist those already on that work; & the masons will have done their barrock fit for the carpenters in 2 days more. I have been round the fort to see the works, and they go on quite briskly, for the provincials are of the mind that we shall be discharg^{d} as soon as the barrocks are covered; so by that rule we shall march for home by the 10th or 12th instant.

Thirsday, 6th November, 1760. Last evening the provincials, as it was Pope Night, kept fireing all over the camps. Altho all possible care was taken to detect them & suppress the fire, yet they kept a constant fireing & squibing in defirent parts of the incampments till bed time. This day I am off duty; the weather quite warm for the season. Have had several walks round the fort to see the works, & they will be so far compleated as to admit of our dismission in about a week at furthest.

Fryday, 7th November, 1760. To day I am on duty at drawing timber into the fort. I had a task which I finished before noon; this is the only task I have had on the works this campeign. In the afternoon I spent my time very agreably in walking out with several gentlemen to git a better air than can be injoyd in camp. Last night 2 of Cap^{t} Butterfields men died suddenly.

Saturday, 8th November, 1760. This morning rainy & lowry; looks quite like for bad weather, which has kept off for a great while. However, the working party kept at work till night. To day the brigg was sent to Ticondaroga to be hawled up for to winter. The camp ladys now, like the swallows, are seeking a more convenient climate to winter in, for they are packing off.

Sunday, 9th *Novm.*, 1760. To day exceeding stormy, haveing rain^{d} & snowd all night. I lay a bed till ten oclock. In the afternoon returned all my arms into the ship stores, as its orders for the first & second battell, to return all their arms in. I hope now soon to be on my march for home, for certainly they dont intend us for any more fighting. Just at night it cleard up, but too late for the working party to turn out.

Monday, 10*th Nov*^{m}, 1760. To day the weather quite pleasant, considering the climate & season. To day Rufus Hayward of my company was carry^{d} to the hospitall sick with the small pox; I fear it will go hard with him. To day I gave warrents to sum of my serjants to clear them from the melitious officers at home, for I think to good to be hawl^{d} out by them.

Tuseday, 11*th Nov*^{r}, 1760. To day am off duty. The weather cold & churlish. Last night John Connore of my company died in the hospitall; he is the 10th man I have lost, & I fear that is not all. We continue working on the fort & barracks to compleat them, so that the troops that winter here may be comfortable.

*Wednsday, y^e^ 12th Nov^m^*, 1760. To day a large party of invaleads was sent home by No. 4, under the care of Col^o^ Whitcomb; & another party that are not able to go by No. 4, is going by Albany under the care of Col^o^ Saltonstall, so that we shall not have any sick left in camp I hope when these are gone.

Thirsday, 13th November, 1760. To day I have care of 100 men in drawing up the cannon brought from y^e^ Island Noir, & drew up 33 before the working partys left off. To day Col^o^ Saltonstall set out with his party of sick for Albany. The weather is very cold, & looks now like snow; its the coldest day we have had this fall.

*Fryday, 14th Nov^m^*, 1760. Last night it snowd best part of the night, & this morning the snow is about 6 inches deep on a levell, & extreame cold & windey. Yet our good friends the regulars turnd out the proventials on fatigue sooner than usual, & kept their own men off of the works. To day Cap^t^ Hart & my self had our horse shod, & frowed to cary our packs to No. 4.

Saturday, 15th November, 1760. Last night was an extreame cold one; however I lay comfortably, considering I had no covering for a house but a Oznbrigg tabernakle. To day there is no drum beat for the works, & we have orders to make a return of all invaleads able & unable for march, & I beleive that we shall soon be on our march for the pumkin country. I almost dread our passage to No. 4; its about a 100 miles & now its bad traveling. To day Cap^t^ Bayley was carried to the hospitall, being ill with the small pox, & L^t^ Putnam is ille of y^e^ same.

*Sunday, 16th Nov^m^*, 1760. To day Cap^t^ Page of our batt^ll^ was sent off with a party of 60 well men to No. 4. Yesterday a stage on the barrock gave way, by which means 3 men fell from the roof that were shingleing, & hurt themselves so much that their lives are dispaired of. To day a party of provincials was sent to Ticondaroga for provisions. After we haue work^d^ on the fort till y^e^ cold drove us off, now we have provisions to bring here for all the garisson, under y^e^ pretence of bringing it for us to carry us to No. 4. I perceive that its Sunday to day, for y^e^ flag is flying. I hear this morning that several of the regulars cows are dead, — froze to death last night; but I had rather think sum of our rouges helped them because they are almost outragious at being kept here in camp at this season. I heard that Col^o^ Haverland, going round the fort, fell down & broke his leg. Poor man! I am sorry it was his leg. To day orders came for all the tools to [be] return^d^ in, & all the arteficers to be paid off tomorrow.

Monday, 17^th^ November, 1760. To day a party was sent up to Ticondaroga with our baker to bake bread to carry us to No 4, our oven here being fell in & rendred useless. In the afternoon we had orders to march to Ticondaroga, & take 8 days provisions to cary us to

No. 4. The weather is so bad that the carpenters cannot work, or we should tarry 3 days longer.

Tuseday, 18*th Nov*^{m}., 1760. This morning about day break we struck our tents & dliverd them in, & march off about 8 oclock A. M. I am rejoyced to be on a march again. We arived at Ticondaroga about 3 oclock P. M., and were till 10 oclock at night gitting over the lake. The weather tedious cold. I have a bad pain in my right knee that I can hardly march with y^{e} regiment.

Wednsday, 19*th Nov*^{m}, 1760. This morning we tarry here waiting for our bread to be baked. The weather extreame cold. I lay very comfortably by a large fire without any hut or tent, & now it looks homish, as the man said by his barn, altho we are but just seting out. My knee so lame, I fear I shall have a bad time through y^{e} woods, but desire to put my trust in Him that can do all things according to his pleasure, & go as well & far as I can. Set off about 10 oclock, & marcht till about 3 oclock & campt.

Thirsday, 20*th Nov*^{m}., 1760. Last night lay very well by a large fire; the weather extream cold, & the way exceeding bad. We have come about 14 miles. We marcht off this morning about sunrise, & march on through extreame bad way about 15 miles, & passd by a man left on the road burnt by falling in the fire. He was left with 2 others to take care of, who, when the poor creature fell into a sleep, took all the provisions & marcht of & left him, first covering him over with hemlock boughs, & reported that he was dead, & they had buried him. These villians were whipt — one 500 lashes, y^{e} other 250 — for their inhumanity, by order of a court martial @ No 4.

Fryday, 21st *Nov*^{m}, 1760. Last night lay by a fire; it snowd sum in the night. Set off this morning by day, & marcht on in exceeding bad way & came to Otter Creek, & campt just by a wolfe killd by sum of our men & laid by the way.

Saturday, 22^{d} *Nov*^{r}., 1760. Set of early, & past Otter Creek, & kept on over the height of land. Met Col Whitcomb & several horses going for sum sick.

Sunday, 23^{d} *Nov*^{m}, 1760. Set off early throug vast mountains, & went over sum reacht almost to the clouds, & got into the road hard by y^{e} Hamshire troops.

Monday, 24*th Nov*^{m}., 1760. Set off about 4 oclock. Raind steady all day. Have 16 mile to N^{o} 4.

Tuseday, 25*th Nov*^{m}, 1760. Continued at No 4. Mustred my men & sent them off. To day 2 provincial was whipt for ——— [1]

[1] Sergeant Holden's Journal supplies the blank under the same date. "Two men that was Confin'd for Burying a man alive in N^{o} 4 woods Rec^{d} their punishment, one Rec^{d} 500 Lashes, the other 100." Though perhaps there is some con-

Wednsday, 26 *Nov^m^*, 1760. I waited here last night for Cap^t^ Hart, &c. Set off about 7 oclock A. M. Have now none to take care off but my self, as all my company are dismissed & gone home before me.

The Rev. Dr. LUCIUS R. PAIGE communicated a copy of a part of a diary of a British officer, kept during the Revolutionary War, and said: —

Several of our associates well remember the late Samuel Batchelder, Sr., of Cambridge, who wrote some history, and by his inventions and labors furnished materials for other historians. One of his granddaughters, Mrs. Frances B. Troup (*née* James), now residing at Rockbeare, near Exeter, England, is an enthusiastic student and explorer. Among other treasures, she has found what she describes as an unpublished "Diary kept by a British officer during our Revolution. . . . This officer was Lieutenant (afterward, I think, Colonel) Mackenzie, who was in the Twenty-third Regiment, otherwise called the Royal Welsh Fusileers." She obtained permission of the owners that her husband, Mr. John Rose Troup, might copy that portion of the Diary which describes the expedition to Lexington on the 19th of April, 1775. This copy she sent to me about four months ago; and at my suggestion she subsequently procured authority for me to communicate it to this Society. I think a description of that memorable "passage of arms," as seen through English eyes, by one who was personally engaged in it, cannot be devoid of interest; and therefore, as I have seldom trespassed on your patience heretofore, and in all probability shall trespass less frequently, if at all, hereafter, I bespeak your indulgence while I read a portion or perhaps the whole of it.

Description of the Battle of Lexington, by Lieutenant Mackenzie of the Royal Welsh Fusileers.

19^th^ April, 1775. At 7 o'clock this morning a Brigade order was received by our Regiment, dated at 6 o'clock, for the 1^st^ Brigade to assemble at ½ past 7 on the Grand Parade. We accordingly assembled the Regiment with the utmost expedition, and with the 4^th^ and 47^th^ were on the parade at the hour appointed, with one day's provisions. By some mistake the Marines did not receive the order until the other

fusion of dates, and his reference is to the incident above under date of November 20. 2 Proceedings, vol. iv. p. 406.

Regiments of the Brigade were assembled, by which means it was half past 8 o'clock before the Brigade was ready to march. Here we understood that we were to march out of town to support the troops that went out last night. — A quarter before nine, we marched in the following order, Advanced Guard of a Captain and 50 men, 2 Six pounders, 4th Regt., 47th Regt., 1st Battn of Marines, 23rd Regt. or Royal Welsh Fusileers. Rear Guard, of a Captain & 50 men. The whole under the Command of Brigadier General, Earl Percy.

We went out of Boston by the Neck, and marched through Roxbury, Cambridge and Menotomy, towards Lexington. In all the places we marched through, and in the houses on the road, few or no people were to be seen; and the houses were in general shut up. When we arrived near Lexington, some persons who came from Concord, informed that the Grenadiers & Light Infantry were at that place, and that some persons had been killed and wounded by them early in the morning at Lexington. As we pursued our march, about 2 o'clock we heard some straggling shots fired about a mile in our front; as we advanced we heard the firing plainer and more frequent, and at half after 2, being near the Church at Lexington, and the fire increasing, we were ordered to form the Line, which was immediately done by extending on each side of the road, but by reason of the Stonewalls and other obstructions, it was not formed in so regular a manner as it should have been.

The Grenadiers & Light Infantry were at this time retiring towards Lexington, fired upon by the Rebels, who took every advantage the face of the country afforded them. As soon as the Grenadiers & Light Infantry perceived the 1st Brigade drawn up for their support, they shouted repeatedly, and the firing ceased for a short time. — The ground we first formed upon was something elevated, and commanded a view of that before us for about a mile, where it was terminated by some pretty high grounds covered with wood. The village of Lexington lay between both parties. — We could observe a considerable number of the Rebels, but they were much scattered and not above 50 of them to be seen in a body in any place. Many lay concealed behind the Stone wall & fences. They appeared most numerous in the road near the Church, and in a wood in the front and on the left flank of the line where our Regiment was posted. A few Cannonshot were fired at those on & near the road, which dispersed them. The flank Companies now retired and formed behind the brigade, which was soon fired upon by the Rebels most advanced. A brisk fire was returned, but without much effect. As there was a piece of open morassy ground in front of the left of our Regiment, it would have been difficult to have passed it under the fire of the Rebels from behind the trees and walls on the other side. Indeed no part of the Brigade was ordered to advance; we

therefore drew up near the morass, in expectation of orders how to act, sending an officer for one of the 6 pounders. During this time the Rebels endeavoured to gain our flanks, and crept into the covered ground on either side, and as close as they could in front, firing now & then in perfect security. We also advanced a few of our best marksmen who fired at those who shewed themselves.

About ¼ past 3, Earl Percy having come to a resolution of returning to Boston, and having made his disposition for that purpose, our Regiment received orders to form the Rear Guard. We immediately lined the walls and other cover in our front with some marksmen, and retired from the right of Companies by files to the high ground a small distance in our rear, where we again formed in line, and remained in that position for near half an hour, during which time the flank companies & the other Regiments of the Brigade, began their march in one column on the road towards Cambridge. — As the country for many miles round Boston & in the neighbourhood of Lexington & Concord, had by this time had notice of what was doing, as well by the firing as from expresses which had been from Boston & the adjacent places in all directions, numbers of armed men on foot & on horseback, were continually coming from all parts, guided by the fire, and before the Column had advanced a mile on the road, we were fired at from all quarters, but particularly from the houses on the roadside & the adjacent stone walls. Several of the troops were killed & wounded in this way, and the soldiers were so enraged at suffering from an unseen enemy, that they forced open many of the houses from which the fire proceeded & put to death all those found in them. These houses would certainly have been burnt had any fire been found in them, or had there been time to kindle any, but only three or four near where we first formed suffered in this way. — As the troops drew nearer to Cambridge the number & fire of the Rebels increased, & although they did not shew themselves openly in a body in any part, except on the road in our rear, our men threw away their fire very inconsiderately, and without being certain of its effect; this emboldened them & induced them to draw nearer, but whenever a Cannonshot was fired at any considerable number, they instantly dispersed. Our Regiment having formed the Rear Guard for near 7 miles, & expended a great part of its ammunition, was then relieved by the Marines, which was the next Battalion in the Column. — Lord Percy judging that the returning to Boston by way of Cambridge (where there was a bridge over Charles river, which might either be broken down or require to be forced) and Roxbury, might be attended with some difficulties & many inconveniences, took the resolution of returning by way of Charlestown, which was the shortest road and which could be defended against any number of Rebels. Accordingly where the roads

separate, the Column took that to the left, & passing over Charlestown Neck, drew up on the heights just above, & which command it. This was about 7 o'clock in the evening. — During the march the Marines had been relieved in the duty of forming the Rear Guard by the 47th Regiment, and that Corps by the 4th. — The Grenadiers and Light Infantry being exceedingly fatigued by their long march, kept at the head of the Column, where indeed, latterly the fire was nearly as severe as in the rear. During the whole of the march from Lexington the Rebels kept an incessant irregular fire from all points at the Column, which was the more galling as our flanking parties, which at first were placed at sufficient distances to cover the march of it, were at last, from the different obstructions they occasionally met with, obliged to keep almost close to it. Our men had very few opportunities of getting good shots at the Rebels, as they hardly ever fired but under cover of a stone wall, from behind a tree, or out of a house; and the moment they had fired they lay down out of sight until they had loaded again, or the Column had passed. In the road indeed in our rear, they were not numerous and came on pretty close, frequently calling out, "*King Hancock forever*"! — Many of them were killed in the houses on the road side from whence they fired; in some of them 7 or 8 men were destroyed. Some houses were forced open in which no person could be discovered, but when the Column had passed, numbers sallied out from some place in which they had lain concealed, fired at the rear Guard, and augmented the numbers which followed us. — If we had had time to set fire to these houses many Rebels must have perished in them, but as night drew on Lord Percy thought it best to continue the march. Many houses were plundered by the soldiers, notwithstanding the efforts of the officers to prevent it. I have no doubt this influenced the Rebels, & many of them followed us further than they would otherwise have done. By all accounts some soldiers who stayed too long in the houses were killed in the very act of plundering by those who lay concealed in them. We brought in about ten prisoners, some of whom were taken in arms. One or two more were killed on the march while prisoners by the fire of their own people. — Few or no women or children were to be seen throughout the day. As the country had undoubted intelligence that some troops were to march out, and the Rebels were probably determined to attack them, it is generally supposed that they had previously removed their families from the neighbourhood. — As soon as the troops had passed Charlestown Neck the Rebels ceased firing. A negro (the only one [who] was seen to fire at the King's troops) was wounded near the houses close to the Neck, out of which the Rebels fired to the last. — When the troops had drawn up on the heights above Charlestown Neck, & had remained there about half an hour, Lord Percy ordered the Grenadiers & Light

Infantry to march down into Charlestown; they were followed by the Brigade, which marched off by the right, the 4th Regiment leading & the 23rd being in the rear. Boats being ready to receive them, the wounded men were first embarked then the flank companies of the 4th & 47th. The boats returned with the picquets of the 2nd & 3rd brigades, the 10th Regt & 200 of the 64th who had been brought up from Fort William. These troops were under the Command of Brigadier General Pigot, & were ordered to take possession of Charlestown & the heights commanding the Neck. As these movements took up a considerable time, the 23rd & the Marines were ordered into the Townhouse. Here we remained for two hours, when the boats being ready we marched out & embarked, but it was past 12 at night before the whole of our Regiment was landed at the North end, Boston, from whence we marched to our Barracks. Lieut Rooke of the 4th Regiment, aide de camp to General Gage, marched out in the morning with the first Brigade, and just as the firing began he was sent back by Lord Percy to inform the General of the situation of affairs, but as he was obliged to cross the country & keep out of the road in order to avoid the numerous parties of Rebels who were coming from all parts to join those who had attacked us, he did not arrive in Boston, by way of Charlestown till past 4 o'clock. Lord Percy behaved with great spirit throughout this affair & at the same time with great coolness. His determination to return by way of Charlestown prevented the loss of many men.

Return of the Killed, Wounded, & missing in the action of the 19th April, 1775.

Corps.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.
4th	7	25	8
5th	5	15	1
10th	1	13	1
18th	1	4	1
23rd	4	26	6
38th	4	12	–
43rd	4	5	2
47th	5	22	–
52nd	3	2	1
59th	3	3	–
Marines	31	38	2
Artillery	—	2	–
Total	68	167	22

Officers not included.

Names of Officers Wounded.

Regt.		
4th	Lieut: Knight	Died 20th April.
"	Lieut: Gould	In the foot.
5th	Lieut. T. Baker	Hand.

5th	Lieut: Hawksham	Cheek.
"	Lieut: Cox	Arm.
10th	Lt: Col: Smith	Leg.
"	Capt Parsons	Arm. Contusion.
"	Lt Kelly	Arm.
"	Ensign Lister	Arm.
23rd	Lt: Col: Bernard	Thigh.
38th	Lt: Sutherland	Breast. Slight.
43rd	Lieut: Hull	Body. Died 2nd May.
47th	Lt: McLeod	Breast.
"	Lt: Baldwin	Throat.
Marines	Capt: Souter	Leg.
"	Lt: McDonald	Slight.
"	Lt: Potter	Slight.

Return of the Rank & file of the Royal Welsh Fusileers, under arms in the action of Lexington, 19th April, 1775.

Grenadier Company	29	Rank & file.
Light Infantry Company	35	do.
Light Battalion Cos	218	
Total	282	

The loss of the King's Troops is stated as above. It is almost impossible to ascertain the loss of the Rebels, but in the opinion of most persons, they must have lost above 300 men, most of whom were killed. It is extremely difficult to say what number of men they had opposed to us, as their numbers were continually increasing, but I imagine that there was not less than 4,000 actually assembled towards the latter part of the day. The whole of the King's troops did not exceed 1,500 men.

Prof. ALBERT BUSHNELL HART then read the following paper on the relations between Harvard College and the First Church in Cambridge: —

After the laborious and scholarly researches of the three learned historians of Harvard College, — Peirce, Quincy, and Eliot, — and the numerous monographs and publications containing obscure sources, there seems little left for any investigator to discover or for any essayist to say upon the early history of that venerable institution. The planting and the growth of the First Church in Cambridge have also been treated by Dr. McKenzie in his careful and graphic lectures, delivered from 1870 to 1872 and published in 1873. It has nevertheless occurred to me to search out and to correlate the more important facts regarding the relations between the

two organizations which for two centuries and a half have been neighbors, friends, and coadjutors, and to supplement them by an examination of a portion of the unpublished church and college records. The paper is by no means exhaustive, and I shall be grateful for any suggestions or corrections from members of the Society. The substance of the paper was read Feb. 10, 1890, at a meeting of the Shepard Historical Society of Cambridge.

The relations between Harvard College and the First Church in Cambridge go back to the foundation of both in 1636. On February 1 of that year was gathered the little church which has since so wonderfully prospered; on October 28 of the same year the General Court took the first steps toward the foundation of the college. "For place," says a contemporary,[1] "they fix their eye upon *New-Town*, which to tell their Posterity whence they came, is now named *Cambridg*, and withal to make the whole world understand, that spiritual learning was the thing they chiefly desired, to sanctifie the other, and make the whole lump holy, and that learning being set upon its right object, might not contend for error instead of truth; they chose this place, being then under the Orthodox, and soul-flourishing Ministery of Mr. *Thomas Shepheard*, of whom it may be said, without any wrong to others, the Lord by his Ministery hath saved many a hundred soul." "This Town is compact closely within it selfe, . . . it hath well ordered streets and comly pompleated with the faire building of *Harver* Colledge . . . the people of this Church and Towne have hitherto had the chiefest share in spirituall blessings, the Ministry of the Word."[2] Johnson's favorable opinion of Cambridge, as a college town, has never been seriously disputed; and a similar thought was more mellifluously stated in 1801 by Dr. Holmes, then a minister of the church: "It is generally conceded that this town eminently combines the tranquillity of philosophic solitude, with the choicest pleasures and advantages of refined society."[3] So close is the relation of site between church and college, that the present college yard includes the site of the second, third, and fourth meeting-houses of the First Church, and of the house which was for many years the parsonage and the property of the parish. The college, thus

[1] Johnson's Wonder-Working Providence (Poole's reprint), p. 164.
[2] Ibid., pp. 61, 62.
[3] Holmes's Cambridge, p. 6.

attracted by the church, became in turn the centre near which the successive church-buildings were placed.

The erection, the alteration, and the repair of those buildings again closely connect the church and the college. The first edifice, near the present corner of Mt. Auburn and Dunster streets, was constructed before the college; but the second building was set on "Watch-House Hill," not far from the present site of Dane Hall. I have not been able to find any statement that the college contributed to the building of this church; but in "An Inventory of the whole estate of Harv^{d} Colledge, taken by the President & Felows as they find the same to be Decemb. 10, 1654," one item is: "The East Gallery in Cambr. meeting house for the use of the Students, vallued at 30^{lb}." [1] It is altogether probable, therefore, that the college bore its part in the expense of that building. In December, 1691, the Corporation ordered, "That £5 be allowed towards y^{e} repairing of y^{e} meeting-house in Cambr. Provided y^{t} this present allowance shall not be drawn into a precedent for y^{e} future and y^{t} the select men shall renounce all expectation of such a thing for y^{e} future." [2] With more liberality than consistency, we find a vote in 1703, "that the Sum of Sixty pounds be allowed out of the Colledg Treasury tow^{ds} the building a new meeting house in Cambridg." [3] Three years later, they voted to "take care for the building of a pew for the President's family in the meeting house now a building, and about the students' seats in said meeting-house," — the third used by the church.[4] In 1717 the Corporation agreed to pay one seventh of the cost of enlarging the meeting-house, "Provided the frontier gallery that now is, wth the two wings, shal, as of right it ought to be, and as their necessity calls for it, be surrendered to the use of the scholars." [5] A similar promise to pay one seventh the expense of repairs was made in 1746.[6] When the fourth meeting-house was built,

[1] College Book, No. 3, p. 42. This entry was overlooked by the parish committee of 1850 in their laborious "Report on the Connection at various Times existing between the First Parish in Cambridge and Harvard College," which is the basis of much of this part of the paper.

[2] Report on the Connection, etc., p. 5. The citation in the Report is incorrect, and I have been unable to find the passage.

[3] Report, etc., p. 5; College Book, Nos. 4, 5, p. 23.

[4] Report, etc., p. 5; College Book, Nos. 4, 5, p. 26.

[5] Report, etc., pp. 5, 6; College Book, Nos. 4, 5, p. 60.

[6] Report, etc., pp. 6, 7; College Book, Nos. 4, 5, p. 268.

in 1756, the college agreed to bear one seventh of the cost and to surrender a strip of land, provided "that there be a Liberty, for the Pres^{dt} of the College to Cart into his back yard, viz. at the back side of the s^{d} New-Meeting-house, wood, hay, boards, &c., for his own, or the College's use, as there shall be occasion for it." [1] The æsthetic influence so often exercised by the college was shown when the Corporation proposed to give up a piece of land from the President's orchard, so that the house might be set farther back, "which situation also . . . will render the appearance of it, much more beautiful"; it also consented to a change in the interior of the proposed building on the double ground that the original plan was "considerably displeasing to the People," and that the new one "will add to the Beauty of the House." [2] The President was allowed his choice from the first four pews.[3] A cunning parish committee, however, was appointed "to measure the New Meeting house and to see if the Coolege have not, according to the settlement made with them, . . . more than a seventh part of the room in the House, and if they have to desire the Corporation to reduce it to that proportion." [4] From 1753 to 1833 most of the Commencements and inaugurations were held in this building.

In 1814 the college began to hold Sabbath services in the new chapel in University Hall,[5] and relinquished the use of the front gallery in the meeting-house. After the division of the church from the parish in 1829, the Corporation took no part in the construction of the modern building put up on Mount Auburn Street in 1831 by the Orthodox Shepard Congregational Society, which was formed about the church; nor in the construction of the present Shepard Church, on Garden Street. The First Parish Society continued in the occupation of the old meeting-house. After the settlement of Mr. Newell in 1830 over the Unitarian church formed in connection with the parish, negotiations were entered upon between the college and the parish for the acquirement by the college of the site of the meeting-house and nearly

[1] Report, etc., pp. 9–13; College Book, No. 7, pp. 29, 53. This generosity is somewhat tempered by the accompanying vote, "That there shall be a Petition put in to the General Court . . . to giue us such Help in that affair, as to their Wisdom & Goodness shall seem meet."

[2] Report, etc., p. 13; College Book, No. 7, p. 55.

[3] Report, etc., p. 24. [4] Ibid., p. 14.

[5] Harvard Book, vol. i. p. 91 (on Dr. Palfrey's authority).

adjacent parsonage. On May 9, 1832, the parish voted to accept the proposition of the Corporation, to furnish a lot next south of the burying-ground, and to put up a building thereon to cost ten thousand dollars, in exchange for which the old site went to the college.[1] The bargain, considered at the time an excellent one for both sides, inured to the great benefit of the college, which thus completed its front upon Harvard Street, and its exclusive possession of the college yard. The old building, which had received within its walls most of the great men of New England and many eminent foreign visitors, was torn down in 1833, and hardly a trace remains.[2] The influence of the college on the new building was not confined to its construction. President Quincy subscribed one hundred dollars toward a steeple, and half the expense of a vane. In 1835 the Corporation subscribed five hundred dollars toward a clock, and assumed the care of it.[3] The college was assured the occupancy of the northern gallery and of a President's pew, and the use of the building on four public occasions yearly, and to continue the "gallery money"[4] of seventy dollars a year, and in 1847 agreed to bear one seventh of the expense of repairs.[5]

Of the use of the old meeting-house from 1756 to 1833, many quaint reminiscences are preserved. It was customary for the disputants at Commencement to place themselves in opposite galleries, and to exchange arguments across the assembly below. Dr. John Pierce in his journal complains of the "theatrical musick"[6] of the Commencement of 1806. A procession was formed which included General Lafayette in 1824, and "which proceeded to the meeting-house amid continual shouts of assembled throngs."[7] In 1828 "the meetinghouse was less crowded than usual."[8] In 1833 he tells us that "the concluding oration of the Bachelors, by Bowen, was a sober, chaste performance. The manner of his bidding adieu to the old meetinghouse, as this was to be the last Com-

[1] Report, etc., pp. 16–31, 51. The college actually spent on the building $12,500.

[2] It brought $362.76. Some of the old pillars supporting the gallery in 1790 still supported the roof of a piazza on Mt. Auburn Street in 1890.

[3] Report, etc., pp. 21, 31, 33, 39.

[4] Ibid., p. 50.

[5] Ibid., p. 51.

[6] Ante, p. 171.

[7] Ante, p. 191.

[8] Ante, p. 198.

mencement observed in it, was peculiarly touching to those whose associations with it were the strongest."[1] A member of the Historical Society who was present on that day and himself had the second English oration, informs me that Mr. Andrews thus addressed the walls about him: "Tibi gratias damus, quod non in capiti nostri ruisti."

Not only did the college aid the parish in its meeting-houses, but the church has many times generously contributed to the college. When, in 1672, a subscription was taken up throughout the Colony for the construction of the new building, Cambridge liberally subscribed £199, or nearly one tenth of the total amount.[2] It is impossible, in most cases, to separate the benefactions of the church and its members from those of the other people of the Colony; but the building-committee appointed in 1672 consisted of "Deacon John Cooper and M[r] William Manning, of Cambridge."[3] The first two ministers of the church had each an elaborate plan for the support of the college. Thomas Shepard submitted a memorial to the Commissioners of the United Colonies, asking a collection throughout New England for the poor scholars;[4] and that collection was duly made and gratefully received. Jonathan Mitchell proposed "A Model for the Education of Hopeful Students at the Colledge in Cambridge." Cotton Mather tells us that it was a scheme for subscriptions for a term of years out of which scholars were to be supported "until they had either *performed* such profitable services as were imposed on them in the Colledge it self, or *prepared* themselves for other services abroad in the world."[5] In its essential features, therefore, it was not unlike the present "Price Greenleaf Aid," the most recent and wisest form of assistance to students. William Brattle, minister of the church in 1717, willed £250 to the college;[6] and his successor, Nathaniel Appleton, willed £26 in addition to previous direct gifts.[7] It is impossible to assemble or to estimate the benefactions in money from the members of this church, continued as they have been from 1636 to 1890.

[1] Ante, p 211.

[2] "Cambridge & the village" subscribed £199.01.08 to the "new edifice." College Book, No. 3, p. 57.

[3] College Book, No. 3, p. 55.

[4] Text in Hazard, vol. ii. p. 17.

[5] Cotton Mather's Magnalia, book iv., Life of Mitchell, § 13.

[6] McKenzie's First Church, p. 135.

[7] Ibid., p. 158.

The college in its turn has, throughout its history, assisted in the support of public worship in the First Church. Among the disbursements of President Dunster appear: "To 6 students for writing for y^e^ churches 002 07 06½." [1] Dr. McKenzie, who has made some investigation on this subject, says that "at one time the scholars made their contribution, which was entered by itself, and appropriated according to their wish for the benefit of the minister"; and that the fee for a supply "seems to have been increased by the gifts of the students." [2]

March 19, 1750, a committee was appointed by the parish "To treat with y^e^ Governors of y^e^ College, in order to their being assisting of said precinct in y^e^ support of Mr. Appleton." [3] The collections from the scholars' gallery were so scanty that in 1760 the Corporation agreed that the box should not be passed in their gallery, but that the students should each be taxed in their quarterly bills "ninepence lawful money." The sum thus obtained, called "gallery money," was paid toward the support of the minister; and in 1814, when the college began to hold its own Sunday services, had reached about seventy dollars; that sum, seventy dollars, continued to be paid annually down to the division of the churches in 1829. [4] The Shepard Congregational Society received, in 1850, sixty dollars annually from the college, which has ever since provided pews for the accommodation of those students who have preferred the Shepard Church, and is now paying five hundred dollars a year for that purpose. From 1831 to 1850 the University paid seventy dollars a year to the First Parish Society, and still keeps up pew-rents in the Unitarian church. These sums have constantly been increased by the voluntary offerings of students worshipping with the congregations.

I have several times alluded to the fact that down to 1814 the First Church was the only place for Sabbath worship. Here, in the persons of the ministers of the church and of their exchanges, the students and officers of the college have always enjoyed the opportunity of hearing the most notable preachers of New England. Increase Mather, the President, says in his

[1] College Book, No. 3, p. 11.

[2] McKenzie, Lectures on the History of the First Church in Cambridge, pp. 130, 133.

[3] Report, etc., p. 9.

[4] Ibid., pp. 15, 16.

diary in 1693: "As I was riding to preach at Cambridge, I prayed to God, — begged that my labors might be blessed to the souls of the students; at the which I was much melted."[1] Cotton Mather describes the daily prayers in the hall "besides what *sermons* he [the President] saw cause to preach in publick Assemblies on the *Lord's Day* at *Cambridge*, where the Students have a particular *Gallery* allotted unto them."[2] And elsewhere he says of his father: "By Preaching often at *Cambridge*, he made his visits yet more profitable unto them."[3] The first Commencement of Harvard College, in 1642, was held in the first edifice of this church. "They were young men of good hope," says John Winthrop, "and performed their acts so as gave good proof of their proficiency in the tongues and arts."[4] Down to 1833 the successive Commencements were held in the meeting-houses of this church. In 1756 the Corporation agreed to make good all the damage that should be done to said house by their use of it on Commencement Day, and other public occasions when they make use of the same.[5] This agreement was renewed in 1815, and again in 1833.[6] The Unitarian church was employed for these purposes from its construction in 1833 to the completion of Memorial Hall in 1874; and in 1846 the parish complained bitterly of the damage done on muddy Commencement days.[7]

The part of the college in the maintenance of Sabbath services was to insure the attendance of the students. "On the Sabbath," says Quincy, "public worship was attended in the parish church, where the undergraduates occupied the front gallery; and none were excused on account of difference in religious sentiment."[8] Many of the college laws and many curious cases of discipline relate to this requirement. The first collection of college regulations, which dates from 1646, contains the following rule: "5. In the publike church assembly they shall carefully shunne all gestures that shew any contpt or neglect of Gods ordinances and bee ready to give an account to their tutours of their profiting and to use y^e^ helpes of storing themselves with knowledge, as their tutours shall direct them & all Sophisters & Bachillors

[1] Quincy's History, vol. i. p. 475.
[2] Magnalia, book iv. part i. § 4.
[3] Ibid., § 6.
[4] Winthrop, vol. ii. p. 87.
[5] Report, etc., p. 15.
[6] Ibid., p. 15.
[7] Ibid., pp. 45–47.
[8] Quincy, vol. i. p. 440.

(until themselves make common place shall publiquely repeate Sermons in y^e^ Hall whenever they are called forth."[1] In 1723 the Overseers instituted a visitation by a committee of which Judge Sewall was chairman. One of the duties of that committee was to discover "how the Lord's day is observed and the public duties taught of it by that society." On this head the committee reported, "that there are prayers, and a psalm sung, in the Hall on the Lord's day mornings; and repetition of the sermons by one of the scholars; and a psalm and prayers in the evening; and that the scholars do generally attend the public worship; and that the scholars do generally spend too much of the Saturday evenings in one another's chambers; and that the Freshmen, as well as others, are seen, in great numbers, going into Town on Sabbath mornings to provide breakfasts."[2] In the Faculty record for 1731, I find the following two cases of discipline: "Agreed that Hale be fined three shillings for his frequent absence from God's publick Worship";[3] and the following: "Voted y^t^ Holbrook & Collier, for cutting off M^r^ Flynt's Mare's ears & y^e^ Hair of her Main & Tail, and, on their examination relating to that affair, persisting in their denial of it, offering to clear themselves of it by oath; and for reiterated lying in their Indeavours to clear themselves of all which (together with their absenting themselves from y^e^ publick worship under pretence of illness, and then concocting the Scheme, and committing y^e^ Fact upon y^e^ same Lord's Day evening) they have been convicted by Testimony, & their own confession, after so solemn a denial of it, be forthwith expelled from y^e^ Colldge."[4] New college laws of 1734[5] contain a sterner enactment upon this important subject. Absence brought with it the penalty of a fine of three shillings, "and whoever shall come tardy to y^e^ publick worship shall be punished Six pence, or Otherwise at the discretion of y^e^ President or one of the Tutors"; also, "whoever shall be guilty of vaine or loose behavior, or of playing or sleeping at the Publick worship, or shall go out of the meeting

[1] College Book, No. 1, p. 43; Latin version, p. 45. Another slightly different English version is in College Book, No. 3, p. 19.

[2] Quincy, vol. i. pp. 318, 320.

[3] Faculty Records, vol. i. p. 33.

[4] Ibid., p. 39.

[5] College Book, No. 1, pp. 183, 184; reprinted also in Peirce, Appendix, No. XX.

house before y^e^ Publick worship is ended, shall be punished from one to five shillings . . ." The next regulation is evidently aimed at one of the few pleasures which young men and maidens might enjoy together in that time of strictness, and continued in force until about the beginning of the present century. It reads: "Inasmuch as complaints have been made of disorders in y^e^ meeting house, by Scholars going thither before the ringing of the Second bell; it is therefore ordered, y^t^ no undergraduates shall go to y^e^ meeting House on the Lords day, before y^e^ ringing of the Second bell. And whoever shall transgress this Law, shall be punished by the President or one of the Tutors, not exceeding Two shillings." The attention and the memory of the students was stimulated by a further rule: "Undergraduates shall in their course repeat at Least the heads of the forenoon and afternoon Sermons on the Lords day evenings in y^e^ Hall, and such as are delinquent, shall be punished by the President, or one of the Tutors, not exceeding three shillings." Notwithstanding the severity of these enactments, tradition informs us that sudden illness, the unexpected visit of a parent, an unavoidable absence from Cambridge were calamities which fell upon Sunday morning with much the same frequency as in later days of required attendance on religious services; and an awful example is preserved in the record of Tutor Prince, who was dismissed for various offences, among which was, "speaking out in time of public worship so as to excite laughter."[1] One other service the college rendered to the congregation of which the students were a part. The Bay Psalm-book, revised by President Dunster and printed on the college press, was for many years used in the service of the First Church in Cambridge.[2]

In November, 1814, by vote of the Overseers, the attendance of students was required at the Sunday services in University Hall. Later, they were allowed to occupy seats for which the college paid, — in Christ Church, the Baptist Church, the Shepard Church, and the First Parish Church. Dr. McKenzie speaks of "the college students massed in one corner of the [Shepard] Church, where they had the imposed benefit of the services on the Sabbath. One of these was afterwards commuted for attendance at the sabbath school, and by this means

[1] Quincy, vol. ii. p. 33.

[2] McKenzie's History of the First Church, p. 43.

the school was immediately increased."[1] While officers and students of the college by their attendance helped to assist the services of the church, on the other hand the church was the religious home of members of the college. In the earliest list of members of the First Church in Cambridge which has come down to us, dated 1658, we find: "Mr. Charles Chauncy, President of the Colledge, and Catherine his wife."[2] The first President, Dunster, was a member of this church; and so was the first treasurer, Pelham; the first steward or bursar, Matthew Day; and members of the first Board of Overseers and of the first Corporation. Most of the presidents, treasurers, tutors, and professors were members of this church down to 1815, when the College Church was formed. One of the most interesting of all is Judah Monis, "a Jew by birth and education," who was solemnly baptized in 1722, and fifteen years later, "was publickly declared to be a member of the Chh. & entitled to all privilidges with y^e^ other Brethren."[3] For forty years he was instructor in Hebrew to all the collegians.

The church records contain many interesting references to the student members of the church. Almost on the first page we find "John Holmes a student & servaunt to Mr Chauncy in full commun with us, adult."[4] Nathaniel Gookin, later the fourth minister, is recorded as "Borne & baptized here."[5] From 1701 to 1731 I find the names of ninety-six students, admitted as members; among them is that of "M^r^ Holyoke," admitted in 1710, doubtless the later president; S^r^ Appleton, who lived to be one of the most renowned of the great ministers of the church, Jonathan Belcher, first A.M. of Harvard College, later Governor of Massachusetts Bay; "Dearly How"; Walter Hastings, a name now familiar to every attendant on the church; "John Hancock, stud^t^," and Librarian, 1723–1726. Dec. 30, 1739, "Oxenbridge Thacher B.A." was admitted; Dec. 18, 1757, "Mr. William Kneeland, tutor att Col."[6] A large number of the college members of the church afterward became ministers, as quaint

[1] McKenzie's The College and the Church, p. 24.

[2] Church Records (transcript), p. 2.

[3] Ibid., pp. 61, 100. Monis was driven out of college by the persecution of students. At his death he left a fund for the widows of ministers, administered in part by the First Church in Cambridge.

[4] Ibid., p. 2.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid., pp. 42–46, 86–101, 146–166.

old Johnson says: "This Colledg hath brought forth, and nurst up very hopeful plants, to the supplying some Churches here."[1] Elsewhere the same writer records that when the people of Malden first began their Sunday services, "they were supplied at times with some young Students from the Colledg."[2]

Many other services did the church perform for college officers. In 1696 Mr. Brattle, then minister, records that he married "the Rev^{d} M^{r} Benj. Wadsworth & Mrs. Ruth Bordman."[3] This was the later President, who built and occupied the present "Wadsworth House." The marriage of the Rev^{d} M^{r} Edward Wigglesworth is recorded in 1729.[4] This was the first titular professor of the college. A stranger record is that of the slaves among those "Persons adult w^{o} owned y^{e} Covenant & were Baptized." Here are some examples: "Titus, Presid^{t} Wadsworth's manservant who was also admitted to full Communion," elsewhere in the records described as "an Indian man servant"; "Hannibal, man servant of D^{r} Wigglesworth"; "Cuffy, serv^{t} of M^{r} Judah Monis"; "Cuffy, Negro Serv^{t} of Lieut. Governor Phipps"; and "Venus, Negro Serv^{t} of Mad^{m} Wadsworth."[5]

The interest of officers and students in the church was more than reciprocated by the interest and the influence of the ministers of this church in the college government. The first board of government, the Overseers, instituted in 1642, contained, besides the magistrates of the Colony, teaching elders of the six next adjoining towns, — Cambridge, Watertown, Newton, Boston, Roxbury, and Dorchester. Of these the minister of the church in Cambridge, by his residence, was always one of the most active. At the separation of the churches in 1829, Dr. Holmes was the representative of the church; he retained his privilege to the time of his resignation in 1831; thereafter the right of membership in the Overseers no longer pertained to the ministers of the six towns, and neither the Shepard Church nor the First Parish had a representative.

In 1866 the graduates of the college obtained the right to elect Overseers. Six years later they chose Alexander McKenzie to be one of their representatives, and during twelve

[1] Wonder-Working Providence (Poole's reprint), p. 165.
[2] Ibid., p. 211.
[3] Church Records (transcript), p. 71.
[4] Ibid., p. 107.
[5] Ibid., pp. 108, 109.

years he gave most useful and honorable service. In 1875 he was chosen to the dignified position of Secretary to the Board of Overseers, and has continued to hold that office since his retirement from more active membership in 1884. Francis G. Peabody, at the time of his choice minister of the First Parish, served as Overseer from 1877 to 1882.

In the Overseers the Cambridge minister was but one of six; and the six were but part of a larger body including the Council of the Colony, and later other State officials. It is in the Corporation that the ministers of the First Church have exercised the strongest influence over the development of the college. That body received a charter in 1650; and one of the seven original members was Jonathan Mitchell,[1] pastor of the First Church. We have already noticed his scheme for providing scholarship funds. To his death in 1668, he continued one of the most influential members of the Corporation.

It is remarkable that of the first six pastors of this church, — none of them belligerent men, — every one became involved in some controversy with a college officer or with one of the governing boards. To Shepard fell the ungracious task of aiding in that investigation of the behavior of Nathaniel Eaton, the first head of the school, which resulted in Eaton's excommunication from the church. Mitchell was obliged to enter the lists against a man of the highest character, and of the greatest services to the college and the Colony, Henry Dunster, the first President of Harvard College. On July 30, 1654, President Dunster, a member of the church, appeared at the services of the Lord's Supper, and, according to testimony given by witnesses then present, "he spake to the congregation in the time of the publique ordinance to the interruption thereof without leave, which was also aggravated in that he, being desired by the elder [Mitchell] to forbeare, and not to interrupt an ordinance of Christ, yet notwithstanding he proceeded in way of complaint, to the congregation, saying I am forbidden to speake that in Christ's name which I would have testified."[2] As a minister and as a member of the Corporation, Mitchell thought that he was deeply concerned in the President's unauthorized doctrine as to infant baptism. At first he was somewhat affected by Dunster's argument. Later, he

[1] College Book, No. 3, p. 11.

[2] Records of County Court, quoted in McKenzie's First Church, p. 108.

preached "more than half a score ungainsayable sermons" on the subject.[1] Dunster was publicly admonished, and shortly afterward was forced to resign his presidency.

Dunster's successor, Chauncy, had occasion to disagree with Mitchell on questions of church government; but "the dissent," says Mather, was from "causing the reverend old man to handle his antagonist in any measure as the angry *Dioscorus* did the dissenting *Flavian*."[2] When he entered on his office he was especially enjoined by the Board of Overseers, of whom Mitchell was one, "that it is expected and desired that he forbeare to disseminate or publish any tenets concerning the necessity of emersion in baptism & celebration of the Lord's supper at evening, or to oppose the received Doctrine therein."[3]

The third minister of the church, Urian Oakes, and the third president of the college, Leonard Hoar, found themselves so far opposed that Oakes resigned his place as a member of the Corporation, and refused to accept it again until the day on which the resignation of the President was finally accepted. The merits of that controversy it is now impossible to ascertain.[4] The high value which the authorities of the college placed upon Mr. Oakes is, however, sufficiently shown by the fact that he was thrice chosen president of the college, and that after two declinations and five years of service as temporary president, he "was at last called to the *Head* of the *Sons of the prophets* in this New English Israil, as Samuel was President of the College at Naioth."[5] The close connection between the college and the church is shown in several votes relative to Oakes's appointment. On April 7, 1675, "he declared a deep sense of his unfitness for the work; yet considering the p^{r}sent Exigency the Society was now in, & confiding in the Overseers seasonably to endeavor the settling a fitt p^{r}son for y^{t} work, manifesting his willingness to accept of that place for a time, God enabling, by health & strength, & so far as his church consented."[6] At his final election on Feb. 9, 1680,

[1] Magnalia, book iv., Life of Mitchell, § 10.

[2] Ibid., § 14.

[3] College Book, No. 3, p. 39.

[4] It is discussed in Quincy, vol. i. pp. 31–38; Sibley's Harvard Graduates, vol. i. pp. 178, 179.

[5] Increase Mather, quoted by Holmes in the "History of Cambridge," p. 50.

[6] College Book, No. 3, p. 66.

the Overseers appointed a committee "to p'sent their desires to Mr. Oakes & the Church at Cambridge for his acceptance of s^d^ trust and their concurrance therein." [1] Five days earlier the house of representatives of the Colony had voted "for the better encouragement of himself and also of the church for providing help for carrying on that work, which hereby he may be in part diverted from, or need of assistance in, this court doth order that £50 per annum in country pay be allowed the Rev. Mr. Oakes on the consideration aforesaid, over and above the £100 in money already settled, provided he accept the Presidentship." [2] For the remaining two years of his life, Oakes acceptably filled the two offices of pastor of this church and President of Harvard College. Nathaniel Gookin — his assistant, and his successor in the church — was also chosen into the Corporation in 1690, and continued in that body to his death in 1692.

Of all the later ministers of the church perhaps the man most active in college affairs was William Brattle, the next minister.[3] As a tutor, as a fellow, as treasurer, and as a stout opponent of Increase Mather, he added to his great eminence and influence as minister of the First Church in Cambridge. Together with John Leverett, he was appointed tutor in 1686, and during the ensuing ten years these two young men were the virtual heads of the college. President Mather persistently declined to reside in Cambridge, and was four years absent in England. During their tutorship a small-pox epidemic broke out, and Brattle heroically held his place and nursed the sick. In 1696 he was ordained pastor of the church, and at the same time was appointed Fellow in the college. Within a year President Mather took occasion to issue a solemn address, "To the church in Cambridge and to the students in the College there," in which he especially warned them against "the tutors"; the reference to Brattle and Leverett was unmistakable. Three years later, in 1700, through Mather's influence, the college was reorganized by the General Court; and William Brattle and his brother Thomas were distinguished by being left out of the Corporation. In 1703 the political combination was overcome, and Brattle was

[1] College Book, No. 3, p. 71. [2] Sibley, vol. i. pp. 179, 180.

[3] Quincy, in his "History of Harvard University," dwells upon Brattle's services. See vol. i. pp. 58, 106, 137–140, 156, 201–208, 414–417.

reinstated as a Fellow. When, in 1707, his friend John Leverett was chosen president, Brattle did manful service in resisting the Mathers, and furthering a spirit of Liberal Christianity. His brother Thomas, the treasurer of the college, died in 1713; and at the request of the Corporation, Rev. William Brattle took possession of the funds, and, as Quincy says, "managed the pecuniary concerns of the institution with the intelligence and fidelity for which his conduct and that of his brother were distinguished."[1] Of him and his colleagues in the Corporation, Pemberton, a contemporary, said: "They were stars of the first magnitude. Providence set them at the head of the country for learning and usefulness. They were singular ornaments of it, pillars in the church of Christ, and among the fathers of the College."

In the choice of the sixth pastor of the church, — Nathaniel Appleton, — the Corporation of the college had a great influence. It was a time of intense strife between the old Puritanic spirit represented by the Mathers, and the broader and more humane theology of Colman, of Brattle, and of Leverett. It was held exceedingly desirable that the pastor to be chosen in 1717 should represent in the Overseers, and perhaps in the Corporation, the more liberal element. Hence President Leverett, as a member of the church, took an active part in the meeting at which Appleton was chosen, and ends his account of it in his diary with *Laus Deo*.[2] Without waiting for his ordination, the Corporation chose Appleton to fill the vacancy created by the death of Brattle. Four years later, in 1721, began a persistent attempt through the courts and through the legislature to unseat Appleton and his two friends Colman and Wadsworth. It was proposed to declare by law that the tutors in the college were members of the Corporation. To this vote Governor Shute consented, "provided that Rev. Benjamin Wadsworth and Rev. Mr. Benjamin Colman and Rev. Mr. Appleton were not removed by said orders, and still remained Fellows of the Corporation." To the renewed attempts of the Legislature, the Corporation offered a dignified remonstrance. "Those of us," they said, "whose Ejectm^t is so earnestly sought for, neither seek nor find any reward for all that time we spend, or pains we take as members of the

[1] Quincy, vol. i. p. 208.

[2] Ibid., p. 210.

Corporation. If we have serv^d the College in any kind or Degree, we desire to thank God for the time & assist^c." [1]

In 1740 Whitefield came to Cambridge, and preached his famous sermon on the text, "We are not as many who corrupt the word of God." Mr. Appleton "was more close and effective in his preaching after Mr. Whitefield's being here." [2] Through his long life, which ended in 1784, the Rev. Nathaniel Appleton was one of the most able of the governors of the college, and supported the administrations of his personal friends, — Presidents Wadsworth and Holyoke. Since his retirement no minister of the church has been a member of the Corporation, but several members of the two churches have occupied that honorable position, — among them Prof. J. H. Thayer, now of the Divinity School.

The ministers of the church, then, have rendered good service to the college. Upon the other hand, the college has rendered good service to the ministers. Except Thomas Shepard, who was one of the founders of the college, Dr. Holmes, who graduated at Yale, and Dr. Albro, every pastor of the church down to 1829 was a graduate of Harvard College, and many had received benefactions from the college. One of the very earliest entries in the college books is as follows: "Josiah Winslow, his study let to Jonathan Michil, April, 1646." [3] March 25, 1651, £2 and 17 shillings was allowed to Urian Oakes for his scholarship.[4] Nathaniel Gookin appears on the college records in the account of eleemosynary revenues under Mr. Webb's gift as the recipient of four pounds.[5] Five of the eleven ministers — Mitchell, Oakes, Gookin, Brattle, and Hilliard — were tutors or instructors in the college.

It is not through gifts of money or of service, or in their share in the college government that the ministers of this church have rendered the greatest service to Harvard College. As pastors, as teachers, as visitors, during two centuries and a half, they have had and have embraced the rarest opportunity to influence the spirit of the college and the future lives of students in the college. Of Shepard's influence on students, no better description could be given than that left by his successor Mitchell in speaking of his own

[1] Quincy, vol. i. pp. 307–309; College Book, Nos. 4, 5, p. 92.
[2] Quincy, vol. ii. p. 44.
[3] College Book, No. 1, p. 13.
[4] Sibley, vol. i. p. 173.
[5] College Book, No. 1, p. 5.

college life: "Unless it had been four years living in heaven, I know not how I could have more cause to bless God with wonder, than for those four years";[1] and Johnson called him "that gratious sweete Heavenly minded, and soule-ravishing Minister, Mr. *Thomas Shepheard.*"[2] Of Mitchell himself, Cotton Mather says in his "Magnalia": "He was himself an Accomplished *Scholar*, and he loved a *Scholar* dearly; but his Heart was fervently set upon having the Land all over illuminated with the Fruits of a *Learned Education.* To this End he became a Father to the *Colledge*, which had been his *Mother*, and sought the Prosperity of that Society with a very singular Solicitude."[3] His popularity with the students is shown by the fact that they celebrated his marriage with epithalamiums. A similar influence was possessed by Oakes. Here is an extract from an election sermon preached in 1673: "You have done well for the *New Colledge.* *Thanks be to God* (as *Paul* speaks in a *Parallel-Case.* 2 Cor. 9. 15) for his *unspeakable Gift.* Now therefore, perform the doing of it, that, as there was a readiness to will, so there may be a performance also out of that which you have. 2 *Cor.* 8. 11. You have done very well for the *Reverend President.* I beseech that the *Fellows* may be remembreed also: that there may be a competent, comfortable and certain allowance made for their *Encouragement*, who are, next to the *President*, the *Props* and *Pillars of that Society*, and have a careful and *Laborious Life* of it. Think not that the *Common Wealth* of *Learning* may languish and yet our *Civil* and *Ecclesiastical State* be maintained in good plight and Condition."[4] Of Brattle, thirty-nine ministers in 1707 united in saying: "Under the wise and faithful government of him [Leverett], and the Rev. Mr. Brattle, of Cambridge, the greatest part of the new rising ministry in New England were happily educated";[5] and the Corporation placed upon their records the fact that they "unanimously concur with the Church of Cambridge in their invitation of the Rev. William Brattle to the work of the ministry in that church."[6] Increase Mather, then President, received in 1692 the first

[1] Quoted by McKenzie, First Church, p. 91.
[2] Wonder-Working Providence (Poole's reprint), p. 77.
[3] Magnalia, book iv., Life of Mitchell, § 13.
[4] Quoted by Sibley, vol. i. p. 177.
[5] Text in Quincy, vol. i. (Appendix) p. 504.
[6] Quincy, vol. i. p. 414.

degree of D.D. granted by the college. Mr. Appleton was selected in 1771 for the second person on whom this high honor was conferred, as they said, for his "having been long an ornament to the pastoral character, and eminently distinguished for his knowledge, wisdom, sanctity of manners, and usefulness to the churches, and having for more than fifty years exerted himself in promoting the interests of piety and learning in this Society, both as a minister and as a Fellow of the Corporation."[1] And President Wadsworth said of him that it was "a great favor not only to the church and town of Cambridge, but also to the College, and therein to the whole Province, that he is fixed in that public post and station."[2] Timothy Hilliard, the seventh pastor of the church, from 1783 to 1790, performed a service which President Willard thus commemorates: "He was peculiarly engaged in promoting the interests of the University in this place, of which he was a watchful Governor. He was constantly seeking its utility and fame, and was an attentive and active member of that branch of its legislature to which he belonged, and his judgment was always of weight."[3] "He was ever viewed by the Governors of the University, as an excellent model for the youth under their care who were designed for the desk; and they considered his introduction into this parish, a most happy event."[4]

The services of Dr. Holmes, eighth minister, are summed up by Dr. McKenzie in a single sentence, — "a true friend to our college." For the forty years after 1791, by his learning and his preaching, he distinguished the church. After his pastorate the church was deprived of its official connection with the college, and was now no longer represented in the Overseers. Dr. Newell's long and peaceful ministry in the First Parish led to no conflicts. On the other hand, Dr. Nehemiah Adams, who succeeded Dr. Holmes in the First Church (Shepard Congregational Society), came to Cambridge as an avowed opponent of the religious views held by the leading men of the college, and estranged even the personal friends of old Dr. Holmes. In letters written just before his call, in 1829, he says: "I suspect the Boston people wish to put me into their mortar like a bomb, & throw me over into the Unitarian fort to blow

[1] McKenzie's First Church, p. 146.
[2] Ibid., p. 147.
[3] Holmes's Cambridge, p. 66.
[4] Ibid., p. 65.

them up. If I go I shall want to go as a martyr, having respect unto the recompense of reward. . . . Heaven will be doubly Heaven after a life of hard fighting in the front of the battle. The eyes & interests & prayers of all the good people in the State will be towards me. . . . I am overwhelmed by this subject of Cambridge; my natural feelings & disposition say it is the most undesirable place in the country. But, no cross, no crown, & God loveth the cheerful giver."[1] Under such circumstances it is not strange that Dr. Adams's ministry was a brief one.

His successor, Dr. Albro, in his thirty years' ministry, from 1835 to 1865, exercised a strong personal influence over students, including some of the present members of the Massachusetts Historical Society. For many years he held a college Bible class in the Greek Testament; and Dr. Means in his memorial sermon says of him: "Thus he made friends of two hundred or three hundred who, in the susceptible years of youth, came under his influence."[2] The University honored him with the degree of D.D., and with an appointment as visitor to the Divinity School; and at the commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his settlement, in 1860, President Felton was able to say: "I join as heartily in all the honors you are paying your pastor as if I were a member of the society. . . . Your pastor and myself have been on the most cordial terms for the quarter of a century that he has been settled over you."[3]

Dr. McKenzie has long had among his hearers the largest body of students attending any church in Cambridge, except the college chapel, and has served under the new *régime* as a College Preacher. Dr. Francis G. Peabody, in the First Parish Church, and his successor Mr. Hall, have always shown a special interest in the college and its students; and the former is now head of the religious department of the University.

As we thus compare one phase after another of the relations of the church and college, it is hard to say which has most benefited the other. The college was attracted hither by the existence of this church and of its soul-stirring minister, Thomas Shepard. The church has always remained near the

[1] Manuscript letters in the possession of the Shepard Historical Society.

[2] Memorial of Rev. John A. Albro, Cambridge, 1867, p. 53.

[3] Commemoration of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Settlement of John A. Albro, D.D., Cambridge, 1860, p. 56.

college. The church and its members have generally aided in the support of the college; the college and its members have helped to put up every edifice since the first, and to support religious services. The church has freely offered its buildings for college uses; the college has given the church the use of its chapel, and its members for nearly two centuries and a half made an important part of the congregation. The ministers and other members of the church have co-operated most indispensably in the government of the college; the President, officers, and students of the college have furnished some of the most useful members of the church. The church, through its ministers, has powerfully influenced the lives of thousands of students; the college has educated the ministers through whom that influence has been exerted. The church without the college would have been shorn of its strength; the college without the church would never have been planted here or sustained.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN called attention to an early engraving, of which a fac-simile of the exact size is herewith given, and said: —

During the summer of 1883 a bound volume of "The Boston Gazette, or Country Journal," running from April 14, 1755, to December 29 of the same year, came into the possession of the Historical Society. The file had once belonged to the Rev. Dr. Abiel Holmes, for many years the Corresponding Secretary of the Society, and bears some of his handwriting; and it was given to the library by his son John Holmes, Esq. In the copy of the newspaper for September 15, there is a reference to the battle between the French and the English on the shores of Lake George, where General Johnson defeated and captured Baron Dieskau. Attached by wafers to this particular number was a rare engraving of the battle, showing the engagement of the troops on each side, and giving a plan of the English encampment, with the position of the various regiments. The original drawing was made by Samuel Blodget, — present at the time as a sutler, — which was without doubt fairly accurate. It was engraved on copper by Thomas Johnston, a native of Boston, and at that period an artist of some local repute. Subjected to the tests of a

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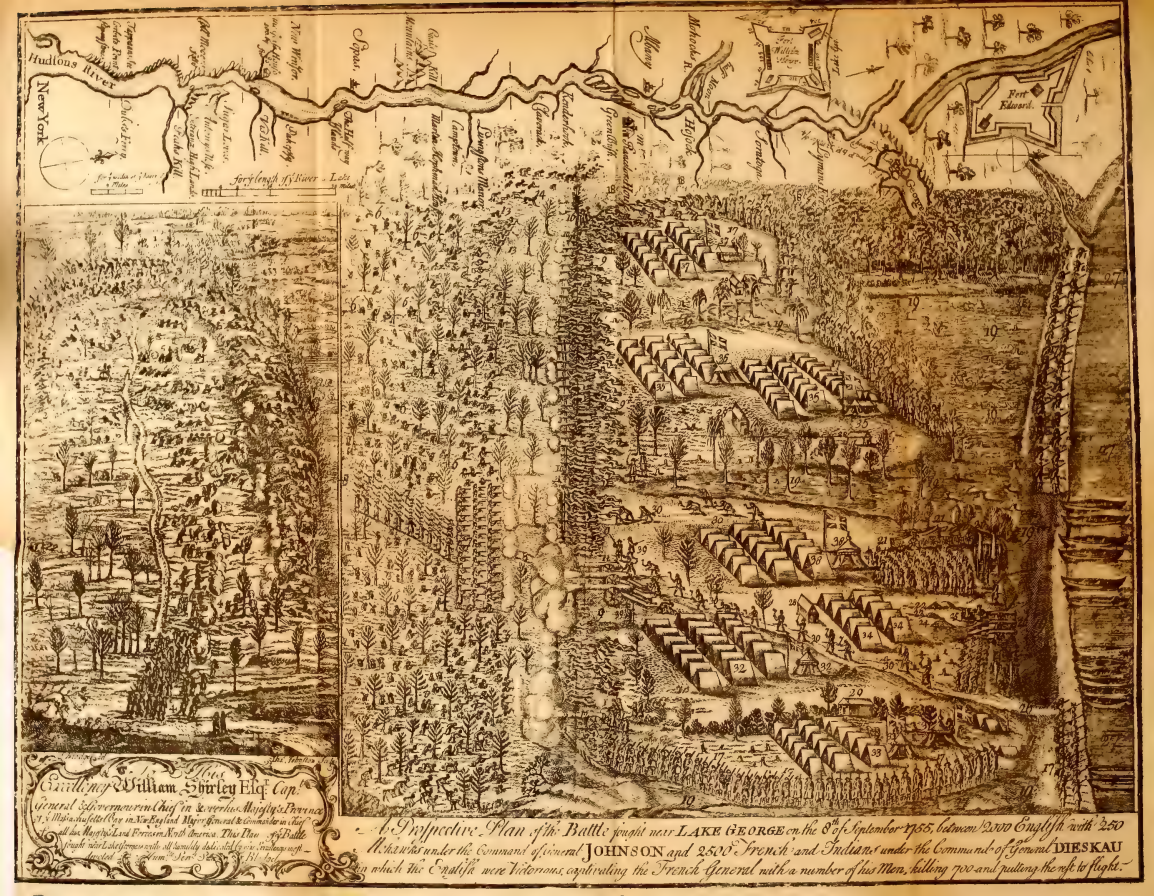

To His Excellency William Shirley Esq^r Captain General & Governor in Chief in & over his Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England Major General & Commander in Chief of all his Majesty's Land Forces in North America. This Plan of the Battle fought near Lake George with the Troops under his Command is most humbly Inscribed by his Excellency's most Obedient & most Humble Servant

A Prospective Plan of the Battle fought near LAKE GEORGE on the 8th of September 1755, between 2000 English with 250 Mohawks under the Command of General JOHNSON and 2500 French and Indians under the Command of General DIESKAU in which the English were Victorious, captivating the French General with a number of his Men, killing 700 and putting the rest to flight.

modern standard, the work would be harshly criticised, but, making due allowance for the improved methods in the art of engraving during the last century and a half, it is on the whole creditable. An advertisement in the Gazette, December 22, in this file, gives the date of the publication, and other interesting facts connected with the Plan, as follows: —

THIS DAY PUBLISH'D,

And Sold by SAMUEL BLODGET, at the South End of *Boston*, near the Sign of the Lamb, and opposite to Capt. *Smith's*. A prospective PLAN of 2 of the Engagements the *English* had with the *French* at *Lake-George*, on the 8th of *September* 1755; exhibiting to the Eye a very lively as well as just Representation of them; together with Part of the Lake, the Camp, the Situation of each Regiment, with the Disadvantages attending them: The Appearance of the *Canadians*, *Indians* and Regulars, as they made their Approach to the Brest-work; the Form of the Land and the Enemy; together with the Advantage they had in their Ambuscade against Col. *Williams*. As also a PLAN of *Hudson's-River* from *New-York* to *Albany;* with such Marks as will be of great Service to *Navigation:* Likewise the River and Waggon Road from *Albany* to *Lake-George;* together with a Plan and Situation of each of the Forts that have been lately built. All which is carefully and neatly struck off from a large Copper Plate.

N. B. There will be Sold with each Plan a printed Pamphlet with Explanatory Notes, containing a full, tho' short History of that important Affair from the Beginning to the End of it.

☞ The above MAP, together with the Pamphlets, may be had of the Printers hereof.

According to this advertisement the Plan or Map was published in connection with a pamphlet, of which, fortunately, there is a copy in the Historical Library, though lacking the Map. A comparison between these two publications shows beyond all doubt that they belong together and explain each other, as figures in the one refer to corresponding numbers in the other. The Map, probably, was folded and fastened between the first and second leaves, as there are marks of stitches at this place in the copy. The pamphlet is bound up with others, once owned by the Rev. Dr. Jeremy Belknap and given to the Society by his daughter, on March 11, 1858. It is a quarto in form, containing five pages of descriptive matter, besides a page of "Advertisement," and

is entitled: "A Prospective-Plan of the Battle near Lake *George*, on the Eighth Day of *September*, 1755. With an Explanation thereof; Containing a full, tho' short, History of that important Affair. By *Samuel Blodget*, Occasionally at the Camp, when the Battle was fought. Boston; New-England. Printed by *Richard Draper*, for the Author. MDCCLV."

Samuel Blodget, the author of the Plan, was a trader in Boston. He has an advertisement in the Gazette, Dec. 10, 1759, by which it appears that he kept a shop in Marlborough Street, where he sold English goods, sugars, hats, etc. He gives notice that "Officers and Soldiers who have lately been discharged, may be supplied at the lowest Price, till their Muster-Rolls are made up," showing that he still had certain relations with the army. A sketch of Mr. Blodget is given in Potter's "History of Manchester, N. H." (pages 525–537), from which it appears that he was born at Woburn, on April 1, 1724, and died at Derryfield, now Manchester, on Sept. 1, 1806. At one time he was a Justice of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas for the County of Hillsborough, and at a later period the projector of Blodget's canal around the Amoskeag Falls. See also Chase's "History of Haverhill" (pages 621, 622) for another account of Mr. Blodget.

Thomas Johnston, the engraver of the Plan, died in Boston, on May 8, 1767. He was an artist of respectability, and had practised as an heraldic painter. "The Boston Evening-Post," May 11, 1767, has the following notice of his death: —

> Last Friday Morning died here Mr. *Thomas Johnston*, Japanner, Painter and Engraver, after a short illness, having been seized with an Apoplectic Fit a few Days before.

In the list of ante-Revolutionary publications given in the second volume of Thomas's "History of Printing" (second edition), it is said, on page 523, that Blodget's "Plan is rarely met with." According to Sabin's "Dictionary of Books relating to America" (vol. ii. pp. 231, 232), an edition of the pamphlet was brought out in London, during the year 1756, by T. Jefferys.

Mr. JUSTIN WINSOR said he had two or three facts to communicate. He had supposed that he knew the principal col-

lectors of Americana in the United States, but he had only discovered since the death of Mr. Charlemagne Tower, of Philadelphia, that that gentleman had been an efficient collector of such books. Mr. Tower's widow has just given his collection to the Pennsylvania Historical Society. It proves to be exceptionally strong in Colonial laws, numbers 144 volumes in this direction, and it is reported to include the earliest editions of most of the Colony laws. The assiduity of Dr. George H. Moore in collecting those of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts Bay is well known, and it now turns out that this collection had been sold to Mr. Tower, and had been in turn by him somewhat enlarged. The claim is made for it that it is the fullest set which is known, and that it contains two acts not believed by the compilers of the Statutes at Large of Massachusetts to have been printed. The collection is also represented to contain a copy of the Laws of New Hampshire, printed in Boston in 1699, and the first edition of those of Vermont, 1779, — both believed to be unique. It has one of the seven copies known of the first Laws of New York, from Bradford's press in 1694, and one of the three copies known of the earliest Virginia Book of Laws, 1662. Washington's copy of the Laws of New York in 1789 is also in the collection. Among other rare books interesting to us in New England are a copy of Smith's "Generall Historie," of the 1627 date, — of which this Society has also a copy; Hubbard's "New England Wars," with the genuine map; several of the Eliot tracts; and John White's "Planter's Plea" of 1630.

Mr. Winsor also drew attention to a small bust-portrait of Washington, bearing the following inscription: "Le Général Washinton, peint d'après nature à Philadelphie par N. Piehle en 1783." The inscription is clearly a deceit, since the portrait is nothing but a copy, even in minute details, of the head and shoulders of the full-length portrait of Washington which was painted by Charles Wilson Peale in 1778–79, of which this Society has a copy from that one of the several replicas which is now in the Earl of Albemarle Collection in England.

Mr. Winsor also exhibited a miniature of Washington, recently given to Harvard College by John Corbett, a member of the English Parliament. The giver knows nothing more of it than that he bought it some years since at a sale of bric-à-

brac in London. The picture is kept in place by a back-plate of metal, in which are cut the words, "General Washington, 1796." There is a monogram of the painter on the front of the miniature, "H. B." The Catalogue of Exhibitors at the Royal Academy shows that a miniaturist, Henry Berne, exhibited specimens of his art there in 1800, the year after Washington's death, and when there was an unusual interest in his person, and where it may be conjectured this miniature was shown. It is found by a comparison of the painting with the engraved likeness of Washington which appeared in London in Winterbotham's "United States" in 1795, that the moulding of the face is so distinctly the same that there is little ground to question that the miniature was painted from the engraving, or that each was copied from some anterior likeness. There is reason to believe that the Winterbotham engraving, which was cut by W. Grainger, is in some way connected with a picture of Washington made in Dec. 1791–Jan. 1792 by a Scotch artist, Archibald Robertson, who had come to this country with credentials from the Earl of Buchan. Robertson, having painted a miniature from life, made a large picture, which was sent to Buchan, and from this Grainger may have engraved the Winterbotham print. It needs be said that in the Harvard miniature the costume is materially changed from the Grainger engraving, and represents a straight-front brown coat, with a white waistcoat of folded collar, and a full and frilled white neckcloth.

Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP said: —

In the interesting paper just read by Professor Hart, repeated reference was made to the Rev. Dr. Charles Chauncy, the second President of Harvard College. It happens that my friend Gen. James Grant Wilson, of New York, being in England last summer, wrote to me from London to communicate the wish of Mr. Clements R. Markham, C. B., F. R. S., to obtain a description or sketch of the arms of Dr. Chauncy, to be placed, among those of other distinguished pupils, on the walls of the hall of the old Westminster School, in which Chauncy was educated before he came over to New England in 1638. With the aid of our Librarian, Dr. Green, I was able to send a tracing of the arms. The acknowledgment of Mr. Markham, who is well known to

many of us personally, and who has been distinguished as a writer on geographical and historical subjects, contains a striking list of the great names with which that of Chauncy will be associated. His letter reached me only yesterday, and is as follows: —

21 Eccleston Square, S. W., Feb. 28, 1890.

My dear Sir, — I am glad to have to inform you that the Committee have now selected Dr. Charles Chauncy as one of the old Westminsters whose arms are to be painted in the oak panels of the old school-room. The Committee desire me to convey to you their thanks for furnishing them with Dr. Chauncy's arms. Sir John Mowbray, who was in the chair, desired to be very kindly remembered to you, and to express to you his pleasure in being instrumental in commemorating, among the other old Westminsters, one who did good service in America. Chauncy will be in illustrious company: in the same row are the arms of Ben Jonson, Dryden, Cowley, Herbert, Prior, Cowper, Southey, Gibbon, Locke, Hakluyt; among lawyers, Mansfield, Cooper, Heneage Finch; among statesmen, Harry Vane, Halifax, Pelham, Rockingham, Shelburne, Warren Hastings, Russell.

Ever yours faithfully,

Clements R. Markham.

Hon. Robert C. Winthrop.

Mr. Abner C. Goodell, Jr., said that Professor Hart's reference to the occasional visits of distinguished strangers to Harvard College induced him to take this opportunity to make a revelation as to the identity of a person who, according to Judge Sewall, was present at the Commencement dinner in July, 1705. The entry in Sewall's Diary, as printed in the Society's Collections,[1] reads: "Capt. Courtemaruh was there and din'd in the Hall," on which the editors comment as follows: "This name is utterly strange and mysterious. We have no clew to the person intended." Mr. Goodell added that in the course of recent studies of some of the legislation of Dudley's time he had discovered that the personage referred to could be no other than Tilly de Repentigny, Sieur de Courtemanche, who arrived in Boston, June 4, 1705, as the representative of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor-General of New France, on a mission respecting the exchange of prisoners of war.

Mr. Goodell then read some passages from a note which

[1] 5 Collections, vol. vi. p. 134.

he had been preparing, showing the origin of this mission, and tracing the progress of Courtemanche from Quebec, — whence he set out in company with Capt. John Livingston and others, who had previously been sent to Canada by Governor Dudley on a similar mission, — to his return to Quebec in a brigantine by way of the Gut of Canso and the river St. Lawrence.

This entry of Sewall's is the only known record[1] showing that Courtemanche was in Massachusetts as late as the 4th of July. He came attended by servants and escorted by eight soldiers. He followed the western route which Livingston and his companions had taken in their journey to Quebec. He seems to have received unusual attention in Boston and its vicinity. The chief obstacle to agreement between Dudley and Vaudreuil respecting a full exchange of prisoners was the refusal of the former to include in the treaty one Jean Baptiste, who, having been a member of the French Congregation in Boston, where he had formerly resided as an English subject, was held not as a prisoner of war, although taken in arms before the Peace of Ryswick, but for treason, murder on the high seas, and piracy. Dudley at length succeeded in getting from the Legislature a secret resolve permitting him to exchange Baptiste, if such a course should be necessary to complete the negotiation.

To reciprocate the honor shown by Vaudreuil in sending so distinguished a representative as Courtemanche, who is described in contemporary writings as "the second person of honor" in Canada, Dudley commissioned his son William, then less than nineteen years old, who had graduated at the College the year previous, to return with Courtemanche and his suite for the purpose of completing the negotiations if possible. As the associate and mentor of his son, the Governor appointed Samuel Vetch, who was afterwards prosecuted in a novel manner for illicit trading with the enemy.

Mr. Goodell then read some passages tending to show that this voyage was planned as a cloak for illicit trade, and that the suspicions which were entertained concerning the com-

[1] Copies of Dudley's letters to Vaudreuil, in the French Archives mentioning Courtemanche's intended voyage to Quebec, bear date the 4th and 5th of July respectively.

plicity of both Courtemanche and Vetch in this illegal business, as well as the imputations against Vetch and Dudley for a similar offence at a later time, were not without substantial foundation, notwithstanding the impression which historians have given that the affair was too trivial to have justified the prosecutions which followed.[1]

The various papers and other communications elicited incidental remarks of a conversational character from Mr. SAMUEL F. MCCLEARY, Rev. Dr. HENRY M. DEXTER, Rev. HENRY F. JENKS, Rev. EDMUND F. SLAFTER, and other members.

Mr. Hamilton Andrews Hill was elected a Resident Member.

Mr. EDWARD BANGS communicated a memoir of the late Henry Austin Whitney.

[1] For references to the visit of Captain de Courtemanche to Boston and the subsequent arrest of Captain Vetch, see Winthrop Papers, Part V. (6 Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. iii.) pp. 297, 334, 335. — EDS.

MEMOIR

OF

HENRY AUSTIN WHITNEY, A.M.

BY EDWARD BANGS.

HENRY AUSTIN[8] WHITNEY, (Joseph[7], Joseph[6], Samuel[5], Benjamin[4], Thomas[3], Thomas[2], John[1],) christened Henry *Augustus*, was born at 26 Purchase Street in Boston on the 6th of October, 1826. He descended from John[1] and Elinor Whitney, who sailed from London in the "Elizabeth and Ann" in May, 1635, and settled in Watertown, where John Whitney died in 1673, having been Selectman from 1638 to 1655, Constable appointed by the General Court in 1641, and Town Clerk in 1655.

For a hundred years Mr. Whitney's paternal ancestors tilled the soil of Middlesex County as reputable yeomen, industrious and thrifty, then they went to Boston, and engaged in trade; but a retrograde movement, due to the depression of business that preceded the War of the Revolution, caused Samuel[5] Whitney to leave Boston in 1767, and become a farmer, and proprietor of a country store, at Concord, where he was appointed "Muster-Master" when the town raised two hundred soldiers. He was also sent by the town as a delegate to the Provincial Congress, and was a member of the Town Committees of Correspondence, Safety, and Inspection.

On the memorable morning when Paul Revere rode,

> "to spread the alarm
> To every Middlesex village and farm,"

Samuel Whitney, after emptying his cellar of the provincial stores with which it was filled, and aiding in removing these and other public stores to a place of safety, took his post with the minute-men who met, and repulsed, the British regulars at the bridge.

Henry A. Whitney.

"In the first year of American independency," as his deed says, he sold his farm and returned to Boston. He was the only person of the name of Whitney in the first Boston Directory, that of 1789; the last contains two hundred and fifty Whitneys. In 1793 he removed from Boston to Bagaduce, afterwards called Castine, successfully engaged in various mercantile enterprises, and died in 1808.

His grandson, Henry A. Whitney's father, Joseph[7] Whitney (born in Newburyport, June 11, 1796), an eminent merchant of Boston, was married, July 23, 1822, to Elizabeth Pratt (born August 29, 1800). She was the second daughter of John and Mary (Tewksbury) Pratt, and a descendant, in the seventh generation, of Richard Pratt, baptized at Malden, in England, in 1615, and afterwards of Malden in Massachusetts. Her father, Captain John Pratt, at first a sea-captain, then a shipowner and merchant, was enterprising and successful. Together with Mr. Henderson Inches he bought the large house on the corner of High and Pearl Streets in Boston known as Harris's Folly. This they divided between them. There Henry in his boyhood was a constant visitor, and in after life was wont to look back with pleasure upon the days spent in the old house, and to recall his grandfather's quaint sayings, and his shrewd and sagacious observations upon men and things.

Henry was the only son of his parents, and was educated at private schools in Boston, then at a boarding-school at Sandwich, together with his cousins, Sidney Bartlett and George Langdon Pratt, and fitted for college at the Chauncey Hall School in Boston. He entered Harvard College in 1842, and graduated in 1846. The attractive qualities for which in after life he was so remarkable distinguished him during his college course. The most kindly and genial of men, he was a general favorite. He had promised his father that for those four years he would not touch wine or spirits, and though he kept his promise faithfully, while belonging to more than one convivial club, no lack of gayety betrayed the absence of stimulants. On the contrary, it was often remarked that he could be more jovial on water than any other man on champagne.

He was a member of the Hasty Pudding and Porcellian Clubs while in college, and Grand Marshal of the latter club

from 1850 to 1852. On Commencement day he was the Marshal of his class. He became Secretary of the class in 1852, and held the office until his death. A more efficient Class Secretary there could never be.

His classmate, the Hon. George Frisbie Hoar, wrote, on hearing of his death: "Whitney was so kind and affectionate towards all his classmates, and was so much the channel through which we communicated with the College and with each other, that it seems as if the whole class were dead."

Soon after graduating he went into business with his father, and, after the latter retired in 1867, continued the business until 1873.

On the 3d of March, 1852, he was married to Fanny Lawrence (born August 19, 1828), daughter of William Lawrence, a well known merchant of Boston, and of Susan Ruggles (Bordman) Lawrence, his wife. She proved a most affectionate and devoted wife, and was his constant companion both at home and on all his journeys, whether of business or pleasure.

His tastes were literary. He was fond of books, and in the course of his life collected a really fine library of about five thousand volumes, rich especially in editions of Milton, in books relating to Milton and to early Massachusetts and New England history. He did a good deal in the way of genealogical research, but wrote little for publication except occasional articles on passing events, biographical notices of friends and classmates, and pamphlets in regard to mercantile affairs.

In 1857 he contributed to the New England Historical and Genealogical Register (vol. xi. pp. 113–225) an article entitled "The Descendants of John and Elinor Whitney, of Watertown, Mass." This was afterwards published by H. W. Dutton and Son, in the form of a small volume. From this it appears that he numbered among his kinsmen Eli Whitney, the inventor of the cotton gin, and the Rev. Peter Whitney, author of a History of Worcester County.

In 1858 he had privately printed "Memoranda relating to the Ancestors of Samuel Whitney and their Families."

In 1859, "Memoranda relating to Families of the Name of Whitney in England."

In 1860, "Family Papers of William Bordman and William

Lawrence," and "Incidents in the Life of Samuel Whitney, together with some Account of his Descendants, and other Family Memorials." Of this, his "magnum opus," a beautiful quarto volume of 142 pages, one hundred copies were printed for private distribution by the Riverside Press. It is one of the handsomest books ever printed in America.

In 1865, "Early Settlers of Hingham, and an Account of John Cutler and his Descendants," and "Wills relating to the name of Whitney in Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire, England, 1549–1603, with a Pedigree."

In 1875, "The first known Use of Whitney as a Surname."

In 1856 he became a member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society.

He was elected a Resident Member of this Society in March, 1858, and was at first, before the cares of business overwhelmed him, quite an active member, serving on the Standing Committee in 1859 and 1860; on the Committee of Publication of the fifth, sixth, and seventh volumes of the Proceedings, and on the Committee on Memorials of the Rebellion. In the autumn of 1859 he gave to the Society the tablet holding the Prescott and Linzee swords, for which he prepared the inscription.[1]

In May, 1863, he received the thanks of the Society for the acceptable donation of a large and valuable collection of French publications relating to the Civil War, "in excellent binding."[2]

At the May meeting in 1888 he addressed the Society for the last time, referring to the History of the Town of Milton by the Rev. Albert K. Teele, a publication in which he had taken a great interest, and towards which he had contributed a sum of money sufficient to defray the cost of the woodcuts of the old houses of the town, which, but for his liberality, it would have lacked. He also read extracts from the journal of the Rev. Peter Thacher.

He became a Freemason in 1863, and rose to a high rank in that order.

His business avocations were numerous and engrossing.

He was from 1863 a Director of the Merchants and Miners'

[1] Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., vol. xviii. p. 431.

[2] Ibid., vol. vii. pp. 102, 357.

Transportation Company, and its Vice-President; President of the Suffolk National Bank from 1874 to 1876, and a Director until his death; President of the Boston and Providence Railroad Company from 1876 until his death. He was also connected with many other societies; as the Boston Dispensary; the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, of which he was a member from 1861 until his death; the New England Trust Company, of which he was a Director from the first; the Massachusetts Charitable Fire Association; the Humane Society, of which he was at one time Recording Secretary, and afterward Vice-President; and the Massachusetts General Hospital.

He was in politics a Whig, and afterwards a Republican, and although he never held a political office, yet never neglected his duty as a citizen.

In religion he was a Unitarian. Soon after leaving college he was for a time a teacher in the Sunday-school of the Federal Street Church.

In all the relations he sustained to his fellow-men, he so bore himself as to win their esteem and respect, — nay, more, their affection.

While his stern integrity and high sense of honor made themselves felt, and inspired confidence, his kindly and genial manner, not at all artificial, but springing from a truly good heart, conciliated the regard alike of friend and stranger.

He had a keen sense of humor, and was always an entertaining and genial companion. Fond of society, and much sought as a guest, he himself displayed remarkably the quality of hospitality; not the ordinary give and take of social life, but that genuine, antique Oriental virtue which gives most freely where there is least hope of return, — a virtue now, unhappily, almost extinct among the men of our race.

One occasion of its exercise will always be sadly remembered by those who shared it. He had asked some friends to meet his classmate, the famous philologist, Fitz Edward Hall, at dinner at the Somerset Club. The guests had assembled; the dinner was served; but the host did not appear. At last came the explanation; his oldest son, Henry Lawrence, had been accidentally shot by a young companion on the meadows near Milton. The guests dispersed in sympathetic sorrow,

soon to learn that the accident had been fatal. His son, a handsome and most promising boy of thirteen, died of his wound on the 23d of October, 1866.

This was the great sorrow of his life, until the death of his wife, which occurred at Boston on the 28th of January, 1883.

The heavier cares of business had ceased to press upon him, and it seemed as if he might look forward to a peaceful old age in the beautiful houses he had built for himself at Milton and in Boston. But "Dis aliter visum est."

Fortunate, however, as he had been beyond most men in his life, he was hardly less so in the manner of his leaving it; for his last illness, though painful, was very short. And yet not too short, for he was allowed time to take an affectionate leave of his family, and to say a few parting words to each of them. On the 19th of February, 1889, while apparently in his usual good health, he was suddenly seized with severe pain, and he died, of acute pancreatitis, on the 21st of that month.

His mother, and his five children, Joseph Cutler, Ellerton Pratt, Elizabeth (married to Dr. James Jackson Minot), Constance, and Hugh, survived him.

He has left a void in the ranks of his friends and associates which can hardly be filled.

"Far may we search before we find
A heart so manly and so kind."

ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL, 1890.

THE Annual Meeting was held on Thursday, April 10, at twelve o'clock, M.; the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair.

In conformity with the regular usage, the business of the stated monthly meeting was first taken up; and after the reading of the record of the last meeting, which was accepted, the Librarian communicated his monthly list of accessions to the Library. Among the volumes added was a copy of Mr. Upham's "Life of General Washington" (London, 1856), the sale of which had been prohibited in this country, as it had been held to be an infringement on the copyright of Mr. Sparks's "Life and Writings of Washington."

The PRESIDENT, in behalf of the Council to whom the matter was referred at the last meeting, reported a recommendation that the centennial anniversary of the organization of the Society should be celebrated in the early part of the ensuing year, and a desire for further time to consider as to the most convenient time and manner of commemoration. This report was accepted as a report in part, and the further consideration of the subject was left with the Council.

The PRESIDENT then spoke as follows: —

The recent posthumous publication of the fifth, the concluding volume of Dr. Palfrey's "History of New England," prompts from us a grateful recognition. The circumstances attending its appearance attach to it a special interest. It unites the labors of two who were our esteemed associates, father and son, each of whom has received commemorative tribute here. Dr. Palfrey's original purpose, now fully completed, was to narrate the history of the New England Colonies from their first planting to the opening of the war of the Revolution. His first volume was published in 1858; the fourth appeared in 1875. He had substantially written the

fifth volume, with his very copious illustrative notes and citations. Before he could give it the thorough and rigid revision of text and authorities which his conscientious fidelity always engaged upon his work previous to sending it to the press, the infirmities of age impaired and disabled some of his powers. He left the manuscript to his son, our late associate, Gen. F. W. Palfrey, to be prepared for publication. It was at the December meeting of the last year that we were called to express here our profound regard for the exalted patriotic military service of that son, and our grief over his many years of invalidism and suffering from that service, closed by his death abroad. Dr. Palfrey had died in 1881, and the son at once engaged upon his filial work. That a period of nine years should have elapsed before its publication is but one among the many tokens known to us of the impediments which debility and a struggle with invalidism interposed to his mental labors. His desire and purpose that the printed volume should present his father's work and not his own withheld him from all but necessary editorial oversight. It may be that some readers of the volume will take note occasionally of matters or places which would have engaged the closer attention of the author.

There were two special and exacting aims which Dr. Palfrey had in view in his method. One was to trace fully the inter-relations between the New England Colonies in the events and measures which engaged them in harmony or in variance. The other was to offer a contemporaneous narrative of incidents and experiences in the mother country, the government, court and party movements and intrigues which affected in any way the actions and interests of the colonists. So we find his pages crowded and enriched by very elaborate and instructive extracts from State papers, reports, correspondence, and minutes gathered by the author from his keen and diligent researches, in his visits to England, among all accessible archives and repositories.

It is safe to affirm that by whosesoever pens, or from whatsoever points of view in historical, ethical, political, or philosophical theory, the history of New England may be rewritten, fidelity to fact in its treatment, general impartiality, and interesting narration will always be the claims on which Dr. Palfrey's faithful work may rest for high approval.

The members of the second section, G to P inclusive, having been called on for communications, Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN said: —

The first member of the Historical Society chosen by the founders after its organization was the Hon. David Sewall, of York, District of Maine; and among the earliest manuscripts given to the Library is a volume which he presented, containing copies of papers connected with the early history of that Province. Besides other documents transcribed in the book, there is a deed of land given by President Thomas Danforth to the Trustees of the Town of York, which has some historical interest and value. This instrument has been referred to, in different works, by writers who did not say where it was recorded; and the existence of such a deed, or even of a copy, has been doubted.

On pages 222, 223 of the current number of the Quarterly (April, 1890) published by the Maine Historical Society is an article on the "Alleged Deed," written by William M. Sargent, Esq., a member of the Cumberland bar, and the editor of "York Deeds," who is probably more familiar with the land titles of York County than any other person. The author takes the ground that no such deed was ever given, and he says: —

"But there is very grave doubt whether there ever was, in fact, any such deed. It is not recorded chronologically; nor is it revealed by a search of the present imperfect index to the deeds still tolerated in use by York County; the present town clerk knows nothing of it; it is not mentioned by either Sullivan or Williamson. Who ever saw it? Who made the above alleged abstract from it? It is, of course, possible that such a deed was executed to trustees for the town, as alleged, and that it may have been destroyed with the other papers in the Indian raid of 1692, without having gone upon the county records; but, even in that case, it is very peculiar that it was not known to Sullivan or Williamson, or at any rate, not considered worthy of mention by them."

In the discussion, from his standpoint, Mr. Sargent's argument is fair and logical, but his conclusions are drawn from wrong premises. Candor, however, compels me to say that my attention was first called to the copy now in this Library

by Mr. Sargent himself, who has examined it, and is satisfied that it was made from the original record. As the deed has excited some interest in various quarters, I submit the following copy for the Proceedings: —

This Indenture made the Twenty sixth day of July anno Domini one thousand six hundred and eighty four, and in the Thirty Six year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord Charles the second by the Grace of God of England Scotland France and Ireland King defender of the Faith &c. Between Thomas Danforth Esq^r President of his Majesty's Province of Mayne, in New England on the one party and Major John Davis, M^r Edward Rishworth, Cap^t Job Alcock and Lieu^t Abraham Prebble Trustees on the behalf, and for the sole use and benefit of the Inhabitants of the Town of York, within the above named Province of Mayne on the other party Witnesseth, That Whereas the above named Thomas Danforth by the Governour & Company of the Massachusetts Colony in New England, the now Lord Proprietors of the above named Province of Mayne, at a General Assembly held at Boston on the Eleventh day of May *1681* is fully authorized & impowred to make legal confirmation unto the Inhabitants of the abovesaid Province of Mayne of all their Lands, or Proprieties to them Justly appertaining or belonging, within the limits or bounds of said Province Now Know all men by these Presents, that the said Thomas Danforth pursuant to the Trust in him reposed and power to him given as abovesaid, by and on the behalf of the Governour and Company of the Massachusetts Colony aforesaid Hath given granted and Confirmed, And by these presents, Doth fully clearly and absolutely give grant, and Confirm unto the above named Major John Davis, M^r Edward Rishworth, Cap^t Job Alcock & Lieu^t Abraham Prebble Trustees as is above expressed, All that Tract or parcel of Land within the Township of York in said Province, according to the Bounds and Limits of said Township to them formerly granted by S^r Ferdinando Gorges Knight, or by any of his Agents, or by the General Assembly of the Massachusetts, with all priveledges and appurtenances to the same appertaining or in any wise belonging (All Royaltys reserved to his Majesty by the Charter granted to Sir Ferdinando Gorges Knight, [his Heirs and assigns, together] Also those by the said Charter given to said Sir Ferdinando Gorges Knight, his Heirs & assigns, together with the Rivers Streams, and coves contained within the limits or bounds of said Township always to be excepted and reserved. to have and to hold all the above said Tract of Land by these presents granted and confirmed be the same more or less with all the priveledges & appurtenances to the same appertaining, or in any wise belonging, excepting as is above excepted and reserved

to them the said Major John Davis M^r^ Edward Rushworth Cap^t^ Job Alcock & Lieu^t^ Abraham Prebble Trustees, as abovesaid forever. To the only proper use and behoof of the Inhabitants of the said Town that now are, and to those that shall there Survive and succeed from time to time and forevermore hereafter. And the above named Thomas Danforth for and on the behalf of the Governour and Company of the Massachusetts Colony and for their Successors, and assigns doth further covenant promise and grant to and with the above named John Davis Edward Rishworth, Job Alcock and Abraham Prebble their Heirs and Assigns Trustees above expressed, That they the said John Davis, Edward Rushworth Job Alcock & Abraham Prebble shall and may at all times and from time to time for ever hereafter, peaceably and quietly have hold occupy possess and enjoy all the above given and granted premises without the let denyal or Contradiction of the Governour and Company of the Massachusetts Colony, or of any other person or persons whatsoever claiming and having any lawfull Right Title or Interest therein, or in any part or parcel thereof by from or under them the said Governour and Company, or by any of their assigns. They the above named Inhabitants of the said Town of York for the time being and in like manner that shall there be from time to time forever hereafter Yielding and paying in consideration thereof to the Governour and Company of the Massachusetts Colony, or to the President of said Province of Mayne, by them authorised & impowred for the time being, or to other their Agents and lawfull Asignee or Asignes the Quit Rents to the said Governour and Company due and belonging according to the proposal made and mutually agreed upon at the General Assembly held in the abovesaid Province at York June *1681* viz^t^ that they the abovesaid Inhabitants of the said Town of York for the time being and in like manner that shall there be from time to time forever hereafter, as an Acknowledgement of Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Assigns Right to Soyl & Government do pay *Twelve pence* for every Family whose's single Country Rate is not above Two shillings, and for all that exceed that sum of Two Shillings in a single Rate to pay *three shillings* p^r^ Family Annually in money to the Treasurer of the said Province for the use of the Chief Proprietor thereof; And in case of omission or neglect on the part and behalf of the Inhabitants to make full paiment Annually in manner as is above expressed and hath been mutually concented and agreed unto; It shall then be lawfull for the said President of the said Province for the Time being or for other the Agent or Agents Asignee or Assignees of the Governour and Company of the Massachusetts Colony to levy and make distress upon the Estates of any of the Inhabitants for the time being within the lymits & bounds of the said Township as well for said Quit Rent as also for all Costs and Charges accrueing and arising upon

the same and the Estates so levied or distreined to bear drive or carry away with so much as it shall Cost to convey the same to the Treasurer of the Province for the time being, or to such place as He shall appoint. In Witness whereof the partys above mentioned to this Present Indenture have Interchangeably put their Hands and Seals the day and year first above Written.

Signed Sealed and delivered

in presence of THOMAS DANFORTH President SEAL.

JOHN HAYWARD, Notra Publick.
ELIEZER MOODY.

Copied from the Record in York Town Book 500 &c.

While I am on my feet, Mr. President, I will refer to a paper on Capt. Robert Keayne's Note-book, presented by me at a meeting of this Society, on March 14, 1889. At that time an allusion was made to another note-book, which had once been in the possession of our late associate, Dr. Thomas H. Webb, and exhibited here by him at a meeting twenty-five years previously; though I did not then know its ownership. Within a short period I have learned that the volume was in the library of the Rhode Island Historical Society, where a few days ago I had an opportunity to examine it. The book corresponds in its description almost exactly with the copy in this Library. It is a quarto volume of 484 closely written pages, bound in leather, and there are traces of clasps on the cover. Some of the leaves are badly torn, and others wholly gone. The book contains notes of sermons preached before the First Church, Boston, by the Rev. John Wilson, of which the first entry is dated Feb. 4 [?], 1643, and the last one April 19, 1646. On the *recto* of the fly-leaf is written "Robert Keayne. of Bost: New England his Booke 1643, Price 6^{s}"; and on the inside of the cover, "Goodm: Munninge." With the exception of a sermon delivered by the Rev. Thomas Cobbet, of Lynn, on July 18, 1645, they all were preached by Mr. Wilson.

Mr. HENRY W. HAYNES, having been next called on by the President, presented and read the following communication:

Samuel Sewall and Sir John Beaumont upon the "Tragedy of Black-Friers," Oct. 26, 1623.

In Sewall's "Letter-Book" (vol. ii. p. 141) occurs the following passage: "Reading lately Mr. Jeremiah Dyke upon Good Conscience, the zeal wherewith he mentions the Tragedy of Black-Friers, put me upon trying to comprise it in a few distichs, having read Fuller's Church History, and Baker's Chronicle on this subject." A note appended gives fourteen Latin elegiacs, signed "S. S.," which I had copied for the editors from the "Boston News-Letter," for Oct. 24, 1723, but which need not be repeated here. My attention had been called to them by a note in Sewall's Diary (vol. iii. p. 322), which told where they were to be found, and gave the following account of the accident which occasioned them: —

"26 October, 1623. Divers being at an invective sermon at the French ambassador's lodging in the Blackfriars, in London, part of the room wherein they were fell down and killed about 80 or 92 persons, as it is reported. The preacher was one Drury, a converted Protestant. He inveighed bitterly against Luther, Calvin, and Doctor Sutton, a reverent preacher sometime of St. Mary Overy's, in London, who, travelling beyond the seas, was drowned. This preacher said that the sea swallowed him up because he was not worthy the earth should receive him. At which words the house sank." (Diary of Walter Yonge, published in 1848 by the Camden Society, p. 70.)

I have lately met with some recently discovered English verses, by Sir John Beaumont, upon the same catastrophe, which I have thought it might be interesting to contrast with Judge Sewall's Latin verses, on account of the different spirit manifested in them. They are taken from an article in the "London Athenæum," for Oct. 19, 1889, by F. G. Kenyon, who gives the following account of the circumstances of their recovery: —

"In Dr. Grosart's introduction to his edition of the poems of Sir John Beaumont (in the 'Fuller Worthies Library,' 1869) he notes the curious bibliographical fact connected with the volume of 1629, on which volume our knowledge of nearly all Sir John's poems depends, viz., that one leaf (pp. 181–2) has been cut out of every known copy of that edition, obviously with the purpose of cancelling the poems contained on it. Fortunately a clue has been left for the discovery of the missing

poems. In one of the copies in the British Museum the leaf has been so clumsily cut out as to leave the initial letters of most of the lines on one page; and the same is the case, to a much smaller extent, with a copy in the Bodleian. Dr. Grosart prints these initial letters in his introduction (p. lxiii); and by this means the lost poems, by a fortunate accident, have been discovered and identified. Among the Stowe collection of MSS., which came into the British Museum from the Ashburnham Library, is a paper volume of fourteen leaves containing manuscript poems by Sir John Beaumont. It is not by any means a complete collection of his works, but it contains two poems that are not given in Dr. Grosart's edition. One of these, entitled 'On the death of many good People slaine by the fall of a floore att a Catholike Sermon in Black Friers," is unquestionably one of the missing poems, as its initial letters agree with those preserved in the printed copy mentioned above." . . .

ON THE DEATH OF MANY GOOD PEOPLE, ETC.

Mann hath no fast defence, noe place of rest
Betweene the earthe and mansyon of the blest.
Rayse him on high, yet still he downward falls;
Depressing death our heavy Bodyes calls
To his low caves: no soul can pierce the skyes,
But first the ffleshe must sincke wth hope to ryse.
See here the Trophees of that rig'rous hand
Whose force no wordlie [*sic*] mixture cann withstand:
ffor yt united Elements devids
And parts their frendly league to diff'rent sides.
In this most dolefull picture wee display
The gen'rall ruine on the iudgement day.
Thrice happy they whom that last hower shall fynd
Soe cleerely watching in such ready mynde,
As was this blessed flocke whoe fyld their eares
With pious Counsells and their eyes with Teares;
Whose harts were ravisht with a sacred Bell
And heavenly Trumpett when the chamber fell.
And that the preacher's wordes might more prevaile
When he describes this Life unsure and frayle
God by his death would confirmacon give
To make impressyon on our breasts that live.
Rest safe, Deare Saynts, and may this fun'rall songe
Become a charme to ev'ry Serpent's Tonge.

The business of the Annual Meeting was then taken up; and the report of the Council was presented by the Hon. John Lowell; that of the Treasurer, with the report of the Auditing Committee, by Mr. Charles C. Smith; that of the Libra-

rian, by Dr. Samuel A. Green; that of the Cabinet-keeper, by Dr. Fitch Edward Oliver; and that of the Committee appointed at the last meeting to examine the Library and Cabinet, by the Rev. Edmund F. Slafter.

Report of the Council.

The most striking feature of the history of this Society for 1889–1890 is the sad one of the loss by death of six Resident, three Honorary, and four Corresponding Members, — a loss which cannot be paralleled in our experience. Of the Resident Members, the first in point of time was Peleg Whitman Chandler, distinguished in his profession and in public life, whose interest in us and in the studies appropriate to our Society has continued, though the infirmity of deafness, which he bore with Christian cheerfulness, prevented his meeting with us of late years. Henry Wilder Foote filled a place in his parish and in this community which will not be easily supplied. Thomas Coffin Amory was a constant attendant and interested partaker in our meetings, and himself an antiquary and historian of great learning and diligence. Our first Vice-President, Charles Deane, was one of our oldest and most valued members. The special meeting devoted to his memory will never be forgotten by those who were present and heard the affectionate and reverent tributes rendered him from the heart of his associates and life-time friends. Robert Bennett Forbes, like Mr. Chandler, had been prevented by deafness from joining with us of late years, but his memory of the local history of sixty years and more remained vivid, and his printed personal recollections were interesting. Finally, Francis Winthrop Palfrey, a victim of the war of the Rebellion, died in a foreign land, honored and lamented. Besides helping in the making of history, he had been most profitably engaged in continuing his father's admirable work on the history of New England, as has just been most appropriately brought to our notice by the President.

We will only name the Honorary and Corresponding Members whose loss we have to deplore: of the former, Theodore Dwight Woolsey, James Riker, Baron Franz von Holtzendorff; of the latter, Henry B. Dawson, Alexander Johnston, S. Austin Allibone, William Francis Allen.

We have elected the following Resident Members: George Otis Shattuck, James Bradley Thayer, Henry Stedman Nourse, Henry Fitzgilbert Waters, Edwin Lassetter Bynner, and Hamilton Andrews Hill.

Our accommodations have been much improved during the year by the addition of seven stacks for books and pamphlets in the Library-room, and by fitting the upper room for books, cabinets, and pictures. This room has been made very attractive, and we have hung upon its walls, besides others, the valuable pictures which had been before placed in the less safe and appropriate hall-way. The accompanying reports of the Treasurer, the Librarian, and the Cabinet-keeper will show the excellent care taken of our finances by Mr. Smith, and the additions which have been made to our collections by associates and friends.

Following is the usual list of publications by the Society and its members: —

By the Society.

Proceedings, 2d series, vol. iv., 1887–1889.

By Members, 1889–1890.

Jonathan Edwards. [American Religious Leaders.] By Alexander V. G. Allen.

An Address delivered at Wellesley College upon the Opening of the Farnsworth Art School, Oct. 23, 1889. By Martin Brimmer.

Josiah Quincy, the Great Mayor. An address delivered before the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Good Citizenship. Feb. 25, 1889. By Mellen Chamberlain.

Notes on some writing which may be by Shakspeare in the Boston Public Library, 1889. By Mellen Chamberlain.

Address on the Centennial of Washington's Inauguration, under the auspices of the Episcopalian Club of Massachusetts, April 30, 1889. By Samuel Eliot.

An Account of the Collections of the American Statistical Association, 1889. By Samuel Abbott Green.

Groton Historical Series, Nos. XIII. to XVI. of Vol. II. By Samuel Abbott Green.

A Chronological Sketch of Legislation from 1752 to 1884 on the subject of printing the Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts Bay. By Abner C. Goodell, Jr.

The Trotts of Dorchester and Boston. By Edward D. Harris.

George Washington. [American Statesmen.] By Henry Cabot Lodge. Two volumes.

Preparation for Citizenship at Williams College. By Arthur L. Perry.

Double Taxation in Massachusetts. By Josiah P. Quincy.

George Washington. An Historical Biography. [Riverside Library for Young People.] By Horace E. Scudder.

The Diocese of Massachusetts: Its Historical Collections. A Diocesan Library. By Edmund F. Slafter.

Twentieth Annual Report of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston. By William H. Whitmore.

The Colonial Laws of Massachusetts. Reprinted from the edition of 1660. Published under the supervision of William H. Whitmore.

Narrative and Critical History of America. Vol. VIII. By Justin Winsor.

JOHN LOWELL,
Senior Member at Large of the Council.

Treasurer's Report.

In compliance with the requirements of the By-Laws, Chapter VII., Article 1, the Treasurer respectfully submits his Annual Report, made up to March 31, 1890.

The special funds held by him are eleven in number, as they were at the date of his last Annual Report, and are as follows: —

I. THE APPLETON FUND, which was created Nov. 18, 1854, by a gift to the Society, from Nathan Appleton, William Appleton, and Nathaniel I. Bowditch, trustees under the will of the late Samuel Appleton, of stocks of the appraised value of ten thousand dollars. These stocks were subsequently sold for $12,203, at which sum the fund now stands. The income is applicable to "the procuring, preserving, preparation, and publication of historical papers."

II. THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL TRUST-FUND, which now stands, with the accumulated income, at $10,000. This fund originated in a gift of two thousand dollars from the late Hon. David Sears, presented Oct. 15, 1855, and accepted by the Society Nov. 8, 1855. On Dec. 26, 1866, it was increased by a gift of five hundred dollars from Mr. Sears, and another of the same amount from our late associate, Mr. Nathaniel Thayer. The income must be appropriated in accordance

with the directions in Mr. Sears's declaration of trust in the printed Proceedings for November, 1855.

III. The Dowse Fund, which was given to the Society by George Livermore and Eben. Dale, executors of the will of the late Thomas Dowse, April 9, 1857, for the "safe keeping" of the Dowse Library. It amounts to $10,000.

IV. The Peabody Fund, which was presented by the late George Peabody, in a letter dated Jan. 1, 1867, and now stands at $22,123. It is invested in the seven per cent bonds of the Boston and Albany Railroad Co., payable in 1892, for $21,000, and a deposit in the Suffolk Savings Bank amounting, with the last addition of interest, in October, 1889, to $758.29. The income is available only for the publication and illustration of the Society's Proceedings and Memoirs, and for the preservation of the Society's Historical Portraits.

V. The Savage Fund, which was a bequest from the late Hon. James Savage, received in June, 1873, and now stands on the books at the sum of $6,000. The income is to be used for the increase of the Society's Library.

VI. The Erastus B. Bigelow Fund, which was given in February, 1881, by Mrs. Helen Bigelow Merriman, in recognition of her father's interest in the work of the Society. The original sum was one thousand dollars; but the interest up to this date having been added to the principal, it now stands at $1,681.06. There is no restriction as to the use to be made of this fund.

VII. The William Winthrop Fund, which amounts to the sum of $3,000, and was received Oct. 13, 1882, under the will of the late William Winthrop, for many years a Corresponding Member of the Society. The income is to be applied "to the binding for better preservation of the valuable manuscripts and books appertaining to the Society."

VIII. The Richard Frothingham Fund, which represents a gift to the Society, on the 23d of March, 1883, from the widow of our late Treasurer, of a certificate of twenty shares in the Union Stock Yard and Transit Co., of Chicago, of the par value of $100 each, and of the stereotype plates of Mr. Frothingham's "Siege of Boston," "Life of Joseph Warren," and "Rise of the Republic," in which it is still invested. The fund stands on the Treasurer's books at $3,000. There

are no restrictions on the uses to which the income may be applied.

IX. THE GENERAL FUND, which now amounts to $7,850. It represents the following gifts and payments to the Society: —

1. A gift of two thousand dollars from the residuary estate of the late MARY PRINCE TOWNSEND, by the executors of her will, William Minot and William Minot, Jr., in recognition of which, by a vote of the Society, passed June 13, 1861, the Treasurer was "directed to make and keep a special entry in his account books of this contribution as the donation of Miss Mary P. Townsend."

2. A legacy of two thousand dollars from the late HENRY HARRIS, received in July, 1867.

3. A legacy of one thousand dollars from the late GEORGE BEMIS, received in March, 1879.

4. A gift of one hundred dollars from the late RALPH WALDO EMERSON, received in April, 1881.

5. A legacy of one thousand dollars from the late WILLIAMS LATHAM, received in May, 1884.

6. A bequest of five shares in the Cincinnati Gas-Light and Coke Co. from our late Recording Secretary, GEORGE DEXTER, received in June, 1884.

7. Five commutation fees of one hundred and fifty dollars each.

X. THE ANONYMOUS FUND, which originated in a gift of $1,000 to the Society in April, 1887, communicated in a letter to the Treasurer printed in the Proceedings (2d series, vol. iii. pp. 277, 278). A further gift of $250 was received from the same generous friend in April, 1888. The income up to the present time has been added to the principal. The fund now stands at $1,455.06.

XI. THE WILLIAM AMORY FUND, which was a gift of $3,000, under the will of our associate, the late WILLIAM AMORY, received Jan. 7, 1889. There are no restrictions on the uses to which the income may be applied.

The Treasurer also holds a deposit book in the Five Cent Savings Bank for $100 and interest, which is applicable to the care and preservation of the beautiful model of the Brattle Street Church, deposited with us in April, 1877.

Of these funds two — the Peabody Fund and the Richard Frothingham Fund — are invested separately, as has been

stated above. The other funds, which stand on the Treasurer's books at $55,189.12, are represented in part by the following securities: $10,000 in the five per cent mortgage bonds of the Chicago and West Michigan Railroad Co., registered in the name of the Society, and payable in 1921; $3,000 in the four per cent general mortgage bonds of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé Railroad Co., and $3,000 in the new income bonds of the same corporation, which were received in exchange for the bonds of the Chicago, Kansas, and Western Railroad Co., heretofore held by the Treasurer; $1,000 in an eight per cent mortgage bond of the Quincy and Palmyra Railroad Co., payable in 1892; forty shares in the State National Bank of Boston, of the par value of $100 each; forty shares in the Merchants' National Bank of Boston, of the par value of $100 each; twenty-five shares in the National Bank of Commerce of Boston, of the par value of $100 each; thirteen shares in the National Union Bank of Boston, of the par value of $100 each; five shares in the Second National Bank of Boston, of the par value of $100 each; five shares in the Cincinnati Gas-Light and Coke Co., of the par value of $100 each; and five shares in the Cincinnati Electric Light Co., of the par value of $5 each. The aggregate amount at which these securities stand on the books is $33,586.44. The balance ($21,602.68) is an incumbrance on the real estate, and shows a reduction of $4,697.94 during the year in the amount of our funds which have been temporarily invested in the building.

It should not be forgotten that besides the gifts and bequests represented by these funds, which the Treasurer is required to take notice of in his Annual Report, numerous gifts have been made to the Society from time to time, and expended for the purchase of the real estate, or in promoting the objects for which the Society was organized. A detailed account of these gifts was included in the Annual Report of the Treasurer, dated March 31, 1887, printed in the Proceedings, 2d series, vol. iii. pp. 291–296; and in the list of the givers there enumerated will be found the names of many honored associates, living or departed, and of other gentlemen, not members of the Society, who were interested in the promotion of historical studies. They gave liberally in the day of small things; and to them the Society is largely indebted for its present prosperity and usefulness.

The following abstracts and the trial balance show the present condition of the several accounts: —

CASH ACCOUNT.

DEBITS.

1889.		
March 30.	To balance on hand	$379.56
1890.		
March 31.	To receipts as follows: —	
	General Account	10,699 49
	Investments	1,200.00
	Consolidated Income	1,550.26
	Income of Peabody Fund	1,470.00
	Income of Richard Frothingham Fund	254.90
		$15,554.21
March 31.	To balance brought down	$289.38

CREDITS.

1890.		
March 31.	By payments as follows: —	
	Investments	$5,885.44
	Income of Peabody Fund	2,235.23
	Income of Savage Fund	433.05
	Income of William Winthrop Fund	188.85
	Income of Appleton Fund	2,243.69
	Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund	333.33
	General Account	3,945.24
	By balance on hand	289.38
		$15,554.21

GENERAL ACCOUNT.

DEBITS.

1889.		
March 30.	To balance brought forward	$4,555.09
1890.		
March 31.	To sundry payments: —	
	Salaries of Librarian's Assistants	2,500.00
	New Book Stacks, etc.	641.15
	Printing, stationery, and postage	162.06
	Fuel and light	162.01
	Care of fire, etc.	297.17
	Miscellaneous expenses and repairs	182.85
	Consolidated Income	1,472.17
	Building Account	4,697.94
		$14,670.44
March 31.	To balance brought down	$3,419.40

CREDITS.

1890.		
March 31.	By sundry receipts: —	
	Rent of Building	$9,000.00
	Interest	44.34
	Income of Dowse Fund	551.55
	Admission Fees	175.00
	Assessments	900.00
	Sales of publications	580.15
	By balance to new account	3,419.40
		$14,670.44

Income of Appleton Fund.

DEBITS.

1890.		
March 31.	To amount paid on account of 6 Coll. III.	$1,418.69
	„ „ „ „ indexing Pickering MSS.	825.00
	„ balance carried forward	2,073.77
		$4,317.46

CREDITS.

1889.		
March 30.	By balance brought forward	$3,644.40
1890.		
March 31.	„ proportion of consolidated income	673.06
		$4,317.46
March 31.	By balance brought down	$2,073.77

Income of William Winthrop Fund.

DEBITS.

1890.		
March 31.	To amount paid for binding	$188.85
	„ balance carried forward	121.00
		$309.85

CREDITS.

1889.		
March 30.	By balance brought forward	$144.38
1890.		
March 31.	„ proportion of consolidated income	165.47
		$309.85
March 31.	By balance brought down	$121.00

Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund.

DEBITS.

1890.		
March 31.	To amount paid on account of 6 Coll. IV.	$333.33
	„ balance carried forward	1,148.18
		$1,481.51

CREDITS.

1889.		
March 30.	By amount brought forward	$929.96
1890.		
March 31.	„ proportion of consolidated income	551.55
		$1,481.51
March 31.	By balance brought down	$1,148.18

Income of Richard Frothingham Fund.

CREDITS.

1889.		
March 30.	By balance brought forward	$767.90
1890.		
March 31.	„ dividends received	180.00
	„ copyright received	74.90
		$1,022.80
March 31.	By amount brought down	$1,022.80

Income of Dowse Fund.

DEBITS.

1890.		
March 31.	To amount placed to credit of General Account	$551.55

CREDITS.

1890.		
March 31.	By proportion of consolidated income	$551.55

Income of Peabody Fund.

DEBITS.

1889.		
March 30.	To balance brought forward	$1,606.27
1890.		
March 31.	„ amount paid for printing, etc.	1,935.96
	„ „ „ „ repairs of portraits, etc.	299.27
		$3,841.50
March 31.	To balance brought down	$2,371.50

CREDITS.

1890		
March 31.	By one year's interest on railroad bonds	$1,470.00
	„ balance carried forward	2,371.50
		$3,841.50

Income of Savage Fund.

DEBITS.

1890.		
March 31.	To amount paid for books	$433.05
	„ balance carried forward	120.51
		$553.56

CREDITS.

1889.		
March 30.	By balance brought forward	$222.63
1890.		
March 31.	„ proportion of consolidated income	330.93
		$553.56
March 31.	By balance brought down	$120.51

TRIAL BALANCE.

DEBITS.

Cash	$289.38
Real Estate	103,280.19
Investments	58,709.44
Income of Peabody Fund	2,371.50
General Account	3,419.40
	$168,069.91

CREDITS.

Building Account	$81,841.45
Appleton Fund	12,203.00
Dowse Fund	10,000.00
Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund	10,000.00
Peabody Fund	22,123.00
Savage Fund	6,000.00
Erastus B. Bigelow Fund	1,681.06
William Winthrop Fund	3,000.00
Richard Frothingham Fund	3,000.00
General Fund	7,850.00
Anonymous Fund	1,455.06
William Amory Fund	3,000.00
Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund	1,148.18
Income of Appleton Fund	2,073.77
Income of Savage Fund	120.51
Income of William Winthrop Fund	121.00
Income of Richard Frothingham Fund	1,022.80
Income of General Fund	1,222.11
Income of William Amory Fund	207.97
	$168,069.91

It will be noticed that the amount charged to the Income of the Peabody Fund is unusually large, — $299.27 having been paid for necessary repairs and other expenses for the preservation of the historical portraits belonging to the Society, and $1,935.96 for printing the Proceedings, against $326.53 expended for both purposes in the year ending March 30, 1889. But the amount paid for printing the Proceedings covers the larger part of the cost of two volumes, and the aggregate amount paid in the two years falls considerably short of the income for that period. The amount charged to the Income of the Appleton Fund includes the larger part of the cost of the third volume of the sixth series of the Collections, and a considerable additional sum for preparing a calendar of the Pickering Manuscripts. The cost of publishing the volume of Belknap Papers now in preparation will be charged to the Income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund; and it is expected that a volume of Wait Winthrop Papers, to be charged to the Income of the Appleton Fund, will follow the publication of the Belknap Papers. No further payment has been authorized by the Committee having in charge the indexing the Trumbull Papers; and the sum of $307 still remains subject to their order, and can be used under their direction for some similar specific work. It is not to be used in the ordinary expenses of the Society.

CHARLES C. SMITH, *Treasurer.*

BOSTON, March 31, 1890.

Report of the Auditing Committee.

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society, as made up to March 31, 1890, have attended to that duty, and report that they find them correctly kept and properly vouched; that the securities held by the Treasurer for the several funds correspond with the statement in his Annual Report; that the balance of cash on hand is satisfactorily accounted for; and that the Trial Balance is accurately taken from the Ledger.

SAMUEL F. MCCLEARY, } *Committee.*
THORNTON K. LOTHROP, }

BOSTON, April 8, 1890.

Report of the Librarian.

During the year there have been added to the Library: —

Books	1,085
Pamphlets	1,718
Volume of newspapers	1
Unbound volumes of newspapers	15
Broadsides	264
Maps	64
Volumes of manuscripts	5
Separate manuscripts	531
In all	3,683

Of the books added, 907 have been given, 172 bought, and 6 obtained by exchange. Of the pamphlets added, 1,390 have been given, 240 bought, and 88 procured by exchange.

From the income of the Savage Fund, there have been bought 172 volumes and 240 pamphlets; and 18 volumes have been bound at the charge of the same fund.

From the income of the William Winthrop Fund, 62 volumes have been bound, and 8 repaired.

Of the books added to the Rebellion Department, 14 have been given and 102 bought; and of the pamphlets added, 138 have been given, and 64 bought. There are now in this collection 1,789 volumes, 4,460 pamphlets, 780 broadsides, and 105 maps.

In the collection of manuscripts there are now 730 volumes, 160 unbound volumes, 75 pamphlets with manuscript notes, and 6,863 separate manuscripts.

The Library contains at the present time about 34,600 volumes, including the files of bound newspapers, the bound manuscripts, and the Dowse Collection. The number of pamphlets, including duplicates, is 89,739; and the number of broadsides, including duplicates, is 3,475.

During the year there have been taken out 47 books and 7 pamphlets, and all have been returned.

Among the important additions to the Library is a collection of books, pamphlets, manuscripts, maps, etc., which once belonged to our late associate, the Hon. Richard Frothingham, recently given by his son, Thomas G. Frothingham.

Perhaps the most interesting of these are two Orderly Books, one of which was kept by Captain Abishai Brown, commanding a company in Colonel Nixon's regiment during the siege of Boston; and the other probably by B. Whipple, perhaps of a Rhode Island regiment. Captain Brown's Orderly Book covers the period from Oct. 5, 1775, to the end of that year; and the other from June 4 to Nov. 19, 1775.

By a vote passed at the last February meeting, 115 volumes, chiefly in Latin and not of an historical character, were given to Harvard College Library, where 17 proved to be duplicates, and were then sent in the name of the Society to Bowdoin College Library.

Respectfully submitted,

SAMUEL A. GREEN, *Librarian.*

BOSTON, April 10, 1890.

Report of the Cabinet-keeper.

During the past year there have been given to the Cabinet 8 engravings, 7 lithographs, 8 photographs, 1 oil-painting, with a few other miscellaneous articles, to be found in the appended list, all of which have been duly acknowledged.

The report of the Committee appointed a year ago for the purpose of suggesting and carrying into effect such alterations and improvements in the rooms above as would give greater space and opportunity for the display of our paintings and other objects of interest, has already been presented; and it seems needless at present to do more than allude to the changes that have been made in the consequent arrangement of the Cabinet. The removal of a portion of the bookcases, with many of the books, from the upper to the lower room, has given wall-space for most of our portraits and other paintings; and these have been transferred from the stairway, and now adorn the upper hall. That room has been cleansed and painted, and every available space made use of. The flags have been rehung, and the room generally made more attractive. Not the least important of the alterations is the new staircase between the two floors, which not only gives easier access to the Cabinet, but serves as a protection to its contents.

It may be added that a carefully prepared catalogue of the medals belonging to the Cabinet is being made, and will soon

be completed. Several paintings have been repaired during the year, and when necessary their frames regilded. The model of the Brattle Street Church, which was loaned to the Bostonian Society four years ago and has proved of so much interest to the visitors to its rooms, has been returned to its place. The Cabinet may be said to be on the whole in reasonable order and condition.

All which is respectfully submitted,

FITCH EDWARD OLIVER, *Cabinet-keeper.*

BOSTON, April 10, 1890.

A photograph of Mrs. John Langdon Sibley's home, Groton, Mass., February, 1889. Given by Dr. Samuel A. Green.

A plaster bust of Gov. John Davis, modelled about forty-five years ago by the late Henry Dexter, father of Mrs. Anna E. Douglass. Given by Mrs. Douglass.

A photograph of the ruins of Stone Bridge, Bull Run, destroyed by the Confederates when they retreated from Centreville, 1862. Given by Dr. Samuel A. Green.

A china plate, bearing, with other decorations, a view of Harvard Hall and the adjacent buildings, Cambridge. Given by Mrs. Francis E. Bacon.

Four photographs of members of the Canton Historical Society and others, at the times of their annual walk, 1886, 1887, 1888, and 1889. Given by Henry F. Jenks.

An engraving, entitled "The Last Days of Daniel Webster at Marshfield," by C. Mottram, after a painting by Joseph Ames, published in 1858. Given by Charles C. Smith.

An engraving of Beacon Hill Monument, from a painting by Sully, made for a Committee of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, 1864. An etching of thirteen heads of distinguished men of the American Revolution, and others. Given by Thomas Goddard Frothingham.

A pair of silver sugar-tongs made by Paul Revere, and inscribed "I. M. K." Given by Mrs. Ellen M. Gifford.

A collection of six lithographs and an engraving. A badge bearing an engraving of Lafayette by Hoogland. A Confederate bill of two dollars. Given by Miss Susan Blanchard Kidder.

A colored lithographic view of Libby Prison War Museum, Chicago. An engraving of Libby Prison during the War, issued by J. Thompson Brown & Co., Richmond. Given by Dr. Samuel Abbott Green.

An engraving after a photograph by J. W. Black, of the ruins of the great fire in Boston, 1872. An engraving of the house of John Mayo and Cotton Mather, 1883. Given by Albert Oliver Crane.

A photograph of a steel engraving of Gov. William Eustis, after a portrait by Stuart. Given by Mrs. Elizabeth Eustis Langdon Porter.

A halberd used on "training days" by John Pierce, of Dorchester. A small pocket compass used by James Blake, surveyor, of Dorchester. Given by the bequest of the late William T. Carlton, of Dorchester.

An oil-painting, on panel, of George Washington, a copy of the Albemarle portrait, painted by "N. Piehle, 1783." Given by Miss Sarah J. Eddy.

A photograph of the National Monument to the Forefathers, at Plymouth, 1889. Given by Samuel Wells.

An engraved view, by B. Romans, of the Battle of Bunker Hill. Given by Thomas G. Frothingham.

Report of the Committee on the Library and Cabinet.

The Committee appointed to examine the Library and Cabinet have attended to the duty, and present the following report. They find both of these departments in excellent condition. The interesting articles belonging to the Cabinet, medals, coins, and memorials associated with our early history, are tastefully and skilfully displayed, in such a manner that they may be readily examined by members of the Society or by visitors without danger of disarrangement or loss.

The paintings, mostly portraits, have been placed upon the walls of the uppermost floor of the building, which may be properly denominated our PICTURE GALLERY; classified to some extent, bringing those of the same rank and condition together, such as governors, clergymen, and scholars. This grouping adds greatly to the interest of the whole. Each portrait has a label, with its number so large and clear that it can be read even at a distance. In a printed catalogue, under the given numbers, is a brief description of the various portraits, thus removing gratefully the blank uncertainty that for so many years brooded over this collection of pictures. This catalogue is the result of long, patient, not to say painful research; and our deepest gratitude is due to the Cabinet-keeper. It is not possible for us fully to appreciate the difficulties which have been successfully overcome in his persistent and prolonged labors. Some of the pictures have been newly framed and repaired, and the gallery now presents an interesting and attractive appearance.

The condition of the Library is eminently satisfactory. The books are wisely classified; and even those which are only called for at most once in a decade, are fully catalogued either in printed volumes or on cards. The pamphlets, nearly ninety thousand in number, often of the highest importance to the historical student, are so systematically arranged that they are ready for inspection at a moment's warning. The Society, the proper and responsible custodian of the manuscripts, numbering more than seven thousand, has made them likewise accessible to our members and to historical students, but under such wise and judicious restrictions as may prevent their publication by private individuals, perhaps in an imperfect and garbled form, in anticipation of the Society's issue of the same from the original text under its own imprimatur, carefully edited and annotated.

In executing their plans in classifying, arranging, and cataloguing, both the Librarian and Cabinet-keeper have been efficiently aided by our accomplished Assistant-librarians, Mr. Julius H. Tuttle and Mr. Alfred B. Page, whose uniform courtesy is appreciated both by visitors and members of the Society.

The Library, as a whole, is exceedingly valuable. It is rich in scarce and rare books, which at the present time could not easily be obtained even at a very great expenditure of money. They are nearly all of them gifts from our early members, and others who were interested in the history of Massachusetts. They appear to have accumulated largely in private libraries; and when this Society was established, the owners were glad to place them in the custody of an incorporated institution, where they would be useful, where their ownership would be fixed and permanent, and their alienation in the future impossible. They consequently poured their treasures with great alacrity into our archives. There is no library in this country, so far as our knowledge extends, which has been brought together by the spontaneous gifts of individuals, so large in numbers and so intrinsically valuable. But this source of growth to the Library has come nearly to an end. Valuable books are still presented by members and others, and will doubtless still continue to be; but scarce and rare books as gifts are infrequent. From this field the Society has already gathered in its harvest. The books that come floating in, as

gifts, in a desultory way, can never make the Library what it really ought to be. The small sum of not more than three hundred dollars annually, which is all that the Society can now apply to the purchase of books, has been wisely expended by the Librarian in filling "gaps," and for such books as are needed in every historical library. He has also done much by exchanges in completing series of reports and other publications, which are invaluable as original sources of history. What has been accomplished with these small means is highly creditable to the Librarian and to the Society. To do more than he has done, seems impossible. He has made all the "bricks" that his "straw" would permit.

But our Library needs enlargement and enrichment that shall be still more worthy of our honored name and of our noble antecedents. It is the function of an historical society to furnish the means for the study and writing of history, and especially of that which lies within the confines of its chosen field. The field of this Society is the State or Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The history of Massachusetts is not confined to the management and vicissitudes of its civil affairs. It is vastly broader and more comprehensive than these. It is the history of our agriculture, our commerce, our manufactures, our science, our literature and art, in all their multifarious phases, divisions, and subdivisions. The achievements of our citizens in any department of intellectual or physical labor constitute an integral part of the history of Massachusetts. The publications which have sprung up in each of these departments are the record of that history. They are the original sources whence each of these phases of our history is to be studied, and from which our history is to be written. It consequently follows that our Society, whose field is coincident with the Commonwealth, should have all these publications on its shelves. There should be compartments in the Library where the writings of Massachusetts men and Massachusetts women may be found on all these subjects, brought together under their proper classification. There should be an alcove or space for poetry, for fiction or romance, for education, the natural sciences, astronomy, chemistry, law, medicine, religion or theology, and other subjects which for our present purpose we need not here enumerate. These compartments should contain books exclusively by Massachusetts authors; and the

collection should in all cases be made complete, or at least exhaustive.

It is obvious that such a collection as this could not fail to be of very great practical value. The historian, who should desire to write a chapter or a volume on any of these topics, would find his work greatly facilitated. If his theme be the poetry of Massachusetts, its fiction or romance, the progress of education, of the natural sciences, law, medicine, or theology, he would have at least all the published original sources of knowledge before him. He could be sure that when he had studied these, he had compassed the whole subject. No important feature could be slurred or wholly omitted for the want of the best and most ample information.

A library such as we have foreshadowed only in outline, would indeed be unique. None of the great and important libraries by which we are surrounded has undertaken to make such a collection, nor is it likely that any of them will do so in the future. If it be done, it must be by the Massachusetts Historical Society, to whose chosen field the work especially belongs. Our Library already contains many volumes which may be the nucleus or beginning of the several distinct classes to which we have referred. To carry out the enlargement which we have suggested is not an impossible, nor indeed a difficult task. It will require untiring, systematic, and persistent effort; and that is the kind of effort that we can give to the subject without marring our happiness or interfering with other duties. The outcome will be a collection that will meet the wants of all students of Massachusetts history, and a library in which, as members of this Society, we may indulge a modest and becoming pride.

In closing this report, the Committee submit the following suggestions: —

1. That the members of the Society present as gifts all their own publications not already in the Library.

2. That it is desirable that members and others interested in Massachusetts history should send as gifts any volumes, on whatever subjects, not already in the Library, whose authors are Massachusetts men or Massachusetts women.

3. That it is important that members and others interested in the history of Massachusetts should make contributions or testamentary bequests, for the establishment of a permanent

fund, the income of which to be expended in the purchase of books, primarily for the elucidation of the history of Massachusetts, and secondarily for historical works on subjects outside of our own field.

4. That it is desirable that a standing committee, consisting of five members, be appointed, whose duty it shall be to take such measures as may seem practicable for the enlargement and enrichment of the Society's historical collections.

5. That the Society should put upon record its grateful sense of obligation to Dr. Samuel A. Green, our Librarian, and to Dr. Fitch Edward Oliver, our Cabinet-keeper, who for so many years have given to the Society so much time, thought, and experience in their several departments.

EDMUND F. SLAFTER,
ARTHUR LORD,
EDWARD BANGS,
} *Committee.*

APRIL 10, 1890.

The reports were severally accepted and referred to the Committee for Publishing the Proceedings.

The Hon. JOHN LOWELL, for the Committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year, reported the following list; and the gentlemen named were duly elected.

President.

GEORGE EDWARD ELLIS.

Vice-Presidents.

FRANCIS PARKMAN.
CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

Recording Secretary.

EDWARD JAMES YOUNG.

Corresponding Secretary.

JUSTIN WINSOR.

Treasurer.

CHARLES CARD SMITH.

Librarian.

SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN.

Cabinet-keeper.

FITCH EDWARD OLIVER.

Members at Large of the Council.

WILLIAM WATSON GOODWIN.
JOSIAH PHILLIPS QUINCY.
ROGER WOLCOTT.
EDWARD BANGS.
EDWARD JACKSON LOWELL.

On motion of Mr. JUSTIN WINSOR, it was voted that the thanks of the Society be presented to the Hon. John Lowell and the Hon. George S. Hale, retiring members of the Council, for their efficient services.

On motion of the Rev. Dr. LUCIUS R. PAIGE, it was voted to put on record the Society's appreciative and grateful sense of obligation to Dr. Samuel A. Green, Librarian, and Dr. Fitch Edward Oliver, Cabinet-keeper, in conformity with the recommendation of the Committee to examine the Library and Cabinet.

A serial containing the proceedings at the meetings in February and March was placed on the table, together with printed copies of the Treasurer's Report and the Report of the Auditing Committee.

In behalf of Mr. GEORGE B. CHASE, who was unavoidably absent, Mr. SMITH presented a memoir of the Hon. George Tyler Bigelow for publication in the Proceedings.

After the adjournment the members lunched with the President at his residence, No. 110 Marlborough Street.

MEMOIR

OF THE

HON. GEORGE TYLER BIGELOW, LL.D.

BY GEORGE B. CHASE.

HARD by the Waltham boundary, and somewhat to the north of the old Sudbury road in the village of Watertown, there could be seen, down to the middle of this century, some traces of one of the earliest dwellings in New England. To this spot on the last day of October, 1642, John Bigelow, whose marriage on that day is the first entered upon the records of Watertown, led his young wife Mary Warren.

Of the early years of the bridegroom, from whom all of the name on this continent trace their descent, it would be interesting to have some knowledge, but of his antecedents before he came to Massachusetts nothing has been ascertained. His very name,[1] variously spelled during his own life, does not seem to have been determined till a later generation. Born in 1617, John Bigelow was yet a very young man when he arrived in New England. But little is known of his long life save that he was the father of thirteen children, eleven of whom survived him.

Following the descendants of John Bigelow down to the third generation, the family line brings us to Daniel Bigelow, a soldier of the old French wars, who, dying at the great age of ninety-two years, lived to see his sons David and Timothy honorably distinguished in the revolutionary annals of Massachusetts. The elder, David Bigelow of Worcester, born in 1730, was in the prime and vigor of life at the outbreak of the Revolution. Recalling his services eighty years later, in a letter written to the subject of this memoir, his son said: "As

[1] His name is otherwise spelled upon the early records as Bigulah, Begullough, Biglo, Biglow, Begalow.

a member of the Committee of Public Safety, upon whom you know devolved for the time nearly all the duties of civil government, he devoted his days and nights to public service, — travelling for miles from his home, winter and summer, several times a week to attend this committee, with a family of seven young children (I, the youngest, born in 1778, in the very heat of the Revolution), just then settled on one hundred acres of very wild land." It is hardly necessary, in so brief a mention of his life, to add anything to his son's spirited words; yet it is well to note that such was the confidence which the town of Worcester ever held in his discretion and steadfast purpose that, in addition to his service upon the Revolutionary Committee, he was chosen her delegate to every convention within the county and to the Province and State conventions at Concord, Cambridge, and Boston, from the first measures of defence in 1774 to the presidency of Washington in 1789. By his marriage with Deborah Heywood, he had seven children, the youngest of whom was the late Tyler Bigelow, long an eminent member of the Middlesex Bar. Graduated at Harvard College in the class of 1801, Tyler Bigelow was married on the 26th of November, 1806, to his cousin Clara, daughter of Col. Timothy Bigelow of Worcester, whose monument on Worcester Common recalls his conspicuous service as Colonel of the Fifteenth Massachusetts Regiment in the Revolutionary War. Of Tyler and Clara Bigelow's children, two were daughters; of six sons, one died in infancy; one, Charles Henry, a graduate of West Point and a Captain of Engineers, after long experience in civil life, died in the military service of the Government at New Bedford in 1862; four were graduates of Harvard, and of these the second is the subject of this memoir.

George Tyler Bigelow, the seventh Chief Justice of Massachusetts since the independence of the United States, was born at Riverside, Watertown, Oct. 6, 1810. He was only in his tenth year when he was sent to live with a relative in Boston, that he might become a pupil of the Public Latin School, which he entered in the summer of 1819.

"At his coming to school, where he was the youngest, or youngest but one, of the class," his life-long friend the late George W. Phillips wrote to the writer, "he was a slight, withy, active boy, of uncommon spirit, a bright expression of face, and

quick, brilliant eyes. His manners were those of a well-bred boy, courteous and pleasing. All the time he remained at the school, he was diligent, studious, and ambitious to excel, — very quick to apprehend and interested in his school work. The same alertness of spirit that marked him all along till his health was broken, was a marked characteristic of him then. I recall, particularly, that he differed from most boys I have ever known, especially of such an age, in an intelligent interest in matters of public nature, in affairs of State. He knew about public men, politics, as few boys did. I always supposed he must have had some advantages in this respect. I judge his father must have made a companion of him more than most busy fathers do, for he certainly could have got his interest and information about the matters alluded to in no other way. I recall nothing low, vulgar, or coarse in him. I think a good judge of boy character would, at that early day, have foretold for him, if opportunity offered, distinction in future life."

Such was the boy who, at the age of fourteen, was admitted in the summer of 1825 to the Freshman class of Harvard College. In this remarkable class, perhaps the most eminent in its after life of any that ever left the University, the "Class of 1829," Bigelow attained a good place. "He stood well as a scholar in all the college branches," Mr. Phillips wrote. "He was ambitious to improve himself; his life was a pure one. I do not think I ever knew a young man who seemed constitutionally more indifferent to the ordinary temptations that beset young men. He had a decision and a healthy indifference to the opinions of others. In some college trouble, our class called and held a regularly organized meeting; resolutions were passed, somewhat of the 'peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must' sort. A member of the class had presided. The Faculty took the thing up and began calling on the members alphabetically, and examining them as to the meeting. The first one or two had managed to get off without much disclosure of affairs, when suddenly they went to the other end of the alphabet and called up Y. He, taken by surprise, honestly told the whole simple truth. The consequence was our presiding man was summarily expelled, and the honest witness was as summarily put into Coventry. We thought it fine then; but all, since and long ago, confessed we were shabbily

wrong. The poor fellow was sorely damaged, and suffered through the remainder of college life, of which there were some three years. Only two members of the class stood up and manfully kept a friendly acquaintance with him. One was S. F. Smith, author of 'My Country, 't is of Thee'; and G. T. B., afterwards Chief Justice, was the other."

"He was frank and ingenuous," continued Mr. Phillips, "without disguise. I recall somewhere in our college life, — it must have been in the Sophomore year, the winter of 1826–27, when he was sixteen years old, — the elder Beecher (Dr. Lyman Beecher, a distinguished preacher of that day) attracted great audiences. A number of our class went down to Cambridgeport one evening to hear him, and accepted the invitation given at the close of the services, to meet the Doctor in the vestry-room adjacent after the audience was dismissed. There were some six or more of us. B. and I sat next each other. Dr. Beecher came along and spoke to each of us, separately, a few words meant to be private; but it was impossible not to hear something that was said. One or two had made a sham of it and tried to quiz the old gentleman. When B.'s turn came, — I can recall it all, as I have often done, as if it were but yesterday, — he said, 'I ought to tell you, Sir, that I came down to hear you preach, and from motives of curiosity came in here; but my parents are Unitarians and think differently from you. I have been taught to respect their sentiments.' The old Doctor, evidently pleased with this honest avowal especially after the foolish talk which had just preceded it from other quarters, said, 'My young friend, that is all well. I would not perplex myself with Unitarianism or Trinitarianism; but put this question to yourself, with such views as you have and as your parents have taught you, Are you satisfied with your present relations to your Maker?' Bigelow admitted that this was fair dealing. He always spoke of it with respect, and long years afterwards, after he was a judge, in some casual street meeting with me, something recalling that conversation, he would refer to it with interest and say, 'That question comes to me sometimes now.'"

Graduated in the summer of 1829, at an age when young men nowadays are but preparing to enter college, young Bigelow had held respectable rank in his class. The place and nature of his Commencement part seems to show that he was

twentieth in a class of fifty-eight. He knew, however, better than others, that he had not done his best work in college, and regret for lost opportunities was soon to come. Though destined for the law, he was deemed too young to begin the study of it. His father therefore determined to send him to the South for an absence of two years, there to find some situation as a teacher of the classics, and summed up his views of the advantages to be gained by his son, in a letter to him in these words: —

1. "To induce a more thorough and critical examination of the classics, and other college studies, by spending some time in the business of instruction. This will be best effected in the highest schools. The more your pupils know, the better for you.

2. "To introduce you into good society, and thus give you a practical knowledge of men and things. You should therefore avail yourself of every opportunity to multiply and enlarge your acquaintance with business men, with literary, professional, and all the best classes of society.

3. "To acquire some means to enable you to go on and complete your study in some profession, at least to come in aid of those which I shall be able further to afford you.

4. "These objects rank in importance in the order in which they stand, the whole, however, to be made subservient to the one chief and primary object of your life, — personal discipline, — the full development and high cultivation of your intellectual and moral powers, the improvement and salvation of your soul, that you may become a man, a gentleman, and a Christian, and make yourself useful and felt as such in the world."

It is a satisfaction to know that the father, who thus sent his son five hundred miles from home at the age of eighteen to find his own way in life, lived to see the boy, developing from that hour, become thirty years later Chief Justice of Massachusetts.

He left home in the autumn to take charge of the academy at Brookville, Maryland, where he was installed as its principal in November, only to find himself at the head of a school of twenty pupils with a fair prospect of earning four hundred dollars a year. His impression of the situation may be gathered from his letters: —

"I board with Dr. Howard, decidedly the king of the place. He is very kind to me, but then I do not like the academy. I cannot im-

prove myself while instructing a school so backward, and lastly, the compensation is far too small for the labor required. I have the use of an excellent and well-selected library. It has no novels. I could tell you how much I have been injured by them; they had more effect upon my college life than you or any one else could have imagined."

Regret for misspent hours at college seems often to recur to his thoughts: —

"You were pleased to allude to my ambition. Alas! I know not how you discovered that I had any at all. I have often looked back upon my college life and wondered where it had kept itself."

His attempts to find a situation which would give him sufficient leisure for his own pursuits were rewarded, in the spring of 1830, by the offer and acceptance of a position of tutor to the children of Henry Vernon Somerville, a gentleman honorably prominent in public and private life, then living at his seat, Bloomsbury, about five miles from Baltimore. "Without the vexation and trouble of a petty school," he writes to his parents, "I shall have . . . much leisure for my private pursuits, and more than all, an opportunity of enjoying the society and advantages of a large city."

Dr. Howard greatly regretted to lose his young principal, and generously wrote his father at Watertown in these words: —

"I congratulate his parents in possessing a son reflecting so much credit on his parentage; who is justly entitled to make large drafts on their tenderest affection and confidence, who will never be a debtor in any society where virtue and intelligence prevail, and who, at no distant period at the bar or in the councils of the Nation, will cause Watertown to exult in claiming him as her native son."

Passages from Mr. Bigelow's letters throw a pleasant glimpse of his life at Bloomsbury: —

"A month's residence in Mr. Somerville's family has convinced me that I have much reason to congratulate myself on my good fortune. There is so much here to contribute to my improvement, as well as comfort and happiness, that I am persuaded no equally advantageous situation, all things considered, could have fallen to my lot. I have the charge of five children, to whom I devote about five hours *per diem*. Two of them are studying the languages; Tiernan, the eldest, who is about fifteen years of age, was withdrawn from St. Mary's College to be

placed under my care. He is considerably advanced in French and Latin, and consequently it is rather a pleasure to instruct him. . . . I have the command of a library of two thousand volumes, collected in Europe, forming one of the most valuable sources of information; and I am confident that the society and conversation of Mr. Somerville will be of much use to me.

"I find him ready and willing to communicate with me on all subjects. . . . The society which I meet here is all of the *haut ton* of Baltimore, among whom I felt sufficiently awkward until the Brookville rust was worn off. Literary and fashionable people, — beaux, belles, and *literati*, — all meet here. . . . I am following your advice, and have commenced Blackstone. I find it easy to comprehend on account of the perspicacity with which it is written, and amusing and interesting on account of the subject on which it treats. Whether I inherit it from you, or, as Natty Bumpo would express it, 'whether it is the nature of the beast,' or the result of education, I know not; I always had an irresistible inclination to become a lawyer. I remember that in the earliest day-dreams of childhood, I used to look forward to the time when I should sport the 'green bag,' and *look wise*, give advice, and plead causes as the summit of my wishes. I cannot but think it is a glorious profession."

In his last letter from Maryland to his mother, Mr. Bigelow wrote: —

"I perceive by the tone of my father's letter that he cherishes great anticipations of witnessing on my return a vast increase in my mental attainments. I hope that he will be more moderate in his expectations. He should remember that my college life was squandered in idleness and folly; that when I left Massachusetts for the South I was a mere boy without any knowledge of books or men; and that consequently I have had much to learn and everything good to gain. When I look back and recall the feelings and opinions with which I left you, I can with difficulty realize now that I ever cherished them."

Eleven months were passed by Mr. Bigelow at Bloomsbury, and with both host and hostess he soon became a great favorite. Very pleasing in manners and appearance, he had the peculiar good fortune for a lad of nineteen to see much of a society which, in those days less formal and restrained than that of New England, was not more conspicuous for hospitality than for beauty and gracious manners, the charm of which had already won for the women of Baltimore a reputation that had crossed the then difficult ocean. In parting from the Somer-

villes he received the kindest assurances of their personal interest in his future career. And now, more than fifty years since Mr. Bigelow left that happy household, never to see any member of it again, Mrs. Somerville's surviving brother sends to the author the pleasant message that he "well remembers Mr. Bigelow as a handsome young man; that the family were exceedingly fond of him, and greatly regretted his departure, always holding him in the kindest remembrance and speaking of him with the highest regard."

On his return to Watertown his family were delighted with the improvement eighteen months of change had wrought in him. "He left home," wrote his sister, "a boy with the ways of a boy, and returned to it a man. I have never, I think, seen," she continued, "a young man so much improved by foreign study and travel as my brother George seemed to be by his residence in Maryland."

He was soon hard at work in his father's office, satisfying that stern parent by his industry; his days were spent over law books, his evenings given to miscellaneous reading. It had been his practice at Bloomsbury to copy passages from authors he thought perfect in form and expression; and this habit he now resumed, helping to form for himself that excellent style in composition which afterwards characterized his legal opinions. He accompanied his father to and from the terms of the county courts, and sat by his side as he fought his cases with a vehemence which is yet remembered at the Middlesex Bar. In close communion with that veteran lawyer, the young student perfected himself in the fundamental principles of law. Two years were thus spent with no holiday but the New England Sabbath, and with few hours of leisure save the short evenings of a quiet country household.

Soon after he came of age he began an interesting correspondence with Mr. Somerville. His first letter to Maryland shows how rapid was his development: —

WATERTOWN, MASS., Jan. 28, 1832.

MY DEAR SIR, — I should have written to you shortly after my return to New England, according to the promise I made you when we parted, had I not been prevented by the number and variety of the avocations and duties imposed upon me by the study of my profession. To be candid with you, too, I have felt not a little diffidence at the thought

of *commencing* a correspondence with you, because I well know the advantages and pleasure of an epistolary intercourse would be wholly in my favor, and that I should in some measure be subjecting you to an irksome and profitless task.

I cannot forbear to avail myself of this opportunity to express to you the gratification with which I look back upon the year I passed in your family. Your own good humor and good taste gave zest and enjoyment to your improving society; your extensive library afforded delight and instruction to my desultory mind, and the amiability and intelligence of your children lightened the burdens and enlivened the dulness of ordinary tuition. The relation in which I stood to your family would necessarily render the situation, in some respects, unpleasant and galling to any one who entertained a due and proper pride of character, for it can be said of private tutors, as Shylock said of his persecuted nation, that "sufferance is the badge of all our tribe"; but I owe it to the kindness and friendship you manifested towards me to say that my situation was as little so as the circumstances of the case would permit. I had the pleasure of observing your name among the members of the National republican convention, who have placed Mr. Clay before the people, in an authoritative and direct manner, as a candidate for the Presidency. The address, so unanimously adopted, seems to me to be intended rather for the enlightened and high-minded than for the prejudiced and uninformed part of our community. It is in too lofty a tone, too much in the spirit of a cold and calculating moralist, to be fully understood, comprehended, and felt by the great mass of the people. It is an old maxim with us that "an ounce of fact is worth a pound of preaching"; and it would have been better, on this principle, to have dealt out one or two sturdy and undeniable realities, than to have published such a long and prosing homily under the sanction of the convention. The contest, however, is, I fear, a desperate one, and the only encouragement to further resistance is the satisfaction of finally dying with a better grace. . . .

Mr. Somerville's reply was the first of a number of letters to Mr. Bigelow, extracts from several of which are here given: —

BLOOMSBURY, Feb. 23, 1832.

MY DEAR SIR, — I received your letter in due season, and am quite gratified you have not forgotten us. It was only the evening before the arrival of your letter that we were speaking of you, and my whole family expressed surprise that you had not written. Had I known your post-office, I should have given you some intimation that we had not yet crossed the Stygian Lake, and that, in memory of you, we still have pork and beans. The truth is, you ought to have written sooner, it was your duty to have done so; for you left a character with us that would do

honor to any man, and besides, you ought to have known that I felt some interest in your future career. I write in candor and not in compliment. You have youth, health, talents, and ambition; and if you exert all the attributes which God and nature have given you, you have it in your power to be distinguished. Nevertheless, in your course through life there are some evils which the vessel of your adventure must endeavor to avoid. The first of these impediments is the rock of extra modesty, which is not very remote from that of *mauvaise honte;* if your hopes are shipwrecked upon either, it will be doing injustice to your skill as a pilot. . . . The next obstruction which opposes itself to your prospect of distinction is your undaunted admiration of female beauty. This is a kind of *ignis fatuus* in which there is no positive danger in itself; but a student of law who wishes to become eminent in his profession should admit with great caution the distracting influence of that dear little divinity called woman. The transition is not very natural from love to politics, but it is of easy gradation from woman to addresses, of which I shall speak presently. I remember in one of our political talks you remarked to me that your opinion of General Jackson was by no means so unfavorable as mine. I think enough, and more than enough, has transpired since you left us to prove that my estimate of the hero's mind and character scarcely did justice to the ignorance of the one or the degradation of the other.

John Randolph said in his speech at Richmond, which perhaps you have heard, that "he did not know whether the dissolution of the Cabinet was owing to Van Buren's head or to Margaret Eaton's ———; but at any rate he was glad of it."

I have been much engaged of late in preparing an address to the people of Maryland, in obedience to a resolution of the National Convention. . . . I have, in every part of this appeal, endeavored to make facts the basis of the whole superstructure, simply throwing in here and there a little spice in the way of illustration. Your comment on the address of the convention is perfectly correct. It is a political 30th of January sermon. . . .

Believe me, I greatly miss your society and our frequent intellectual chit-chats, and that you are respectfully remembered through my whole family.

May 23.

The Central Committee of Baltimore have ordered five thousand copies of my address, but whether it will produce much good effect in our State is a doubtful matter. We still enjoy good health and spirits, and at this very delightful season you will be pleased to see how much Bloomsbury has improved. My orchards have grown beyond my hopes; and the cutting of trees, and particularly the antiquated chestnuts in the fields below, have opened to the view from my front door a pros-

pect of nearly three thousand fruit trees. The bloom is magnificent, and exhibits every variety of hue.

Your successor continued with me till a few days since, and has now removed to Florida. He was amiable, but no companion for me; how much of a long winter's evening I missed our agreeable and instructive conversations! Believe me I shall ever remember with feelings of gratification your very kind and gentlemanlike deportment while a member of my household. . . . Let me know what you think of the address.

OCT. 9, 1832.

I have written you twice, and Tiernan once, since we received your first letter. How happens it that you have never since written? Have you forgotten us, have our letters never reached you; or is your time absorbed in law, politics, and love? As you will have learned before this reaches you, our party was beaten in Baltimore by nearly five thousand votes. The Irish population controlled the vote. Mr. Tiernan [1] was a candidate for the House of Assembly; and while both friends and foes admitted the purity of his politics and the excellence of his character, and while all acknowledged that as president of the Hibernian Society, his time and his purse had ever been freely given in kindness to his emigrating countrymen for nearly forty years, yet still he was deserted by those whom he had most befriended, for the sake of striplings in politics of whom the people knew nothing save and except that they electioneered under the Jackson banner. This was not all; the morning after the contest, the partisans of the hero shrouded the door of Mr. Tiernan's counting-house with black crêpe and low verses in ridicule of his defeat. Such is Jacksonism in Baltimore! . . .

Miss Fanny Kemble is playing wonders in New York, and the Nullifiers the devil in South Carolina. There is one comfort, at any rate, — these Southern madcaps cannot nullify the graces of pretty women. For myself, unsought, unseen, I had rather be under the government of Miss Fanny and legislate in her own little capitol all the days of my life, than be subject to a Southern confederacy, headed by Calhoun or McDuffie, with the seat of government no man knows where, and the sort of government God only knows what.

We walked through the peach orchard to-day which you helped to plant. You would be surprised at its wonderful growth. I could not refrain from laughing at the recollection of the planting scene; 't was pretty much like running from post to pillar, — you, with your lank roundabout, something like Peter Slimmel with his seven-league boots, and then my long, graceless flannel gown, the breeze of Boreas throwing it sky-high like Randolph's similes.

[1] Mrs. Somerville's father.

To obtain some knowledge of the practice of a city lawyer, Mr. Bigelow entered Mr. Charles G. Loring's office in the summer of 1833, and after six months of hard study was admitted to the bar, at the December term of the Court of Common Pleas, held at East Cambridge, Jan. 9, 1834. Undecided as to his future home, he returned to Watertown, and got his first practice in his father's office. His correspondence with his friend Phillips, who was already practising law in Boston, was now a source of amusement to him. Phillips was imaginative, spirited, and mirthful, and the two young men wrote to each other with a free pen. One of Phillips's letters to Bigelow was prophetic. Written June 27, 1834, and addressed to George T. Bigelow, Esq., Watertown, it was so folded as in opening to disclose apparently another letter, postmarked Jan. 1, 1844, franked "G. W. Phillips, U. S. S., Free," and addressed to "Hon. G. T. Bigelow, Ch. Justice of S. J. C. of Mass. and commander in chief of the Watertown blues." Seven years afterward the recipient of that letter was colonel of the Boston Regiment of Infantry, nine years later a judge of the Supreme Court, and after ten more years its Chief Justice.

If the writer of it never attained political distinction, it may be truly said of Mr. Phillips that it was not for the want of superior abilities, but rather his preference for the quiet life of an advocate in which distinction awaited him.

After nearly eighteen months of such country practice as his father turned over to him, making justice writs and trying them, Mr. Bigelow opened an office in Boston, in June, 1835, at No. 10 Court Street, in pleasing proximity to his friend Phillips, whose office was in the same entry. For a young stranger of twenty-four to obtain clients, it was first necessary he should be known. To this end Mr. Bigelow adopted a suggestion of the Hon. Abbott Lawrence,[1] and took lodgings at the Bromfield House, then a favorite old coaching-house in Bromfield Street; and among his first clients were acquaintances here formed.

The nomination of General Harrison for President by the Whigs of Maryland induced the following letter to Mr. Somerville: —

Jan. 23, 1836.

I could hardly believe my own eyes, when I saw your name appended to an official account of the proceedings of the late Whig convention in

[1] Mr. Abbott Lawrence's wife, Katherine Bigelow, daughter of Hon. Timothy Bigelow, of Groton, was cousin to the subject of this memoir.

your State, which nominated William H. Harrison as a candidate for the Presidency. I had supposed that you, at least, faithful among the faithless found, would have stood firm in the support of the only man, now before the people, fully worthy of the highest honors of the Constitution. So then, we are to have William H. Harrison for the next President, and why? Because he gained a doubtful glory in a tomahawk fight at Tippecanoe? . . . The case is a plain one. It is not asked who is the best qualified for the office. . . . But the great question is, who is the most available candidate; who can be run into office the most easily by dazzling the eyes of the people by the false glare of military glory, and thus it comes to pass that the clerk of a county court in Ohio, a man of defective education, limited capacity, and slight experience is preferred to a long-tried public servant, the ablest defender of the Constitution. . . . It is a question beyond argument, and I leave it here.

I am so negligent a correspondent that I fear you will think I have almost forgotten you, but it is not so. Scarcely a day passes by, without some moments being spent in recurring to my residence at Bloomsbury. If you knew how much pleasure I take in recalling the incidents of the year I passed with you, how strongly my character and feelings were influenced in that most important period of my life by your counsels and opinions and by the stores I gathered from your library, you would ask for no professions of remembrance nor exact special punctuality in correspondence.

Mr. Bigelow's aptness in making friends, his industry and earnestness about whatever business came to his office, attracted about a year later the attention of Bradford Sumner, a well-known lawyer of the day, who proposed to him a business association, which the young advocate's confidence in his own powers led him to decline.

He was elected, in May, 1837, as ensign of the New England Guards, then a very popular company in the city militia, which survived till the late war between the States, and ended its own existence in providing officers for several regiments of volunteers.[1]

High-spirited and naturally combative, he had a strong taste for military duty. He studied books of tactics, was constantly in evening attendance at the company's armory, and was delighted in the work there. But he had hardly got his uniform home, when on June 11, Mayor Eliot's summons of the Boston militia to quell the Broad Street riot found him the only officer

[1] The Twenty-fourth and Forty-fourth Regiments of Massachusetts Volunteers were wholly officered from this company.

of his company in town on that pleasant Sunday afternoon. Already aware of the disturbance, he went quickly to Faneuil Hall, and taking command of as many members of his company as were there gathered, marched at the head of the assembled infantry, as preceded by the Lancers it approached Broad Street. "There was a fixed determination in his face that the law should be enforced which communicated itself to others." [1] As the column came near the scene of the tumult, feathers from the beds, torn open by the rioters at the windows of the tenement houses, filled the air like snowflakes. The Lancers — a new organization, then making its first appearance — steadily cleared the street, but fighting still continued in the houses. Directed by the Mayor to clear a house on the right hand from whose windows the furniture was flying, Mr. Bigelow advanced at the head of his company, to find the entrance barred by a large man who stood across the narrow doorway with knees and arms braced to prevent intrusion. "Give way!" shouted the young ensign, whose hot temper was instantly aroused. Grasping, upon the rioter's refusal, the heavy old-fashioned sword he carried, he brought it down with all his might upon the man's shoulder, and felled him to the ground. The act was seen at many windows by those who kept a lookout upon the troops, and instantly had its effect. Rioting soon after ceased in the neighborhood, and in a short time comparative quiet was restored.

Military life in any form had a great charm for Mr. Bigelow; and as it was much the custom of that day for the Boston companies to elect their officers from the young members of the bar, he was enabled to find the amusements of his leisure hours in a pursuit which largely increased his acquaintances among the young men of the city, and which was thus a positive advantage to him in his profession. The Guards soon found they had got an energetic young officer, who did his work thoroughly and as if his heart were in it. Though a firm disciplinarian, his cordial disposition and pleasant ways among his company, when not on duty, won for him rapid promotion; and in January, 1839, he was chosen its captain.

In the following November he was first elected as a Representative from the city of Boston, and entered the Legislature

[1] Hon. J. C. Park, speech at bar meeting, April 18, 1878.

in January, 1840. Four times re-elected, he served in the Lower House five years. From the beginning alert and industrious, he worked hard in committee and spoke exceedingly well in debate. His pleasing manners won for him popularity, and his abilities influence. In his second year he was made chairman on the part of the House of the Joint Committee on Manufactures, then, in its importance, the second committee in the House, and from that hour maintained his rank as an earnest and active leader of the young Whigs. Though he did not neglect his profession in these years of political activity, he found time to gratify in some degree his strong military tastes. In the summer of 1840 he encamped his company at Woburn, and there thoroughly drilled them in artillery and infantry tactics, winning as the reward for his exertions a generous recognition of his military success throughout the regiment. With these congenial military duties, however, his law practice began to interfere, and to the regret of his company and against their unanimous petition, he resigned his commission. Chosen, however, a year later colonel of the Boston regiment of infantry, "he infused into it an efficiency, promptness, and thoroughness which was never reached before."[1] He held this, to him, delightful command for three years, when again yielding to the increasing demands of his profession, he retired from military service, for which it seemed to so many Nature had designed him. He formed in 1843 a law partnership with his friend Manlius S. Clarke, and, devoting himself to the business of a jury advocate, soon acquired a lucrative practice.

The murder of the warden of the State Prison, by Abner Rogers, a convict, in 1844, had painfully excited the public mind, and there was a widespread thirst for vengeance when he was arraigned for the crime. By a merciful provision of our courts, by which counsel are appointed for those who are destitute, Mr. Bigelow was appointed counsel for him, who proved to be as bereft of reason as of friends.[2]

The distinction he gained by this argument only served to fire Mr. Bigelow's ambition. Indefatigable in the preparation of his cases, he fought them with courage, tenacity, and at

[1] Mr. R. H. Dana, speech at bar meeting, April 18, 1878.

[2] Rogers was acquitted because of insanity, and was sentenced to confinement in the asylum at Worcester, where, leaping one day wildly from a window in an insane delusion, he was instantly killed.

times temper. It may be doubted if opposing counsel understood or altogether approved the general favor as an advocate in which he came to be held. "In the trial of a cause he meant business and a good deal of it; he did not intend to lose anything by too much courtesy to his opponent or by too great deference to the court, or too little arrogance of manner in general."[1] But he was rapidly rising as an advocate. "He was quick in action," said Mr. Dana; "he knew human nature. He could read character, and he balanced facts well. He exerted himself to the utmost. He never relied upon supposed powers to carry him through, which others might not have. Every one of his successes was deserved."

He was chosen a Senator from Suffolk County for the year 1847, and was again chosen in the autumn of that year. So successful was his political service that he seemed sure of further and higher distinction, when he resigned his seat in the Senate on his appointment by Governor Briggs as judge of the old Court of Common Pleas in March, 1848. In those days the appointment to the bench of a man of thirty-seven, who had given so much time to military and political life, and whose record at the bar, though undoubted and full of merit, was yet comparatively brief, and hardly such as to promise success in a place so different and responsible, provoked general criticism. "His military feeling, his executive faculties, his guardsman's air, forced his friends to meet the question whether his mind was sufficiently judicial."[2]

It may be here said that Governor Briggs, surprised at the criticism his nomination had occasioned, was from the first confident of the fitness of this appointment, which had been first suggested to him by the Hon. P. W. Chandler, then City Solicitor of Boston; though Colonel Bigelow had served Governor Briggs for some years as his chief aide, and during his legislative service had come much in contact with him. Nor did he himself feel a moment's doubt of his ability to justify his elevation to the bench. He had been long enough at the bar to know the measure of his own powers, and though conscious that other pursuits had interfered with his study of law, he felt sure of success. He subsequently told his old friend, Mr. J. C. Park, that the moment his appointment to the bench was confirmed,

[1] Hon. Peleg W. Chandler, at the bar meeting, April 18, 1878.
[2] Mr. Dana.

he took up every book on Evidence that he could find and mastered its contents; and that in court, "as soon as a new question of law came up before him, he assumed all the courtesy in his power and said, 'Gentlemen, I will hear you on that point,' and at the conclusion of the argument he would give an opinion in a manner which would lead people to believe that he was perfectly familiar with the point at issue, whereas he had grasped every idea advanced, and had then been able to make up his mind at once. 'I do not call it tact,' said Judge Wilde when told of this; 'it is talent to make other people do the work and appropriate the results yourself!' He had the wonderful power of seizing every point presented; he could eliminate every point of law from the facts with which it was surrounded." [1]

The new judge held his first term "bravely" in Boston. "From the first day he took his seat," said Peleg Chandler, "he was every inch a judge. In the despatch of business, in the management of the docket, in his wonderfully clear and able charge to the jury, in his absolute impartiality, he won the applause and even the admiration of the bar." Even the juries, who at the end of their service were familiar with the talk his appointment had made, sympathizing in his success, sent him addresses of congratulation. He was now, perhaps, at the happiest period of his life. His ambition was for the time gratified, his success seemed assured, while the varied duties of the bench were peculiarly congenial to him. He liked to hold court in the shire towns; it revived the recollection of his first law practice with his father. He enjoyed the study of human nature which his position afforded him, and he attained in this way that exceeding insight and knowledge of the country people of Massachusetts, their ways, prejudices, and lines of thought, for which he was so long noted.

The young Whigs were still planning to send Mr. Bigelow from Boston to Congress, and in the summer of 1850 a movement was made to bring him forward as a candidate at the convention, to be called in the following October, to nominate a representative. The first meeting of that convention ended in an informal ballot, when thirty-nine votes were thrown for Judge Bigelow, — a clear majority of ten over every other can-

[1] Hon. J. C. Park, speech at bar meeting, April 18, 1878.

didate. To the surprise and disappointment of his supporters, led by Ezra Lincoln, afterwards Collector of the Port, Mr. Bigelow, influenced wholly by family considerations, then withdrew his name; but in this act he decided more wisely than he then knew to remain upon the bench, where promotion was soon to come, and its highest honors to follow.

The Hon. Samuel Sumner Wilde, of Hallowell, had been appointed a judge of the Supreme Court as far back as 1815. He ended the longest judicial service in the history of the Commonwealth, by resignation, in November, 1850. Appointed to succeed him, Judge Bigelow took the oath of office on the 21st of the same month, and his seat on the last day of the November term. He was only five years old when his distinguished predecessor was appointed, and he was hardly forty when called to sit by the side of Chief Justice Shaw, by Dewey, Metcalf, and Fletcher, — all aged men. "In his new position," says the late Mr. Justice Foster,[1] "he was very useful from the beginning; he labored with constant assiduity to do each judicial duty as perfectly as possible, and coming to the bar myself about the time of his appointment, I well remember with what astonishment the older lawyers regarded the excellent performances of this brisk young judge, somewhat of a martinet in his discipline, and his ways in such striking contrast to those of his venerable associates." If the new justice had already won by three laborious years a distinction as wide as the Commonwealth in the court from which he came, it was yet feared that his professional study had been too brief and too interrupted for his success in the determination of questions of law. But he worked hard as he had ever done to fulfil the duties of the hour; and the days were but few in all the year, at this period of his life, in which he was not engaged in study of the ever-varying questions of law which came before him. The court-room was never dull when he was on the bench, for all the parties to the case at bar felt the spur of his vigorous nature. Quick and industrious, he expected counsel to be well prepared, and was sometimes savage at any waste of time. He became unrivalled in the quickness and accuracy of his rulings upon evidence, and so increased his reputation in the trial of jury causes that it

[1] Speech at bar meeting, April 18, 1878.

came to be said of him in his life, as was said of him after his death at the meeting of the Suffolk Bar by one of the most eminent among the jury advocates of that day, the late Mr. Somerby, that "sitting as a judge at *nisi prius* he has never had his equal, for he brought to his position a readiness, a vigilance, and an acuteness of comprehension, together with a perfect knowledge of the relations which every fact bears to every other fact, which placed him in the foremost rank of jurists." There was no judge of that day who had a stronger faculty of impressing himself upon a jury or who could get more out of one. "Indeed," said Mr. Sheriff Clarke, "I have known many jurymen who counted it a pleasure to sit und r him."

"I was present," said the late Mr. Dana on the same occasion, "when Judge Bigelow appeared for the first time in East Cambridge as judge of the Supreme Court. He then did what had never been done before. He had prepared with labor and care a list of all the cases which had been decided, the names of the cases, the counsel, a short statement of the facts and points such as is now published as a rescript, and the conclusion reached by the courts. He had done it, without doubt, to do credit to himself. And why should not a man be desirous of securing credit for his best gifts? He knew it would be useful to the bar. He took up the cases in order, named each counsel in the case, reviewed what was done at the time, called the attention of the bar to the points, stated the nature of the case and the results. He went through the list in order. Every member of the bar felt that it was an achievement. It was the first step to the rescript we now have. The bar was grateful for it. We all know that he was the first person who had ever done it. He was the first who was willing to give it the assiduous labor it required.

"I had the honor," Mr. Dana continued, "of knowing pretty well the late Mr. Charles G. Loring. He was a great admirer of the class of minds which had preceded him by a generation at the Suffolk Bar. He said the best jury charge he had ever heard was made by a judge who, I hope, is still remembered for his rare merit, Judge Charles Jackson. He had always preserved it in his mind as a model jury charge. But in this place where I now stand, he said to me: 'You

have heard what I have said about Judge Jackson's charge. The charge just given by Judge Bigelow was its equal in every respect, and I don't know which was the best.' "

" His manner on the bench," said Mr. Chandler, " was dignified and courteous; but he held to his prerogatives, was impatient of dulness and intolerant of prolixity, nor would he allow the least arrogance on the part of the bar. Sometimes when tried in this respect, he reminded one of the Western judge who threw out a signal-flag of warning to a young advocate who was going rather far, by the remark, 'This court is naturally quick-tempered.' And Judge Bigelow was quick-tempered. Yet his temper was generous, and if quickly raised was quickly spent; while a nature inwardly tender, united to peculiar graces of manner, compensated him who had felt its force; so that, as has often and widely been said of him, few men ever left his court with wounded feelings, and none departed from it without feeling that full justice had been accorded them."

He was most careful in the preparation of his opinions, but when his materials were ready to be put in permanent form, they were rapidly written; yet he never finished an opinion without full and far-sighted consideration of the effect it might have upon the rights and interests of the people of Massachusetts. During the ten years Judge Bigelow was an associate justice of the court he wrote several opinions upon the most difficult and intricate questions of law. Of these perhaps the most generally remembered was his opinion in the so-called Brattle Street Church case, which was argued before the full bench in 1855. When the arguments were over, the court adjourned without any consultation upon the case, and as Judge Thomas, before his death, told the writer, without assigning the preparation of the opinion to any member of the court. Three days afterward Judge Bigelow read his opinion to the other judges, and it was at once adopted by them. " It was at a time," said Mr. Dana, " when a judge's written opinion was read before the assembled bar, — a good practice, but one which has been omitted in the accumulated business of the present day. Any student," he continued, " who is far enough advanced in his studies to understand it should read it. He had the faculty of getting a bird's-eye view of the whole country in which the contest lay. He knew exactly what points were

connected with the case, and had the power of marshalling facts and arranging principles.

"While many men — or some men — who might be considered his superiors in legal training might deliver an opinion which would attract little attention, Judge Bigelow had a capacity and clearness of mind, and a faculty of stating points so clearly that no one present who had the least knowledge of law but was delighted with the opinion, and went away thoroughly comprehending it."

In that more difficult branch of law known as equity, Judge Bigelow achieved marked distinction. A court of equity brings before it all parties interested in a cause, however numerous they may be and however complicated the suit, and distributes justice to all by a decree (somewhat as water is distributed by a skilful fireman over every part of a burning building). In January, 1859, arguments in appeal were made to the full court sitting in equity in the difficult case of Leach *v.* Fobes. At their close, a recess was taken by the court, and Judge Bigelow retired to the lobby. He returned in ten minutes with a finished decree which closed forever litigation on every branch of the subject. It was a remarkable feat,[1] and made a strong impression upon all who witnessed it.

And thus it came about when, toward the close of August, 1860, that great and venerable judge, the Hon. Lemuel Shaw, resigned his commission as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, which he had held for thirty years with not more honor to himself than renown to the Commonwealth, the weighty responsibility of appointing his successor devolved upon the then executive magistrate, Governor Banks. It has now long been known that after a deliberate survey of the bench and bar of Massachusetts the Governor sought the presence of Judge Shaw to tell him that while his own conclusion — confirmed, as he believed, by sufficient indications of public sentiment — pointed to Judge Bigelow as his successor, he yet felt it due to him, whose resignation he had so reluctantly accepted, to consult him upon the general fitness of his choice. "I can only say," replied the "Old Chief," as Judge Shaw was

[1] The writer is indebted for this anecdote to the late Ellis Ames, a member of the Historical Society, who was of counsel in this case.

then affectionately termed by the bar, "that Judge Bigelow has eminent qualifications for the place."

On the 7th of September following, Judge Bigelow was appointed Chief Justice, and three days later took the oath of office. He was not yet fifty when the highest honor in the gift of Massachusetts came to him, heightened as it was by assurances from the bar of every county that he deserved his high office and the profession deemed him entirely competent to fill it. The rapid industrial growth of Massachusetts from 1846 to 1860 had caused business in the courts to increase so rapidly that the old rules and customs were no longer tolerable. Chief Justice Bigelow, as the bar had hoped from their knowledge of his driving temper and executive powers, speedily reorganized the business methods of his court, and various improvements to shorten procedure were made. Lawyers were required to submit printed briefs, to be prompt and expeditious in all their doings with the court, and to make short arguments on points of law. The bench itself worked hard. Cases no longer accumulated, dockets were shortened, and the people at large felt that the law's delays were less vexatious and hard to bear. Patient, prompt, laborious, the Chief Justice bore with ease the larger responsibilities of his position.

Popular from the first, his kindness and urbanity to the profession wherever he met them, whether in court, in the street, or at his home, was steadily maintained during the seven years he remained upon the bench. His regard for the character and good name of the profession was well indicated on the occasion when a young and gifted lawyer, whose early death was regretted by all who knew the brilliant qualities of his mind, came drunk into the court-room where he was to argue a case. As soon as the unfortunate young gentleman's condition was seen, on his attempting to rise, the Chief Justice instantly leaned forward, and in a tone of great kindness remarked, "Mr. ——, the court will, if you please, take up this case to-morrow," and instantly adjourned the court. The young lawyer's condition, perceived only by the bench and by a few members of the bar, was thus not made public, and his ruin thereby averted.

For a man whose mind was largely occupied with serious business he had a curious capacity for keen and quiet observation of what was going on around and about him. There

never was any such abstracted occupation of mind that he could not turn readily to anything that would attract attention for its peculiarity, humor, or interest. He could tell as well as any idler in his court-room what had happened in it outside of the trial of the case before him.

His interest in the law as a practitioner and as a judge was peculiar. While some men delight in the law as a study or pursue it as a science, and others follow it for emoluments and honors, Judge Bigelow seemed rather to enjoy it as a splendid engine to be brought to bear upon abuses which required correction, or upon men who needed its discipline. During the seven years he remained upon the bench he continued to perfect and extend his judicial reputation; but though his mind, like an exquisite machine, did its appointed work rapidly and without friction, the slow growth of certain infirmities, partly the result of long years of sedentary life, admonished him that he could not long continue upon the bench. Deafness and gout, alike the inheritance of his family, beset him. The failure of his hearing entailed upon him a sustained and at last painful effort to lose no word of what was said in the trial of a cause before him. Recognizing that it was rather a question of months than years, when deafness would compel him to descend from the bench, as twenty-five years before it had forced his father to retire from the bar, the Chief Justice determined, before the profession were even aware of the causes which influenced him, wholly to change his occupation, and in the autumn of 1867 he resigned his commission, to take effect on the last day of that year.

The announcement of his intention to resign occasioned universal regret. The bar of Massachusetts were unwilling to lose at the early age of fifty-seven, and in the perfection of his judicial training, a chief justice whose term of office they had hoped might last as long as that of his great predecessor. Petitions, signed by three hundred members of the bar, urging him to remain in office and testifying that his "retirement at this time would be a loss which the profession and the public could ill bear," were followed by many personal and written appeals of the same kind from all parts of the State, and from the Executive itself. These tributes were indeed sweet to him. Not twenty years had passed since, fresh from the political and military service of the State, he had been made a judge of

Common Pleas, amid the general criticism of the profession as to his fitness for judicial life. Now he was retiring from the highest judicial post in the service of the Commonwealth, while the bar of every county were hastening to him their appeals to remain longer in his great office.

Well might his professional career be termed, as it was, by a great advocate of that day,[1] "a triumphal march of honor."

As soon as his intention to resign became known, Chief Justice Bigelow was offered the position of Actuary to the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company. He accepted this position of dignity, responsibility, and ease, and held it till his last illness. For several years he had suffered at times acutely from the gout, and he died of this disease, Friday, April 12, 1878, at the age of sixty-seven years and six months.

On the Sunday ensuing the bar assembled at his funeral at King's Chapel, to honor, as was afterward so fitly said by Mr. Dana, "the memory of a patient, industrious, indefatigable, vigilant, prompt magistrate, and an honorable, generous, high-spirited, and public-spirited citizen."

Others may have adorned the courts of Massachusetts who exceeded him in research or who had a wider knowledge of cases; but in his power of grasping the points of an action as they were successively presented, — whether of fact or of law, — of grouping them in their proper order, and of steadily holding them in their true relation to the issues involved, no less than by the perfection of his art of stating them to a jury, or, through his surpassing faculty of legal literary expression, of embodying them in a written opinion, he has been equalled by few judges and excelled by none. As personal recollections of the late Chief Justice fade into the dim twilight of tradition and pass slowly away, the opinion of his great classmate, Mr. Justice Curtis, formerly of the Supreme Court of the United States, will surely be held by all who come hereafter to study the principles of law, as they are set forth with enduring wisdom in the Reports of Massachusetts. At a certain meeting of the "Class of '29" the conversation turned upon the merits of several of the instructors at Harvard during the period of their student life, and there was some criticism

[1] Gustavus A. Somerby, speech at bar meeting, April 18, 1878.

of Prof. Edward T. Channing as a teacher of rhetoric and English composition, when Judge Curtis pointed out that Channing's pupils had no tendency to that florid style somewhat common with students of other colleges, and continued as follows: "Take Bigelow; he is not here to-night and so I can say what I should not if he had been. You all know that much of my life has been so spent as to give me a large acquaintance with judicial style; and I here express my opinion, which is not a new one, that for purity and clearness of style, I know of no living or modern judge who is Bigelow's superior." [1]

Peculiarly genial and companionable in private life, Judge Bigelow was fond of society and became a great diner-out. Inclined to all kinds of reading, from newspapers to the last book upon law, he was especially fond of English and American memoirs; and his mind was thus stored with a fund of anecdote which a retentive memory enabled him to use most happily in conversation. An excellent discretion usually controlled a naturally impulsive disposition, and made him somewhat shy of all public occasions where after-dinner speaking was a rule, and where his presence was often sought. Never but once after he attained distinction did he attend a public dinner; and while they who were present, among their recollections of the hour, can recall the grace and animation of his manner and the force of his speech, his own deliberate judgment led him afterward to avoid all similar occasions. He was offered and held many positions of trust and honor, before and after he left the bench, and was a Fellow of Harvard College at his death.

Chief Justice Bigelow was married, Nov. 5, 1839, to Anna, daughter of Edward Miller, of Quincy. By this marriage, which brought him into pleasant relations with several families long prominent in the Old Colony, he had four children, all of whom survive him.

[1] Mr. G. W. Phillips, in a letter to the writer of Feb. 10, 1879. See also "Life and Writings of B. R. Curtis," vol. i. p. 34, where the same anecdote is told in slightly different language.

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